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ANNALS
OF THE
COINAGE OF BRITAIN
AND ITS DEPENDENCIES,

FROM
THE EARLIEST PERIOD OF AUTHENTICK HISTORY
TO
THE END OF THE FIFTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF HIS PRESENT MAJESTY
KING GEORGE III.

BY THE REV. ROGERS RUDING, B.D.

VICAR OF MALDON IN SURREY, F. S. A. AND H. M. A. S. OF NEWCASTLE
UPON TYNE.

It is time to gibe off Coining if the Value of Standard Silver be lessened by it. LOCKE.

VOL. I.

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V.1

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE PRINCE REGENT,

THESE ANNALS,

WHICH WERE COMPILED FOR THE PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING, FROM THE
EXPERIENCE OF PAST AGES, CORRECT PRINCIPLES OF COINAGE,
AND WHICH SHOW THE IMPOLICY OF MAKING MONEY AND BULLION OF
EQUAL VALUE, AND THE CONSEQUENT PROPRIETY OF REDUCING
THE STANDARD WEIGHT OF THE COINS,

NOW SO HAPPILY COMMENCED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS,

ARE,

BY HIS GRACIOUS PERMISSION,
WITH ALL DUE HUMILITY DEDICATED,

BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

MOST HUMBLE

DUTIFUL

AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

ROGERS RUDING.

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P R E F A C E.

TO trace the progress of any art, from its first rude efforts to an high degree of cultivation, is an employment which not only gratifies a laudable curiosity, but also excites the mind to emulation and energy. It is pleasing to view, in this manner, the ingenuity of mankind struggling against, and finally overcoming, the obstacles which opposed its progress towards perfection ; and the proof, arising from thence, that taste and skill are to be acquired by unremitting exertions, will not fail to give confidence to the modest artist.

The particular art which is the subject of this work now submitted to the public eye, has claims to superlative attention ; for none can be either so high or so low as not to be in some degree affected by errors in the practice of it, and its corruption has even been pointed out as a sure indication of consumption in a state ^a.

Although it has been constantly practised, by every civilized Nation of the earth, for more than two thousand years, yet, incredible as the assertion may at first sight appear, its theory is even now undetermined and irregular, and varies not only in States which are independent of each other, but also in different parts of the same individual Kingdom.

It is of the highest political importance that these variations should be well understood ; for, as it is forcibly observed by Mr. Greaves, “ if those advantages which one country may make upon another, in the mystery of exchanges, and valuation of Coins, be not thoroughly discovered and prevented, by such as sit at the helm of

^a Cottoni Posthuma, p. 286.

the State, it may fare with them, after much commerce, as with some bodies after much food, that, instead of growing full and fat, they may pine away, and fall into an irrecoverable consumption ^b."

The early history of Coinage in these Dominions is involved in much obscurity, and the little which can now be related of it, with certainty, must be gathered chiefly from the specimens which have descended to these times; for the Records respecting it, from Cæsar's discovery of Britain, until the reign of King Henry III. are few and unsatisfactory. The specimens, however, are more numerous, and in general better preserved, than those of almost any other art; because the materials of which they are composed are extremely durable, and it has ever been considered as the common interest of mankind to concur in their preservation.

Under circumstances thus favourable, it cannot be matter of surprise, that Money should exist which has been struck by Monarchs of whom scarcely any other memorials remain; or that many historical facts, unnoticed either in manuscripts or inscriptions, should stand recorded upon Coins alone.

The History of Money in these Dominions, will show its progress, from the most barbarous state, to a very high degree of excellence: from the shapeless Brass, and the Iron Rings, or Plates, of the antient Britons, to the beautiful Coins of that very eminent artist Simon. From his time, however, to the present, with the exception of that period which is filled by the works of Croker ^c, the art has declined with a rapidity for which it is not easy to account. Whether it be owing to the peculiar Constitution of the Mint, which entirely precludes competition, and distinguishes not, in point of reward, between the productions of a masterly hand, and those which betray the most consummate ignorance of the art, is not for me to deter-

^b Greaves's Works, vol. I. page 337, in his Discourse of the Roman Foot and Denarius.

^c That is, the reign of Queen Anne, and part of that of George I.

mine. The fact is undoubted, that, whatever may be the cause, our Coinage has degenerated into a state of barbarism, highly disgraceful to a Nation which professes to cultivate the fine arts.

It is the design of this work to trace the progress of Coinage, in Britain, and its dependencies, from the earliest period, for which authentick documents can be procured, down to the conclusion of the fiftieth year of his present Majesty. To give an historical detail of the changes which have obtained, not only in the denominations; forms, weight, and fineness of the Money, but also in the Constitution of the Mints, with respect both to their Officers, and their mode of working. To state the best account, which can be gathered from very scanty materials, of the origin and continuance of the various places of Coinage and Exchange which once existed in these Dominions, and to point out the numerous Statutes, Ordinances, and Proclamations, which have been framed for the preservation of the Coins, and the effects which have resulted from them.

In the historical detail I have studiously avoided swelling the volumes by the statement of any circumstances which do not bear upon the subject, and have confined myself, as strictly as possible, to the nummery transactions in each reign.

Such was the plan which I proposed, and which is thus briefly stated to my readers, that they may know what they are to expect from the work, and that I may not incur censure, if they should not find in it that which it was not my intention to give.

Had these materials been collected for no other purpose than the amusement of antiquarian curiosity, I should have held myself to be blameable for the misapplication of much precious time. But this work is given to the world with a higher and more important view. Its object is to show, from the experience of ages, the inadequacy of punishment, however severe, to prevent the commission of the crime of counterfeiting the Money, whilst the temptation to it remains so powerful, and the execution of it so easy. The long succession of

penal Statutes, and the innumerable lives which have been forfeited to them, seem to prove that the system is radically defective, and that the crime can be prevented only by counteracting and weakening the force of the temptation. If it be the duty of every Legislature to attend to the prevention, rather than the punishment of offences^d, the Acts referred to are a reproach to our Statute Book.

Should the reasoning contained in these Volumes be deemed conclusive, by those who have the power to make trial of the method proposed as a public means of giving some check to a widely-extended temptation to dishonesty; should they think it expedient to adopt it; and, should it prove to be efficacious; I shall then think that I have not lived nor laboured in vain, since I shall have removed some portion of temptation to evil, and thereby shall have preserved many of my fellow-creatures from the commission of crime.

To those who may think that this work has been extended to too great a length, I offer as my apology the opinion of a celebrated author^e (which has been sanctioned and adopted by Mr. Hume^f)—
“ Every book should be as compleat as possible within itself, and should never refer, for any thing material, to other books.”



Of the Plates, which illustrate these Volumes, it needs to be said only, that the first 33 were engraven under the inspection of Taylor Combe, Esq. Medallist in the British Museum, whose knowledge of the subject, and accuracy of eye, are so universally acknowledged; —

^d I have stated the proposition above, hypothetically, because, though not a doubt respecting it has place in my own mind, yet no Nation upon earth has, I believe, ever acted upon it as a general principle.

^e Padre de Paolo Hist. Conc. Trid.

^f History of England, vol. II. page 102. As the Proclamations relating to this subject are many of them very rare, and the Statutes in the hands of but few numismatick Antiquaries, I have given large extracts from each of them, commonly following their very words.

that for the use of the following 67 Plates I am indebted to the liberality of the Society of Antiquaries; — that Dr. Charles Combe obligingly favoured me with the first Plate of the second part of the Supplement; — that the eight succeeding ones have been added by me, from the best materials that I had the power to procure; — and that to the wish of my highly-respected and most deeply-lamented friend Barrè Charles Roberts, Esq. kindly seconded in the most liberal manner by his father, whom I am proud likewise to call my friend, I owe the four Plates of Anglo-Gallic Coins.

The inconveniences necessarily arising from the want of arrangement in Plates engraven at such various periods, I have obviated, as much as possible, by a Table which precedes the Explanation of them.

I shall now give some account of the different historical works upon this subject which have hitherto been published.

The study of the Coins of these Dominions was but in its infancy at the end of the 17th century, and therefore Archbishop Sharpe's Observations were, probably, the first systematick treatise ever composed on the Coinage of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Some part of them was written before the year 1698-9; for the Remarks on the Silver Coins of England had been communicated to Mr. Thoresby previously to that period. By his suggestions they were extended and improved, and were again transmitted to him, with the addition of an Account of English Gold, and of the Scottish Coins, accompanied by a letter dated upon the 27th of January 1698-9^g. The Observations upon the Coinage of Ireland appear not to have been then completed; but they were a short time afterwards presented to Thoresby, as they are enumerated in the Catalogue of his Museum, which was printed in 1713^h.

^g Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, No XXXV. p. 1.

^h No 95, p. 528. This Catalogue was published at the end of Ducatus Leodiensis, folio, 1715.

No part of this work was, however, printed until the year 1773, when Mr. Ives published that portion only which relates to English Silver Coins, in the first number of his *Select Papers*. But in 1785 the whole, containing *Observations on the Gold and Silver Coins of England, and on Scotch and Irish Money, from the Conquest to the Revolution*, was given to the publick by Mr. Nichols ⁱ, from the MS. which Mr. Gough purchased at the sale of Thoresby's Museum in 1764. Much of historical detail is not to be expected in this work, as the Archbishop's design led him chiefly to sketch an imperfect outline of the description of the Coins, together with rules for the appropriation of them to their respective Monarchs. His *Observations* will, notwithstanding, be found to possess considerable merit, especially if we take into the account the very little assistance he could derive from any other source than the sagacity of his own mind.

That this work formed the foundation of Bp. Nicolson's *Chapters on Money*, which are to be found at the end of his *Historical Libraries*, is evident, not only from the Archbishop's Letter, before mentioned ^k, in which he states that he had communicated his first sketch to Archdeacon, afterwards Bishop, Nicolson, but also from a note in the Bishop's work ^l, where he refers to that communication, and calls the Archbishop his best guide. These chapters contain some account of the Coins of England, Scotland, and Ireland, from the Conquest to the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and were, I presume, the most early publications upon that subject; for the different parts appeared between 1696 and 1724 ^m.

ⁱ It forms No XXXV. of the *Bibl. Topog. Britannica*.

^k Addressed to Thoresby, and dated Jan. 27, 1698-9.

^l *English Historical Library*, page 255 note, 3d edition, folio, 1736.

^m The *English Historical Library*, Part I. 1696.

Part II. 1697.

Part III. 1699.

The *Scottish Ditto*. 1702.

The *Irish Ditto*. 1724.

Nicolson's and Burn's *History of Westmorland and Cumberland*, vol. II. p. 294.

In 1707 Bp. Fleetwood published, in 8vo, *Chronicon Preciosum*, or an Account of English Money, the Price of Corn, and other Commodities, for the last 600 years. This edition had no plates; but twelve (six of Gold and six of Silver Coins) were added on the republication of the work in 1745, together with an Appendix of an Historical Account of Coins. As it was the Bishop's primary intention to trace the depreciation of Money, scarcely any thing relating to the history of Coinage is to be found in the body of this treatise, and but little can be expected from an Appendix of 30 pages, which is the whole that is appropriated to that subject.

Stephen Martin Leake, Clarenceux King at Arms, published in 1726, *Nummi Britannici Historia*, in 8vo, with eight plates. To the second edition in 1745, which is considerably enlarged and improved, and the title altered to "An Historical Account of English Money," he added six more, but omitted the third plate of the first edition (some of the Coins on which are, however, transferred to other plates), and thus made the whole number thirteen. A third edition was published by the booksellers, in 1793, with an Appendix, which gives a slight account of the Coinage of George III. and with an additional plate containing some of his Coins.

This author has the merit of being the first who attempted to give a regular historical account of the Coinage of the various Monarchs, from the Conquest to the reign of George II. inclusive, comprized in a short view of each reign. As far as it goes it has great merit, but the plan is too much contracted, extending in the enlarged edition to no more than 436 8vo pages, and is founded chiefly upon the authority of printed books, instead of original Records.

In 1732, Tindal, the Translator of Rapin's History of England, added to his second edition of that work, in folio, some account, with engravings on wood, of the Coins of the different Monarchs from William I. to James II. both inclusive, in notes at the end of each reign. These notices are very short and imperfect.

The Society of Antiquaries, published, in 1733, Browne Willis's folio Table of the Gold Coins of England, from Edward III. to George II. both inclusive.

This seems to have suggested the idea of a Table of English Gold Coins, from the 18th of Edward III. to the 1st of George II. which was drawn up by Martin Folkes, Esq. and printed for the Society of Antiquaries, in 4to, 1736. These Tables are little more than Lists, except that to the latter are added the weights of the Coins, together with a few remarks.

This Mr. Folkes republished in 1745, subjoining it to his Table of English Silver Coins, and a slight Account of Scottish Money from the Union of the two Crowns.

It was his intention to have illustrated these Tables by a series of engravings of the Coins, but he was prevented by death from perfecting his design. His Plates, in number 44, which he left unfinished, were purchased of his Executors by the Society of Antiquaries, and, with the addition of 19 Plates in continuation of the Series, and of 6 Supplemental ones, were published by them in 1763, with a new edition of the Tables; but without any improvement of the letter-press, and indeed without any addition to it, except an explanation of the Plates, and a few notes to that explanation.

Mr. Folkes's Table of Silver Coins affords much valuable information subsequent to the reign of Richard III. ; but the preceding period from the Conquest is extremely defective, occupying no more than 13 quarto pages.

The Antiquaries' edition of this work adds but little to it, except in the article of Plates, and the description which is given of them. Even the great imperfection which runs nearly through the whole of the original, the want of reference to authorities, has not been supplied.

An Essay towards an Historical Account of Irish Coins, by James Simon, of Dublin, Merchant, F.R.S. was published at Dublin in

1749, 4to; to which a Supplement was added, by Snelling, with two additional Plates.

This, though modestly styled an Essay only, is, in my judgement, the most valuable of all the publications upon the Coinage of any part of the United Dominions. The original documents to which the author had access furnish information of the greatest interest, and of the highest authority. I am happy to seize this opportunity of acknowledging my numerous obligations to this work.

In 1756 were published, in 4to, "Twelve Plates of English Silver Coins, from the Norman Conquest to Henry VIII. inclusive, with a Calculation of their respective Values, and short Observations on each Plate; principally designed for the use of young Collectors and all dealers in Silver."

This publication, which passes under the name of Withy and Ryall, who were printsellers, and the publishers of it, is well adapted to answer the purpose for which it was designed, but has, in course, little of historical detail. The author is not known, but I have reason to believe that it was executed under the eye of Mr. White, of Newgate-street, who furnished the Coins, and probably the materials for the letter-press.

The Coins which were struck by our early Monarchs in France had received but little illustrationⁿ, when Dr. Ducarel gave to the publick, in 1757, "A Series of above two hundred Anglo-Gallic, or Norman and Aquitain, Coins, of the antient Kings of England, exhibited in sixteen copper-plates, and illustrated in twelve letters, 4to."

ⁿ Some of them were cut in wood for a work published by John Baptist Haultin, in 4to, entitled, "Les Figures des Monnoyes de France."

Those of our Monarchs who were also Kings of France appear in the Plates which illustrate Le Blanc's *Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France*, 4to, Paris 1690, and Amsterdam 1692. But the most complete collection which was published prior to Dr. Ducarel's work is that given by De Boze in his *Monnoyes des Prelats et Barons de France*; which, however, is now superseded by Duby's *Monnoies des Prelats et Barons de France*, in two volumes 4to, Paris 1790.

Haultin's and De Boze's Works consist of Plates only.

This useful series, which is deserving of high commendation, might have been made still more interesting, had the author incorporated into it that information which the French, Norman, and Gascon Rolls supply. Instead of which, he has contented himself with copying Carte's references to them in Nos XVI. XVII. and XVIII. of his Appendix. The Plates are but coarsely executed, and some of the Coins are more than once engraven.

In 1762 Thomas Snelling, a Bookseller and dealer in Coins, published in folio a series of Views (with engravings) of the Coins and Coinage of England from the Norman Conquest to the reign of George III. inclusive. This volume contained the Silver Coins; and in successive volumes, the last of which came out in 1769, he gave Views of the Gold and Copper Coins, and of the Money struck by English Princes in France; of Counterfeit Sterlings in imitation of the English Penny; of Coins struck by the East India Company; of those coined in the West Indies, and in the Isle of Man; and of Pattern Pieces. He left behind him a View of the Silver Coins of Scotland, and Plates of the Gold and Billon Money without any description; all which were published, after his death, in 1774. These works are highly valuable to collectors, but, being calculated chiefly for their assistance, the historical matter is merely incidental.

Mr. Adam de Cardonnel's *Numismata Scotiæ*, or a Series of the Scottish Coinage, from the reign of William the Lion to the Union, 4to, 1786, is a very imperfect history of the Money of that Kingdom. The greater part of the body of the work is occupied by descriptions of the Coins, and with meagre accounts of the transactions of each King's reign, which have no relation to the Mint, and which may be seen in every History of Scotland. The Preface however contains some curious information: but the Appendix is wholly taken from printed books; and the Plates are so coarsely executed as to be disgraceful even to this defective performance.

During the period of these various publications, others were designed, but never carried into execution: in particular the Society of Antiquaries of London made some feeble attempts, as a body, to form an extensive work upon the subject.

The importance of it seems to have attracted their attention at the renewal of their meetings (after the dissolution of the Society by James I.) about the year 1707.

At that time a sketch was drawn out, probably by Mr. Wanley, of what such a body might propose to do for the illustration of our national antiquities, one article of which is this: "An Historical Account of the Coin, and of the several Mints, with draughts^o."

No progress, however, seems to have been made in this design between that period and the year 1721-2, when the following memorandum, dated Jan. 3, appears upon their books.—It was proposed that it would be much for the honour of the Kingdom, and particularly of the Society, to attempt a complete description and history of all the Coins relating to Great Britain, from the earliest times to our own.

Dr. Stukeley undertook all the British Coins in Sir Hans Sloane's Collection, and elsewhere.

Mr. Holmes undertook the Saxon Coins in the possession of Mr. Hill, a Counsellor.

Mr. James Hill undertook to get a description of Lord Harley's Saxon Coins.

Mr. Roger Gale undertook the Roman which relate to Britain.

Mr. Samuel Gale undertook those of the Danish reigns.

Mr. President [Le Neve] undertook the English from the Conquest^p.

^o Harleian MSS. No 7055. Mr. Gough's Introduction to the first volume of the *Archæologia* page xxix.

^p Memorand. Soc. Antiq. Ives's Select Papers, p. 1. note *.

Of all these *undertakers*, no one, I believe, produced any thing, except Dr. Stukeley, who engraved some Plates of British Coins.

In 1724, when the Earl of Hertford was President, the Society determined to collect accounts of all the ancient Coins relative to Great Britain and its dominions.

The British Class or Series was undertaken by Dr. Stukeley, who had engraved fifteen Plates before he died ^q.

The Roman by Mr. Roger Gale and Mr. Ainsworth ^r.

The Saxon by Mr. Wanley.

The Danish by Mr. S. Gale.

The English by the Earl of Hertford, Mr. Le Neve, Mr. William Nicholas, and the Rev. Mr. Creyke ^s.

Martin Folkes, Esq. a Member of the Society, intending a complete account of the latter class in Gold and Silver, prevailed with them, in 1731, to lay aside their design after they had engraved some of Bishop [Archbishop] Sharpe's, and other Tables of our Gold and Silver Coins ^t.

^q Dr. Stukeley left behind him 23 Plates which were published by his executor Richard Fleming, esq. in 4to.

In 1763 he announced, at the end of the Preface to *Palæographia Sacra*, his intention of publishing the *Origines Britannicæ*, and that he had then engraved 150 of the old British Coins, in all metals, as being authentick documents whereon to build disquisitions on that most curious subject. He likewise called upon those who had British Coins in their cabinets, to favour him with them, in order to engrave them, or to set their names to those already engraven.

In a letter to Macpherson, 4to, London, 1763, on his publication of *Fingal and Temora*, he speaks of another work which he intended to publish, viz. the *Medallick History of the first Kings of Britain*. "What I propose to do," says he, "is on the plan of their Coins, whereof there are innumerable now left. Coins are real monuments, and genuine testimonies. Our business is to find out their meaning. Very many I can with confidence explain; many more are reducible from them, to much probability," p. 6. He died in March 1765, and I have not been able to discover that he left any MS. upon this subject. His 23 Plates have no illustration whatsoever.

^r Author of the *Latin Dictionary*, &c. &c.

^s Chaplain and Executor to Heneage Earl of Winchelsea.

^t Vertue's MS. in the Archives of the Society. See *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. I. Nos 37, 38.

Upon the death of Mr. Folkes, in 1754, the Society purchased his Plates and Copy of his executors; and completed his design, by republishing his Tables and Plates, with explanations, at their own expense, in 1763, in quarto ^u.

When this second edition of Folkes's Tables was in agitation, the Members of the Council were requested to communicate their remarks for the improvement of the work; and a set of the Plates, as they were left unfinished, by Folkes, was sent to each Member of the Council ^x. Amongst the few who delivered in any thing upon the

^u Mr. Gough's Introduction to the first Volume of the Archæologia, p. xxxvii.

^x The following is a copy of the Secretary's circular letter:

Sir,

The Society having lately purchased the copyright of Mr. Folkes's Tables of English Coins with the Copper Plates engraven for exemplifying the same, the Council have resolved on the publication of a new edition of that work, with a continuation of the Plates to the present time. For which purpose they have directed a set of the Plates already engraven to be sent to each Member of the present Council (they being by the late Statutes constituted the proper Committee of Papers) in order to be examined and compared with the printed book, of which they presume you have a copy; and whatever observations or additions you may judge proper to be made, they request you will be pleased to communicate them in writing, the better to enable them to complete and perfect the work in such a manner as may be of service to the publick, do honour to the Society, and promote its emolument by the publication.

I am Sir,

Your humble servant,

J. AMES, Secretary.

[This letter is not dated, but Mr. North appears to have received his copy of the Plates in 1755.]

The Committee for revising Mr. Folkes's book of English Coins were,

Lord Willoughby,

Dr. Ward,

Robert Bootle, Esq,

James West, Esq.

Dr. Chauncy,

Mr. North,

Mr. Serjeant Eyre,

Dr. Gifford,

Dr. Lyttelton,

Dr. Ducarel.

[From Mr. North's copy of the Plates penès Richard Gough, Esq.]

Mr. North prepared remarks on the first seven Plates, but I know not whether they were communicated to the Council. I have inserted some of them in their proper places in the Annals, with the addition of his name. From two letters of the Secretary Norris, which are

subject, was Mr. Colebrooke (not of the Committee) who has written at the beginning of a copy of his Observations, now in the Society's Library,

Hos ego descripsi nummos, tulit *Alter* honores ;
Sic vos non vobis.

This *Alter* was Dr. Gifford, who drew up the descriptions of the Plates which are printed. It appears, however, in a letter from Mr. Colebrooke to Dr. Ward, dated Budge-row, Nov. 21, 1757, and inclosing his remarks on the eight additional Plates, that Mr. Colebrooke undertook to correct Dr. Gifford's descriptions^y.

Thus this third attempt of the Society, to illustrate the Coinage of Britain, proved to be nearly as unproductive as the two which preceded it ; for the only addition to Folkes's Tables consists in the explanation of the Plates, which were then first published.

Sir Symonds D'Ewes intended to publish a work upon British Coins, to be entitled "Prolegomena ad Thesaurum nummarium Britanno Anglicum"^z ; which in 1649-50 was in such forwardness that a great part of it was ready transcribed for the press^a ; but it was not, as I believe, ever printed.

Mr. Maurice Johnson projected an History of England by Coins, which, according to the account given of it, was to have been of considerable extent. It appears that he entertained the Spalding Society with a numismatic History of the Kings in Britain, from Julius

printed in the ninth volume of Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, page 616, it appears that his remarks had not been communicated at the beginning of the year 1756. I suspect that they were not carried further than the seventh Plate, and were never laid before the Society.

^y A rough draught of this letter is in Mr. Colebrooke's MS. above referred to.

^z Bibl. Topographica Britannica, N^o XV. page 10.

^a Letter from Sir S. D'Ewes to Thomas Knyvet, Esq. dated March 21, 1649-50. In which he calls it, "that publike worke which in itselfe is a most heroicke and excellent subject, if it be not foiled by my weaknesse." Ives's Select Papers, p. 31.

Cæsar, to the end of the Western Empire. His plan for disposing the Coins, so as to answer his design of illustrating the British History, was reduced to 15 chards.

1. From Cassivelan to Boadicea.
2. From Boadicea to Adrian.
3. From Adrian to Severus.
4. From Severus to Carausius.
5. From Carausius to Constantius.
6. From Constantius to Maximus.
7. From Maximus to Vortigern.
8. From Vortigern to Egbert.
9. From Egbert to William the Conqueror.
10. From William the Conqueror to Henry VIII.
11. From Henry VIII. to Elizabeth.
12. From Elizabeth to the Commonwealth.
13. From the Commonwealth to the Revolution.
14. From the Revolution to Queen Anne.
15. From Queen Anne to the Accession of the House of Hanover.

His History from the Conquest to the Dissolution [Revolution?] is said to have occupied a considerable part of the fourth volume of the Minutes of the Spalding Society^b.

In the year 1782, was announced an intention of publishing Plates of the noble collection of Saxon Coins preserved in Dr. Hunter's Museum, illustrated with notes and historical observations. The description of the Coins, it was understood, would be given by the Rev. Mr. Southgate^c.

^b Bibl. Topog. Britannica, N^o XX. pp. xii. and xvii. I have endeavoured, but in vain, to procure some further information respecting this work. To my inquiries it was answered that the volume could not be found.

^c Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1782, page 519.

It is now generally known that Dr. Combe was to have been his coadjutor, and that two Plates of Sceattæ were actually engraved under his superintendence. The Antiquarian world must ever deeply lament that this undertaking was proceeded in no further. For what might not have been expected from an union of abilities so highly qualified for the undertaking?

The loss which the lovers of Anglo Saxon Antiquities then sustained by the non-execution of the Engravings has been, however, more than compensated by the exertions of Taylor Combe, Esq. Medalist in the British Museum, who has united, in 33 Plates of British and Anglo Saxon Coins, the treasures of other Cabinets with that of the late Dr. Hunter. Some unforeseen accidents have prevented the completion of his design to give these engravings to the publick, accompanied with historical illustrations, and have thus deprived antiquaries of that pleasure and instruction which his unquestioned knowledge of the subject would have afforded them^d.

These are all the historical accounts of the Coinage of Britain, either published or intended, which have fallen within my observation. I have given their character briefly, but freely, and, I trust, candidly. One radical error, however, which runs through the whole of these that have been made publick, still remains unnoticed; namely, that although they are written upon an art the theory of

^d The Plates are now in my possession, and form a part of that series which illustrates these volumes.

The following account of Mr. Combe's plan was given at the end of the Sale Catalogue of Mr. Tyssen's Coins in 1802. "Shortly will be published, A Series of Plates of Saxon Coins, comprising every variety of type which is to be found, not only in private cabinets, but in the extensive collections of the British Museum, Dr. William Hunter, and Samuel Tyssen, Esqrs. The Plates will be accompanied with letter-press, containing a short account of every King; the names of the Moneyers which appear on each type; a list of the different towns where the respective Coins were struck, and other particulars. To the above work will be prefixed, with remarks, a few Plates, representing the Money of the antient Britons."

which is unsettled, and the practical part of it confessedly defective, yet their tendency is to gratify curiosity only, without any attempt at the improvement of theory, or the communication of practical knowledge. How far I may have succeeded in my endeavour to correct and supply their errors and deficiencies, my readers must now decide. The work is before them, and is submitted to their judgement and candour.

It remains only for me to acknowledge my numerous obligations to those who have kindly favoured me with assistance, during the progress of my labours. From the enumeration it will be seen, that by their liberality I have been enabled to collect much original information, which would otherwise have been inaccessible. They are arranged nearly according to the regular order in which their favours were conferred.

To the Rev. John Price, late Keeper of the Bodleian Library, I should have been highly gratified to have returned my thanks in this manner for innumerable kind attentions, from my earliest researches in that rich depository, even to the latest hour of his life; but death has unhappily deprived me of that gratification.

From repeated examinations of Mr. Southgate's select Cabinet of English Coins, which was ever most unrestrainedly open to my inspection, I first derived a practical knowledge of the various subjects of this work. His entertaining and instructive conversations led me to study them historically; and by his encouragement I was induced to prepare my collections for the publick eye. Had his valuable life been spared, they would have been rendered much more perfect than I fear they will now be found.

The memory of Richard Gough, Esq. must be dear to every lover of literature, and of our national antiquities. It has been eminently endeared to me by uninterrupted acts of friendship from the first moment of my acquaintance with him. To him I am indebted for the most liberal use of the materials, both printed and manuscript, which his valuable library afforded; and for the gift of various books relating to the subject of my inquiries, either manuscript, or enriched with MS notes by some of the most eminent of our numismatic antiquaries.

My access to Mint Accounts, preserved in the Exchequer, was greatly facilitated by the favour of Craven Ord, Esq.; and the labour of searching relieved by the share he kindly took in it, and his useful remarks on the nature of those Records. To him I am under further obligation for an introduction to Edward Taylor, Esq. who obligingly permitted me to make large extracts from the Red Book of the Exchequer, which is preserved in his department.

Charles Ellis, Esq. Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer, favoured me with the inspection of Indentures, and other papers, preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster; and I am also grateful to him for copies of the most interesting of them, which he was pleased to furnish me with.

To the liberality of the Rev. John Brand, late Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, I owe the possession of several scarce tracts relating to English Money.

I have to regret that death has deprived me of the pleasure of expressing my gratitude to my much respected and lamented friend and neighbour, the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, late Vicar of Epsom (from whom I received much curious communication, and whose extensive library was ever open for my assistance), and also to Sir Frederick Morton Eden, Bart. for the loan of rare books, for many useful suggestions, and for valuable information.

I am greatly obliged to Joseph Planta, Esq. for his polite attentions, whilst I was engaged in making drawings from the Anglo-Saxon Coins in the British Museum.

The late Rev. Samuel Ayscough pointed out a variety of curious materials in that department of the British Museum which was under his care.

To that eminent Medallist Dr. Charles Combe I am highly indebted for the liberty of copying many valuable papers, drawn up by himself, Mr. Bartlett, and the Rev. Richard Southgate, and for frequent access to the noble cabinet of the late Dr. William Hunter.

Taylor Combe, Esq. to whom the superintendence of the Medallick department of the British Museum is so deservedly committed, has enabled me to render this work more complete than it would otherwise have been, by the kind communication of several drawings, and of his MS Collections. He has also favoured me with many important hints from his rich stores of learning upon this subject.

The Right Honourable Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K. B. James Bindley, Francis Douce, William Fawkenor, and Ashby Ashby, Esquires, have favoured me with the use of various scarce and valuable tracts, for which they have my grateful thanks.

Francis Townsend, Esq. Windsor Herald, kindly communicated Vincent's Collections from the Records in the Tower, which greatly facilitated the researches I was sometime afterwards at liberty to make there. To him I am likewise under obligations for important extracts from the treasures in the Heralds' College.

My much respected friend Mr. John Nichols added to innumerable other acts of friendship, an introduction to the Archives of the Corporation of London.

To Mr. Richard Miles I am obliged for the most liberal communication of various minute particulars relating to English Money, which his accurate practical knowledge of Coins so well qualifies him to give.

Edward Roberts, Esq. materially assisted this undertaking by permitting me to make use of his copy of Snelling's Works, with MS notes by the author, and of Pollett's MSS. relating to the Mint.

An inspection of the Supplemental Plates will show my obligations to my much regretted friend Barrè Charles Roberts, Esq.; for the very liberal manner in which he laid open to me the treasures of his extensive cabinet of English Money, and for the engravings which by his express desire have been presented to this work.

To William Bray, Esq. Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, I am indebted for several hints of importance to the accomplishment of my undertaking.

Henry Ellis, Esq. has obligingly shewn me much kind attention in his department in the British Museum.

To Frederick Augustus Barnard, Esq. his Majesty's Librarian, my thanks are due for access to the Royal Library.

Though late in this list of literary friends, yet the first in point of importance to the work, are my obligations to Samuel Lysons, Esq. Keeper of the Records in the Tower, for the most unlimited access to the treasures of information contained in the Rolls intrusted to his care; and for his kindness in pointing out various documents, which his unwearied researches have discovered, amidst the mass of yet unindexed Records.

By William Illingworth and the late T. B. Richards, Esq. Sub-Commissioners of Records, I was favoured with frequent assistance in difficult points, which their accurate knowledge of the various hands, that occur in antient writings, so well enabled them to overcome; and likewise with references to articles of importance to my design.

The late Thomas Whipham, Esq. was pleased to supply me with considerable minute information respecting the mode of summoning the Jury, and other circumstances relative to the Trial of the Pix.

I acknowledge my high obligations to the Society of Antiquaries for permission to consult their rich collection of Proclamations, which

they were pleased to grant some years since ; and for their Plates of English Coins, lately, with the greatest liberality, consigned to my use for the illustration of this work.

To John Dent, Esq. I am indebted for the perusal of a volume, containing a curious collection of Tracts, printed and MS. relating to the great re-coinage in the reign of King William III. For this favour I am beholden to the interference of the late Francis Annesley, Esq. and therefore his memory claims my chief gratitude on this account.

By John Kipling, Esq. Clerk of the Records in the Rolls Chapel, I was favoured with access to the Records in his office.

The Rev. William Woolston has furnished me with some accurate drawings of unpublished Coins from his cabinet, which will be found in the Plates.

To George Chalmers, Esq. I owe access to a considerable collection of Proclamations; and he obligingly put into my hands two valuable MS volumes on Mint affairs.

Some curious documents relating to the Archiepiscopal Mint of Canterbury were kindly pointed out, and transcribed for me, by the Rev. Henry John Todd, Keeper of the Archives in the Library of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Rev. Mr. Blick, of Tamworth, was pleased to communicate a very rare Coin of Edward the Confessor, from his valuable collection. A Penny of similar type is engraven amongst the additions to the 28th Plate of Anglo Saxon Money, N^o 3, from a specimen in Mrs. Banks's select cabinet. The drawing was put into my hands by Mr. Taylor Combe.

To Alexander Luders, Esq. late one of the Sub Commissioners of Records, I am indebted for the explanation of some difficult passages in the early Statutes relating to Money.

Mr. Sharpe of Coventry not only assisted my labours by curious

extracts from the Corporation Records, but, with the greatest liberality, permitted me to select from his well-chosen cabinet some unpublished Coins, and to engrave them for this work.

My grateful thanks are due to the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, for his obliging politeness in ordering several Coins to be sent up from his seat in Leicestershire for my inspection ; and for his subsequent permission to view the whole of the collection there.

For the elevation and plan of the new Mint, which are so highly ornamental to these volumes, I am indebted to that eminent architect Robert Smirke, jun. Esq. It may be proper, however, to observe, that the entrances only were designed by him.

To Robert Bingley, Esq. the King's Assay Master in the Mint, I am obliged for a copy of the Charter of Incorporation granted by Charles II. to the Officers of the Mint, and for extracts from the MSS. of the late Mr. Alchorne, his predecessor in that office.

William Staunton, Esq. of Longbridge House, near Warwick, most liberally communicated some rare Coins from the valuable collections which he has made relating to his native County.

That very interesting Styca of Ecgfrith, King of Northumberland, which affords the most antient specimen of those Coins that has hitherto been discovered, is engraven in the 28th Plate from an impression communicated by the Rev. John Hodgson, one of the Secretaries of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle upon Tyne.

The unremitting researches of the Rev. Bulkeley Bandinell, Keeper of the Bodleian Library, at length discovered a very scarce volume of Proclamations, in the reign of Elizabeth and James I. which I had long sought for in vain, and which contains some that I was unable to meet with in any other collection.

The Rev. I. W. Martin, Rector of Keston, in Kent, favoured me with the examination of his beautiful specimen of the Gold Coinage of Henry III. which he obligingly conveyed to London for that purpose.

For interesting extracts from the valuable Collection of Stafford MSS. and for the present of a Volume of Tracts upon the subject of Money and Coinage, I am indebted to the kindness of William Hamper, esq. of Birmingham, who in the midst of the numerous avocations of an extensive mercantile concern, finds leisure not only for his own literary pursuits, but also to assist those of his friends.

After an enumeration so highly gratifying to my feelings, it is disgusting to be obliged to record instances of ungentlemanlike and illiberal conduct. But I consider it to be as much my duty to mark with disapprobation superciliousness and meanness, as it is to express my gratitude for civilities, and favours conferred. I trust I shall never be ashamed to own my obligations, nor afraid to stigmatize illiberality or insolence.

Fortunately for the cause of truth, the number of those who selfishly withhold information bears scarcely any proportion to those who spontaneously communicate it. In the course of my researches after materials for this work, I have met with no more than two of the former description.

I shall not honour their names by forming them into an Appendix to the foregoing List of Gentlemen and Scholars ; but they will be found in their proper places in the body of this work, where I must of necessity record those withholders of information as an apology for incorrectness, or scantiness of materials.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

TO MY READERS.

I HAVE thought it respectful towards you not to conceal any errors which I have been able to discover. Should the Addenda be considered as not sufficiently important to atone for the numerous Corrigenda, I must throw myself upon your mercy.

Let me, however, entreat you to correct the errors here pointed out, before you enter upon the perusal of the work, that it may be read in as perfect a state as my endeavours have been able to attain.

VOLUME I.

Page.

52. *Add*, 8th of Henry V. John Basin. Eausse. [See vol. III. p. 201.]
65. Last year of Edward IV. *add*, Thomas Galmole, Master and Worker of the Money of Silver, in Develyn and Waterford. [MS. No 116. Antiq. Soc. Library.]
75. *Add* after line 8, Mr. Pollett has omitted to mention that the Coins cannot be issued until their delivery has been sanctioned by the King's Assay Master ; whose office has, in modern times, arisen to the highest importance, as the very distant periods to which the Trials of the Pix have lately been deferred, have left him the sole guardian of the purity of many millions of Money. The Trials which have taken place during the present reign, all bear ample testimony to the skill and integrity of the Assay Master, and the accuracy of the Moneyers.
82. *For* Otho *read* Otto in lines 9, 10, and 14.
note [b] *for* 1197 *read* 1107.

Page.

89. note [p] line 2, *add* after 424. He engraved the Oxford Crown. See Add. to vol. III. under page 357.
112. Sir William Sharington was Vice Treasurer of the Mint at Bristol. Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. II. p. 93.
121. Last year of Edward IV. *add*, Thomas Galmole, Develyn and Waterford. [MS. N^o 111. Antiq. Soc. Lib.]
- 144, line 4. *dele* publick.
- 149, line 2 from the bottom, *add*, This Act for the Trial of the Pix is not in Scobell's Collection. It passed upon the 7th of November 1649. See the Annals.
- 158, line 1, *for* by publick trial, *read* by the Verdict of a Jury.
last line, *for* a publick, *read* this solemn.
- 164, line 17, *for* Allay, *read* Alloy.
- 199, line 2, *for* they, *read* these Coins.
- 239, line 18, *for* Reverse, *read* Obverse.
240. *Add* to Burgred's Moneyers BLEHTICI from Archæologia, vol. IX. p. 188.
- 243, line 4 from the bottom, *for* Anlof, *read* Anlaf.
263. LVD may possibly be Ludlow.
- 270, line 5 from the bottom, another Penny reads HAM VIC.
271. LVD. qu. Ludlow.
- 282, line 2 from the bottom, *for* farther *read* further.
284. A Penny in Mr. Martin's Cabinet, of Type N^o 1, reads GODWINE ON SERE.
289. LVDE qu. Ludlow.
296. In the first column the last word should be the last word but one.
- 301, note [s], instead of the last sentence insert, A full account of this contest may be seen in the Answer of the Corporation of Moniers to Blondeau, folio, London, 1653.
- 302, note [i] line 8, *dele* that sentence which states the copying of Dr. Ducarel's engraving.
303. If Durri be intended for Durham, this Coin affords the earliest proof of a Coinage in that City.
304. LVDEIE. qu. Ludlow.
306. WERE, Worcester. More probably Wareham.
311. *Add* to the Moneyers WLEEM after line 12.
316. *Add* after line 12, at the latter end of the reign of Henry I. the following writ was issued :
No date, but placed between 1132—1135, Sciatis quod volo & precipio ut omnes burgenses & omnes illi qui in burgis morantur, tam Franci quam Angli, jurent tenere & servare monetam meam in Anglia, ut non consentiant falsitatem monete mee.
Et si quis cum falso denario inventus fuerit, si warant inde revocaverit, ad eum ducatur ; et si illum inde comprobare poterit, fiat justicia mea de ipso warant'. Si vero non poterit probare de ipso falsionario, fiat justicia mea. Scil'. de dextro pugno & testiculis. Si autem nullum warant' inde revocaverit, portet inde judicium, se nescire nominare vel cognoscere aliquem a quo acceperit.

Page.

- Preterea defendo ne aliquis monetarius denarios mutet, nisi in eomitatu suo, & hoc eorum duobus legitimis testibus de ipso eomitatu. Et si in alio eomitatu mutando denarius captus fuerit, sic captus sit, ut falsonarius. Et nullus sit ausus cambire denarios, nisi monetarius. Apud West. in Nat. Domini. Lib. Rub. Scace. Westm. 163 d. [Rymer's *Fœdera*, edit. 1816, vol. I. p. 12.]
316. *Add* to the Mints HADEW and EBO *York*.
- 317, line 6, READING should have been placed before RIC, to which it has no relation.
- 321, note [i]. The latter of these I believe to be a Danish Coin.
323. WERE. Worcester. More probably Wareham.
Add to the Moneyers BONIFACE and IVBERT.
- 328, line 23, after type, *add* (full faced.)
346. *Add* NEWCASTLE to the List of Mints.
last line, *dele* what follows year, and *add* to note [g.] From Madox Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 378. n. [w.]
350. *Add* after line 5. In his sixth year the Bailiffs of the Cinque Ports, of Yarmouth and Dunwich, were commanded, by writ dated on the 28th of September, to inquire, amongst other things, concerning falsifiers and clippers of the Coins, and Exchanges made without the King's License. [Prynne on Cooke's 4th Institute, p. 152.]
- 357, line 1, *for* farther, *read* further.
- 359, note [i] line 4, *for* was *read* were.
362. *Add* after Hedley or Hadley, but Qu. whether this be not the name of the Moneyer Robert de Hadeleie, who appears upon a Penny in the following reign.
364. *Add* Edgar to the Moneyers. See the Annals, vol. III. p. 3.
- 366, line 21, after and, *add* probably.
- 367, line 12, *for* legal, *read* regulated.
19, *add* as note to 1275, In this year a writ was issued to prevent the encouragement which was given to the Clippers of Money by exchanging with them perfect Coins for their diminished pieces; and inquiry was ordered to be made in London and elsewhere upon oath, for Clippers, Exchangers, and Conventers, in that matter, that they might be arrested and brought to speedy judgement. [Pat. 5 E. I. dors. Rymer's *Fœdera*, edit. 1816, vol. I. p. 539.]
end of note [i] *add*, And in his fifth year inquiry was ordered to be made respecting Judaizing Christians who had been guilty of that crime, in order to their being brought to speedy justice. [Reference as above.]
368. *Add* after line 14, In the same year the exportation of Silver Plate, clipped Money, or broken Silver, was forbidden, without special licence. [Claus. 7 E. I. m. 10. Rymer's *Fœdera*, edit. 1816, vol. I. p. 564.]
369. *Add* after line 14, the following writ, which appears to have been intended to protect the Jews from very unwarrantable practices, on the part of his Majesty's Christian subjects; the King having first plundered them as much as he thought reasonable.
1279, 7 E. I. Rex Stephano de Penecestr', Waltero de Helynn, & Johanni de Cobeham Justic' ad placita transgressionis monete audienda & terminanda.

Page.

Quia omnes Judei nuper rectati & per certam suspicionem indictati de retonsura monete nostre, & inde convicti jam ultimo supplicio puniuntur; & quidam eorum eadem occasione, omnia bona & catalla sua foris fecerunt, & prisone nostre liberantur, in eadem ad voluntatem nostram detinendi; & jam accepimus quod plures Christiani in odium Judeorum, propter discrepantiam fidei Christiane & ritus Judeorum, & diversa gravamina per ipsos Judeos Christianis hactenus illata, quosdam Judeos nondum rectatos nec indictatos, de transgressione monete per leves & voluntarias accusationes, accusare & indictare de die in diem nituntur, & proponunt; imponendo eis ad terrorem ipsorum, quod de huiusmodi transgressione culpabiles existunt, ut sic per minas huiusmodi accusationis super ipsos Judeos faciente, ipsis Judeis metum incutiant, & pecuniam extorqueant ab eisdem; ita quod ipsi Judei super hoc ad legem suam sepe ponuntur, in vite sue periculum manifestum. Volumus quod omnes Judei qui ante primum diem Maii proximo preteritum indictati, vel per certam suspicionem rectati non fuerunt de transgressione monete predictae, et qui facere voluerint finem juxta discrecionem vestram, ad opus nostrum, per sic quod non occasionentur de huiusmodi transgressionibus, factis ante primum diem Maii, propter novas accusationes Christianorum post eundem diem inde factas, non molestentur, set pacem inde habeant in futuro.

Proviso quod Judei indictati, vel per certam suspicionem rectati de huiusmodi transgressione ante predictum diem Maii, iudicium subeant coram vobis, juxta formam prius inde ordinatam & provisam.

Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod fines huiusmodi capiat, & premissa fieri & observari faciat, in forma predicta. T. Cantuar. 7 May.

Bartho' de Sulley, & Socii sui, & Johann' de Bek' & Socii Sui, Justic' ut supra. Like Letters to them. Claus. 7 E. I. m. 7. [Rymer's Fœdera, edit. 1816, vol. I. p. 570.]

387, line 5, *add*, after prohibited, and no other than the King's Sterlings to be current.

388, note [b] *for* 18, *read* 28.

395, line 14, after EDWAR, *add* and EDWARD.

403, lines 9 and 10, *for* VIL *read* VILL.

420, note [d] *for* Guerpine, *read* Guerpire

443, note [o] last line, *for* 84, *read* 55.

476, note [s] first line, *for* 34, *read* 30.

VOLUME II.

Page.

- 8, line 5 from the bottom, *for lesse, read losse.*
- 20, line 24, *for Quindene, read Quindeme.*
- 46, line 13, *add*, In the same year an Indenture for Ireland was made with Thomas Galmole, Gent. Master and Worker of the Money of Silver, and Keeper of the Exchanges in the Cities of Devylyn and Waterford. He was to make two sorts of Monies; one called a Peny, with the King's Arms on one side, upon a Cross trefoyled on every end; and with this inscription REX ANGLIE & FRANCIE, and on the other side the Arms of Ireland upon a Cross with this scripture, DNS HIBERNIE. Of such Penyes in the Pound weight of the towre iiij c. l pecs which is in nombre xxxvijs. vjd. The other Money to be called the Halfpenny with the like impression and inscription, and in weight one half of the first. All of the old sterling. [From a fragment of the Indenture, of which the first 16 lines only are perfect, in the Antiquary Society's Library, N^o 116.]
- 47, line 12, *for* larger pieces, *read* Groats.
- 14, *for* smaller pieces, *read* Half Groats, and *add* to the end of the paragraph,—
The Penny, Halfpenny, and Farthing, have the name of the Mint only on the Reverse.
- 59, line 18, prefix the date, 1500.
- 69, note [x] *for* N *read* m.
- 73, note [b] *for* N *read* Cap.
- 79, note [u] *for* N *read* m.
- 91, line 8, *add* s to Plate, and *dele* the letter of reference to the notes.
- 153, line 9, after Six Pence, *add* and Three Pence.
- 13, after The, *add* other.
- 14, *dele* Three Pence.
- 171, note [z] line 1, *for* Gen. *read* Arm.
261. *Add* to note [z] See in Hudibras, part III. canto 11, line 1112, a curious note on the name of Lunsford, who, it was reported, used to eat children. This insinuation was ridiculed in the Parliament Hymns, Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. I. N^o 17, and by Cleveland, who says,
 “ The post that came from Banbury,
 Riding in a blue rocket,
 He swore he saw, when Lunsford fell,
 A child's arm in his pocket.
 To make this gentleman the more detestable, they made horrid pictures of him, as we learn from the following lines of Mr. Cleveland. (*Rupertismus*, Works, 1677, p. 67.)
 “ They fear the giblets of his train, they fear
 Even his dog, that four legg'd Cavalier;
 He that devours the scraps which Lunsford makes,
 Whose picture feeds upon a child in stakes.”

Page.

281. Remove the date 1647 to line 15.

289. *Add* to note [o] The device on these Coins is thus ridiculed in a Prologue spoken in Bury School in the year 1731 :

“ A Silver pair of Breeches neatly wrought,
(Such as you see upon an old Rump Groat,
Which emblem our good grandsires chose to boast
To all the world, the tail was uppermost.)”

Gent. Mag. 1731, p. 537.

316, line 9, *add*, 1659. In this year a Petition was presented by Edward Johnson, jun. Esq. and others to the Protector, with proposals to coin a common Farthing of fine Rose Copper of the weight of about half a quarter of an ounce avoirdupois, and twenty-two Shillings by tale, to weigh eight pounds avoirdupois, with the remedy of Sixpence under or over, to be current in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for all such persons as would use it for their necessity of change, and all other Farthing Tokens to be prohibited. For the exclusive privilege of coining these Farthings, they offered to pay twelve Pence for every twenty-two Shillings of them which should be vented or uttered.

In consequence of this Petition (which was in fact made by Thomas Violet, Johnson, &c. being only his Trustees) a warrant was issued to Sir William Ellis, Bart. the Solicitor General, on the 19th of April, commanding him to prepare a book fit for the Protector's signature, for the erecting of an office for the sole making, venting, and uttering, for 31 years, a common Farthing, according to the terms of the Petition, with such rules to be observed by the Petitioners, or their assigns, for the stamps, figures, and arms of the said Farthings, as the Protector and his successors should appoint.

The Solicitor General to attend and acquaint the Parliament with the Petition, together with the reasons thereunto annexed, and with the warrant, who were desired to ordain and appoint such rules, prohibitions, and penalties, for the effectual and better management of the service, the preventing of all former abuses, and restraining of the counterfeiting, and importation of any of the said Farthings from the parts beyond the seas, as they should think fit and necessary for carrying on this service for the good of the Commonwealth. [Violet's True Narrative of the Proceedings in the Court of Admiraltie, against the Ships Sampson, &c. 4to. Lond. 1659, p. 117, &c.] The resignation of the Protector, in the following month, prevented the carrying this project into execution.

334. *Add* to note [s] It appears from a Minute of the Privy Council, dated Nov. 14, 1662, that Sir Thomas Vyner was ordered to bring in his patent, to the end that it might be surrendered and cancelled. [Communicated by William Bray, Esq.]

335. After line 2 *add*, On the first of August in this year the Privy Council ordered Sir William Parkhurst, Warden of the Mint, to require all persons to deliver up into his custody all original punchions, stamps, dyes, or any irons for coining, formerly made by one Nicholas Briot, his late Majesty's Engraver, or any other Engravers, some whereof their Lord-

Page.

- ships were informed were then in the possession and custody of Monsieur D'Avaux, Monsieur Le Roy, and Mr. Ramage. And in case of refusal, the persons refusing to give an account to the Board of the reasons of such refusal. And Sir W. Parkhurst was likewise particularly to examine the person who offered to sale some of his late Majesty's punchions, which were on that day exhibited to the Board. [Minutes of the Privy Council, communicated by William Bray, Esq.]
341. *Add* 1669. Propositions for a general Farthing by Prince Rupert and Lord Henry Howard, and others also by Elias Palmer, were taken into consideration in the Treasury Chamber, and on account of their importance, submitted to his Majesty, on the 9th of August. The tenor of these propositions is not known. [Snelling's Copper Coinage, p. 36.]
- 357, *add* to line 7, and it appears, with the alteration of the name only, upon all the Great Seals until the Union in the reign of Queen Anne.
after the last line, *add* his Mints were, DUBLIN, EDINBURGH, LONDON, and PONTE-FRACT.
- 360, note [s] A particular Clause of this Statute, which should have been inserted in the text, will be found at page 392.
- 368, line 16, *for* Crowns, *read* Half Crowns.
- 373, line 11, *delete* all after REX, and *read*,—On the Reverse of the Coins struck at Limerick during the siege, after James had left Ireland, the figure of Ireland is placed instead of the Harp. Legend HIBERNIA, 1691.
- 436, line 11, *for* 8th, *read* 8th and 9th.
- 437, line 4 from the bottom, *add*, 1705. In this year an Act was passed to impower the Lord High Treasurer, or the Commissioners of the Treasury, to issue out of the Monies arising by the Coinage Duty, any sum not exceeding £.500; over and above the sum of £.3.000. yearly, for the uses of the Mint. [Stat. 4 Anne, cap. 22.] That sum of £.3,000. was first granted by Statute 18 C. II. cap. 5. for fees, &c. of the Officers, and for repairs of the buildings of the Mint.
- 441, line 5 from the bottom, *for* that which was, *read* those which were.
- 443, line 17, *for* Mr. *read* Mrs.
4 from the bottom, *for* 1715, *read* 1713, and erase note [z.]
note [y] *for* 296, *read* 297.
- 448, note [m] line 1, *for* farther, *read* further.
- 472, line 19, *for* Specie, *read* Species.
- 507, line 4 from bottom, *for* were, *read* are.
- 525, line 15, *for* confines, *read* confine.
- 530, note [z] line 3, *for* couuterfeit, *read* counterfeit.

VOLUME III.

Page.

xviii, line 9 from the bottom customers should have a capital C.

xxiv, line 13 from the bottom, *for* ^C_{III}, *read* ^C_{VIII}.

xxv, line 7, *for* 1648, *read* 1468.

7. *Add* to the Counties, CORNWALL; a Penny of William I. reading GERM, in all probability St. Germain.

53, line 3, *for* 1278, *read* 1279.

59, *add* after line 16, A Penny of Aethelred II. reads LANSTE, and one of Cnut LAN, possibly both of Lancaster.

68. A Coin of Aethelred II. with TVRC on the Reverse, was probably struck at Toreksey, in this County, as it appears from the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1373, that the name of that place was written by the Anglo-Saxons Tupceyrge.

97, note [b] *for* 18 *read* 28.

107. *Add* Ludlow to the Mints in Shropshire; as it is probable that Eadgar, Eadward the Martyr, Aethelred II. Cnut, Harold I. struck Coins here, and possibly also Edward the Confessor and William I.

line the last, *for* whenever the Money was changed, *read*, whilst the new Coinage was in progress. *Moneta vertente*.

120, note [e]. In the year 1816 it was proved that the 8 machines could strike 350,000 Pieces in fourteen hours.

135. *Add*, A Coin of Eadgar reads WINCLES, which may possibly be Winchelsea, in this County.

137, line 6, *add*, It is certain, however, that this Mint was in existence some time prior to the 9th Edward IV. See page 81.

Add to note [i], This house is now the Freeschool, and is still called the College.

152, *Add* after line 19, Henry I. coined here. See Supplement, Part II. Plate II. No 3.

154, note [e], line 2, Henry should be H only.

155, Dele lines 1 and 2 from the bottom, and also note [p].

177. 1483, Dublin Exchange. See Addenda to Vol. II p. 46.

180. 1483, Waterford Exchange. See Addenda to Vol. II. p. 46.

211, column 1, line the last, *add*, A Rose. A.

264, line 5, *for* the first T *read* s.

290, No 17, bring down the name of the town Cambridge from No 16.

357, line 9. The correct eye of Mr. Combe has discovered a small capital R on the wall of the City, directly under the elevated off-foot of the horse, which has never been noticed before. It is unquestionably the initial of Rawlins the Engraver.

463, note [c], the pronoun I is omitted.

470, note [p]. I suspect it to be a Danish Coin.

486, line 5, the G should be joined to the R.

APPENDIX.

Page.

501, last line of the note, *add* the letter of reference [e].

506, N^o III. *for* Edward I. *read* Edward II.

line 6 from the bottom, *for* vellis *read* vellis.

524. Folkes gives the following account of the Trial of the Pix on the 3d of December, 1657.

This is said, “in the Books of the Mint, to have been a Trial of the Moneys coined in the Tower from the 9th day of November, 1649, to that time: and that the Money then tryed consisted of Units, Double-Crowns, and Crowns, of new standard Gold; and of Crowns, Half-Crowns, Shillings, Half-Shillings, Two-penny Pieces, Pennies, and Halfpennies, of old sterling Silver; all marked with the Sun, and agreeable to the Indenture made with Aaron Guerdain, M. D. Master and Worker, the 27th of July, 1649, whereby it appears that this Tryal was of the Moneys of the Commonwealth only; and was made by virtue of the following Warrant from the Lord Protector:

“Oliver P.

“Whereas, amongst other weighty affairs of the Commonwealth, the care of assay-ing and trying of the Moneys thereof by the Standard of England, according to the ancient custom of the Realm, is not the least. We judging it necessary that the Tryal and Assay of the said Money and Coin be forthwith made, do hereby signifie such our will and pleasure to be; commanding you forthwith to cause a Tryall and Assay to be made of the Pix now being in the Mint within the Tower of London, by a Jury of Goldsmiths of our said City of London, of integrity and experience, to be impanelled and sworn on a day certain, to be by you in that behalf appointed, in the place accustomed within our Palace of Westminster: and that the Lords Commissioners of our Treasury, the Justices of the several Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer, or some of them, be then there present, and counselling and assisting you in the due execution of this our servicee.

“Given at Whitehall this 9th day of November, 1657. To our trusty and well-beloved Nath. Fiennes, and John Lisle, Lords Commissioners of our Great Seal of England.”

[Table of English Silver Coins, page 99, note *.]

527, line 14. *Add* s in the first column of fineness, and *dele* $\frac{1}{4}$ gr. in the third.

line 16 *dele* s in the first column of fineness, and *add* $\frac{1}{4}$ gr. in the third.

CONTENTS OF THE INTRODUCTION.

	Page.		Page.
Origin of Money	1	Keeper of the Money	110
Privilege of Coining and giving Value to		Inspector of the Coinage	111
Coins	2	Surveyor of the Coins	111
Materials of Money	6	Surveyor of the Mint	111
Standard	10	Melter	111
Tower Pound	12	Reparator Cuneorum	111
Sterling	13	High Treasurer	111
Tables of the Standard of Gold and Silver		Under Treasurer	112
Money	18	Porter	112
Relative Value of Gold and Silver	20	Maker and Stamper of Money Weights ..	113
Denominations of Coins	22	Joculator	113
Constitution of the Mint	26	Officers of Mint in Scotland	114
Wages of the Officers	35	Standard of Scottish Coins	114
Warden	44	Exchange, List of Wardens of	115
Master	57	Supply of Bullion from Mines	122
Comptroller	70	————— from Alchymy	129
King's Assay Master	75	Quantity of Bullion brought into the Mint	134
Cuneator	81	Method of Coinage	138
Engravers	86	Remedy	142
Custos Cunei	91	Trial of the Pix	144
Surveyor of the Meltings	95	Preservation of the Coins. Laws	159
Clerk of the Irons	97	Solutio ad numerum	168
Moneyers	98	————— scalam	168
Provost of the Moneyers	104	————— pensum	169
Engineer	105	Dealbation	169
Weigher and Teller	106	Combustion	169
Clerk of the Papers	107	Blanks	169
Inferior Officers	107	Quantity of Bullion coined	171
Clerk of the Mint	107	Profits of Coinage	179
Auditor	108	Seignorage	180
Seneschall	109	Moneyage	184
Numerator Monete	109	Shere	185
Pot Maker	109	Tower Pound	187
Surveyor of the Money Presses	109	Profit and Loss	188
Purveyor	110	Depreciation of Money	189
Sinker of the Irons	110	Scarcity of Money	191
Smith	110	Foreign Coins, Introduction of	192

INTRODUCTION.

ORIGIN OF MONEY.

IN the most early stage of Society, when the wants of man are confined to the absolute necessities of life, Barter may be sufficient for every purpose of exchange. But this is a point at which Society cannot long remain fixed; and the first step toward civilization introduces a train of wants that will require a more perfect medium of commerce: something which, by general consent, shall be received, at a determinate value, in exchange for all other things.

At first this medium seems to have been formed of some of the necessities of life (Cattle for instance, whence the term *Pecunia* is derived^a); but this

^a In Domesday Book, *Pecunia* is used for Cattle almost universally; as “Pastura ad Pecuniam Villæ.” [Vol. I. folio 127]: but in a few instances the term appears to have a more extensive meaning, and to comprehend all possessions whatsoever. Thus in folio 179, of the same Volume, it is said, “Si quis morte præventus non divisisset quæ sua erant, rex habebit omnem ejus pecuniam.” In the confined sense of Cattle, it, however, continued to be used at a later period; as in the Charter by which Thomas fitz Cospatrick granted the Grange of Flemingby to the Abbey of Holmecoltram, wherein is this provision—“Si autem pecunia mea evaserit infra boscum eorum, vel pecunia eorum infra boscum meum, remittetur ex utraque parte, sine gravamine, si tamen non fuerit ex consuetudine.” [Dugdale, Monasticon Anglic. Vol. III. page 36. The date of this Charter is not given; but the Abbey was not founded until the year 1150.]

The English word *cattle* has likewise the same kind of double signification, for it is obviously the origin of the law term *chattels*. In some instances it seems to have been used antiently in the sense of price, or payment, as in these words of Sir John Mandeville, who wrote in the reign of Edward III. —“For more precyous *catelle* ne gretter ransoun, ne myghte he put for us, than his blessedde body, his precyous blood, and his holy lyf, that he thrallled for us.” [Prologue to his Voiage and Travaile, p. 3.] A little further on he has the same word, in the modern

mode partook too much of the inconveniences of simple barter^b, and therefore was probably of no very long duration. Other substances were then adopted, which were such as had no real worth in themselves (for they contribute not to the support or comfort of life, but only administer to its luxuries), yet had a value put upon them by common consent. Of this kind are the precious Metals, which at a very remote period were given and received by weight; and in more recent times, the Wampum of America; the Cowries of Africa; and the red Feathers of the Islands in the great Southern Ocean; &c. &c. None of these, however, can be considered as perfect Money; even the circulation of Gold and Silver, by weight, which approaches the nearest to the convenience of Coins, was soon found to be insufficient for the purposes of internal commerce, because the time which must be necessarily occupied in weighing and assaying was more than could be spared without inconvenience. To remedy this, a method was devised to ascertain the weight and purity of the metal, on bare inspection, by a stamp impressed upon it.

The date of this invention is too remote, and too much involved in fable, to be accurately ascertained. From this obscurity, however, its high antiquity may be fairly inferred, and its origin be placed prior to all authentic profane history.

PRIVILEGE OF COINING AND GIVING VALUE TO COINS.

The Privilege of Coining Money has ever been claimed, and I believe allowed, as the especial Prerogative of the Executive Power in every nation; and for this reason, says Blackstone, that as Money is the medium of commerce, it is the King's Prerogative, as the arbiter of domestic commerce, to give it authority, or make it current^c.

meaning of chattels—“And the comoun people, that wolde putte here bodyes and here cattelle, for to conquer our heritage.” [p. 5.] It is remarkable that throughout his book he never designates those quadrupeds which are used for food by the word cattle, but always calls them either bestes or bestaylle. [See pages 78 and 344, &c. &c.]

^b That is, he who had occasion to exchange cattle for any other thing, must find a person who had that article to dispose of, and at the same time wanted cattle.

^c Commentaries, vol. I. p. 276.

The value at which the Coins are to be current is likewise in the breast of the King; and if any unusual pieces are coined, their value must be ascertained by Proclamation. But Sir William Blackstone seems inclined to think that in this Kingdom the Royal Prerogative does not extend to the debasing or inhansing the value of the Coin, below or above the sterling value; and in proof of his opinion refers to the fifth Statute of the 25th year of Edward III. Chapter the 13th; the words of which are, "That the Money of Gold and Silver which now runneth shall not be impaired in weight nor in allay; but *as soon as a good way may be found*, the same be put in the antient state, as in the Sterling." But it is clear that either it was not the intention of this Statute to interfere with the King's Prerogative respecting the alteration of the Money, or that the words which I have marked by Italicks were considered as a saving clause, which rendered any compliance with the provisions of the Statute unnecessary, as under it might be pleaded, that the good way had not yet been found; for, in fact, Edward III. not only never did restore the antient standard, but also, in this very 25th year, the standard, both of Gold and Silver, was actually lowered to that rate which continued during the whole of his reign; and further variations in either the one or the other metal are to be found, at certain periods, as low as the reign of Charles II.

Blackstone says, slightly, that Sir Matthew Hale *appears* to be of another opinion^d; but the truth is, that he is *decidedly* of another opinion; for he says, "the legitimation of Money, and the giving it its denominated value, is justly reckoned *in jura majestatis*; and in England it is one special part of the King's Prerogative^e." And, further, that as to the denomination or extrinsic value of Coin, it is and ought to be given to the King, as his unquestionable prerogative; and that it is seen in the following particulars:

First, In the first institution of any Coin within this Kingdom, he, and he alone, sets the weight, the allay, the denominated value of all Coin; this

^d Commentaries, vol. I. p. 278. The Author of the Mirror, treating "Des Artieles per viels Roys ordeins," saith thus: "Ordein fuit que nul Roy de cest Realme ne poet echanger sa Money, ne impairer, ne amender, ne auter Money faire, que de Ore ou d'Argent, sans l'assent de tous ses Countes;" that is, without assent of Parliament. [Coke, 2d Inst. *Articuli super Chartas*.]

^e Pleas of the Crown, vol. I. p. 188.

is done commonly by Indenture between the King and the Master of the Mint.

Secondly, He may, by his Proclamation, legitimate Foreign Coin, and make it Current Money of this Kingdom, according to the value imposed by such Proclamation. This power is recognised by various Statutes^f.

Thirdly, He may inhance the external denomination of any Coin already established by his Proclamation; and thus it hath been gradually done almost in all ages. This is sometimes called imbasing of Coin, and sometimes inhansing it; and it is both; it is an inhansing of Coin in respect of the extrinsic value or denomination, but an imbasing in regard of the intrinsic value^g.

Fourthly, He may, by his Prerogative, imbase the species or material of the Coin, and yet keep it up in the same denominated or extrinsic value as before. It is true, that the imbasing of Money in point of allay hath not been very usually practised in England, and it would be a dishonour to the Nation if it should; neither is it safe to be attempted without Parliamentary advice; but surely, if we respect the right of the thing, it is within the King's power to do it.

My Lord Coke, in his Comment on *Articuli super Cartas*, Cap. 20, seems to imply that the alteration of Money in weight or allay may not be without Act of Parliament; and for that purpose cites "The Mirror of Justices," Cap. 1, § 3; the Statutes of 25 Edward III. Cap. 13^h, and 9 Henry V. Sess. 2, Cap. 6; and the Parliament Roll of 17 Edward III. n. 15. But all that a man can conclude upon these is, that it is neither safe nor honourable for the King to imbase his Coin below sterling; if it be at any time done, it is fit to be done by assent of Parliament; but certainly all that it concludes is, that *fieri non debuit*, but *factum valet*ⁱ.

Our Monarchs seem to have guarded this part of their Prerogative with extreme jealousy, and they have frequently resisted attempts to trench upon it.

^f As 1 Mary, chap. 6; 5 Eliz. chap. 11; and 18 Eliz. chap. 1.

^g Various instances of this may be seen in the Annals.

^h Sir Matthew Hale had before observed, that, though this Statute be against it, yet it doth not absolutely forbid it. p. 193.

ⁱ Hale's Pleas of the Crown, vol. I. pp. 191—194.

In the 5th year of Edward II. the Lords Ordainers (to whom the Government of the Kingdom was then intrusted) provided that no change should be made in the Coin of the Realm without the consent of the Barons in Parliament^k; but this was annulled in the Parliament which sat at York in his 15th year^l.

Other attempts were made to restrain the exercise of this Prerogative in the 20th and 25th years of Edward III. who evaded giving a positive answer to the Petitions of the Commons in the first instance; and in the second the Statute was rendered of no effect by the saving clause before mentioned^m; and the Prerogative was acted upon, until at length it was recognised and confirmed by a Statute, 19 Henry VII. Chap. 5, which enacted that the Coins, both of Gold and Silver, should be current in payment for the sum that they were coined for. At subsequent periods also this Prerogative has been further acknowledged, as in the Statute 5 and 6 Edward VI. Chap. 19, which forbids the giving or receiving for Money a greater value than it had been declared by the King's Proclamation to be current for; and in the Statute 6 and 7 William III. which enacts that no one shall sell or pay Silver Money unclipped for more than the same was coined for, and ought by law to go for.

Since the Revolution it has happened that the Kings of this Realm have occasionally exercised this Prerogative, on smaller occasions, without consulting the two Houses of Parliament: yet on greater occasions, such as a general Re-coinage, they have always thought it right to avail themselves of their advice and supportⁿ.

^k Rolls of Parliament, vol. I. p. 285.

^l Id. p. 286.

^m See Annals, under those years.

ⁿ Lord Liverpool's Letter to the King, pp. 22—24. According to Lord Bacon, Henry VII. the most politic Monarch who ever sat upon the throne of England, judged it expedient to permit all matters relating to his Mint to pass under the cognizance of Parliament. "He did much to maintaine and countenance his Laws, which (nevertheless) was no impediment to him to work his will. For it was so handeled, that neither Prerogative nor Profit went to diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his Laws to his Prerogative, so would he also let down his Prerogative to his Parliament. For Mint, and Wars, and Marshall Discipline (things of absolute power), he would nevertheless bring to Parliament." [Hist. of Henry VII. p. 234.]

As to the impression of the Coins, the stamping thereof is the unquestionable prerogative of the Crown^o; and it was in very few instances communicated to those persons on whom the privilege of coining was conferred; for, in general, the dies were sent to them, either from the Exchequer or from the Master of the Mints. They were permitted, however, to add some distinguishing mark to their Coins, such as the initials of their name, part of their arms, &c. &c.

The Coins are usually made current by Proclamation; but this is not necessary, nor is it practised in all cases, for there is scarcely any King's reign but there are various stamps or impressions of Money which never were thus published; and it seems that the Evidence of the Officers of the Mint, or their Indenture, would be sufficient to prove a Coin current, if it were not otherwise commonly known. But Proclamation is necessary in these cases following:

To legitimate and make current Foreign Coin;

To legitimate Base Coin of a Standard below Sterling;

To inhance any Coin, already current, to an higher denomination;

And to decry any Coin that is current in usage or payment^p.

MATERIALS OF MONEY.

With regard to the Materials of which Money is to be made, Sir Edward Coke lays it down that the Money of England must be either Gold or Silver^q. At the time he wrote no other metals had been coined by authority of the Monarch^r; but Copper Coins were issued by Charles II. in 1672, to be current under certain limitations. Similar limitations were, by Statute 14 George III. Chap. 42, extended to the Silver Coins; so that, at this time, the Gold is the only Money which is unlimited in its circulation, and therefore that metal alone must be considered as forming the legitimate Coinage of this Kingdom; the other Money being subordinate thereto, and intended to

^o Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. I. p. 277.

^p Hale's Pleas of the Crown, vol. I. p. 197.

^q Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. I. p. 277, referring to Coke's 2d Institute, 577.

^r The Farthing Tokens of James I. and Charles I. are not worthy of the name of Coins.

supply the want of smaller Coins, into which Gold cannot be divided without the greatest inconvenience, on account of the minuteness of the several pieces. The Materials of which the antient Britons formed that medium of exchange which circulated amongst them, when Cæsar first landed upon their shores, were, according to his representation, Brass and Iron^s; but at a later period that is, during the reign of Cunobeline, they appear to have struck Gold, Silver, and Copper.

During the existence of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish Government, there is reason to believe that no other metals besides Silver and Brass were coined in their Mints.

The use of the latter metal appears to have been rejected by the Anglo-Norman Monarchs, and Silver became the sole material of Coinage for a long extended period, until the more precious metal Gold was introduced into the Mint by Henry III.

From this metal, together with Silver, were formed all the Coins which, during several centuries, the Monarchs of England permitted to be issued from their Mints; to the great inconvenience of their inferior subjects, who required for their purchases Money of smaller value than the Penny, which seems to have been the lowest Coin until the reign of Edward I. as no Halfpennies nor Farthings are known of any of the Anglo-Norman Monarchs before his time^t. It has been supposed, by various Authors, that in early times this inconvenience was in a great measure obviated by the coinage of Pennies with a Cross deeply indented on the Reverse, in order to facilitate their division into Halfpennies and Farthings; but such Coins have never yet been

^s Cæsar de Bello Gallico, Lib. V. cap. 10. The Historian of Dorsetshire has engraved some pieces which are vulgarly called Coal Money, from the material of which they are composed; and says, that Antiquaries conclude them to be British Antiquities, but whether Amulets or Money is not agreed. It should seem that he was inclined to adopt the latter, as he observes that Coal is a cant term for Money. [Hutchins's Dorsetshire, vol. I. p. 197; 2d edit. p. 317.] The pieces are evidently turned in a lathe, with good mouldings on one side; and it is not probable that the Britons possessed such a machine, or the skill to use it in so workmanlike a manner if they had it.

^t This is to be understood of their English Coinage only, for Halfpennies and Farthings of Irish money, struck by King John, still exist.

The reign of Edward the Elder affords the only proof, now known, of the Coinage of Silver under the value of a Penny, by the Anglo-Saxons.

found, nor is it credible that any Prince would strike his Money in such a manner as to insure the destruction of a great proportion of it ^u.

The smallest pieces of Silver, *i. e.* the Farthings, were coined as long as the increased value of that metal would permit; but at length their size was of necessity so much diminished, that the making them totally ceased in the reign of Edward VI.

To supply their place, James the First caused Farthing Tokens of Brass and Copper to be struck, but at a value so much inferior to the rate at which they were issued, that it was not thought fit to recognise them as legitimate Coins, and to enforce their currency, and therefore they soon sunk into contempt and disuse.

The first real Copper Money was coined by Charles II. in 1665; but it does not appear that it was ever made current, and therefore the commencement of a regular Coinage of that metal must be dated in the year 1672.

Tin was likewise coined by him in 1684.

The necessities of James II. gave rise to the Coinage of substances still more intrinsically worthless than even these two metals; namely, Gun-metal and Pewter. Such Coinages, however, are scarcely worthy of enumeration here, as they never were imitated, the practice ceasing with the ruin of the inventor.

Thus it appears that the more precious Metals have been for ages, and still continue to be, used in this Kingdom as the chief Materials of Coins. But although they are, of all known substances, the best calculated, in some respects, for that purpose, because they are the most solid, divisible, and durable, yet they possess other qualities which are highly injurious to the integrity and preservation of the Coins, as they expose them to the avarice and the depredations of mankind. This is a natural consequence of their high intrinsic value as articles of commerce, which not only gives a considerable profit upon the issuing of base Counterfeits, but also causes the Coins themselves to be diminished by clipping, and other various means, and even

^u It appears extraordinary that the smaller pieces were not coined by the Anglo-Norman Kings, as it is certain they were by Edward the Elder, and probably by other of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchs.

at times to be actually melted down, and destroyed, on any increase in the value of that Bullion of which they are composed.

The precious Metals, being articles of commerce in the state of Bullion, are liable, like other articles of commerce, to fluctuations in price, occasioned either by the demand for each of them respectively, or the quantity in the market, by which their relative proportions to each other are almost perpetually varying. These alterations are carefully watched by needy men, who, in defiance of the Laws of their Country, avail themselves of the advantage which is to be made by the exchange of one kind of Money for the other, to the destruction of those Coins which are formed of that metal which happens to rise in value above the price at which it is fixed in the Mint. These are some of the inconveniences which attach to Coins formed of the precious Metals, and which, as they originate in qualities necessarily inherent in them, can only be palliated, but not absolutely removed.

If, however, in order to remedy these inconveniences, which result from the intrinsic value of the Materials, a Coinage should be projected of some substance which is supposed to have none; it will be found that this expedient, whilst it obviates all those objections which are inseparable from a Coinage of Gold and Silver, will yet introduce others which are absolutely insurmountable. History records one attempt, and one only^w, to form a Coinage upon this principle. The Iron Coins of Sparta are said to have been quenched in vinegar, in order to render them unfit for those purposes to which that metal may be applied when in a malleable state, and thus to have rendered it of no value^x.

^w Unless the following extract, from Sir John Maundevile's *Voiage*, should be allowed to prove the existence of a Leather and Paper Currency in Tartary during the fourteenth century: "This Emperour [*i. e.* the Great Chan] may dispenden als moche as he wile, withouten estymacioun. For he despendethe not, ne makethe no Money, but of Lether emprented, or of Papyre. And of that Money, is som of gretter prys, and som of lasse prys, afre the dyversitee of his Statutes. And whan that Money hathe ronne so longe that it begynnethe to waste, than men beren it to the Emperoures Tresorye: and than thei taken newe Money for the olde. And that Money gothe thorghe out alle the Contree, and thorghe out alle his Provynces. For there and bezonde hem, thei make no Money nouthur of Gold nor of Sylver. And therfore he may despende y now, and outrageously." [Maundevile's *Voiage*, London, 1727, 8vo, p. 287.]

^x Plutarchi Opera, in *Vita Lycurgi*, vol. I. p. 44, ed. Paris, 1624.

But this mode of Coinage (even if it were possible for that operation to have produced upon the metal the required effect) was, like many other parts of Lycurgus's plan, specious in theory, but defective when applied to practice. It required, to give it the proper force, a simplicity of manners which has never existed, for a length of time, in any state possessing the means of intercourse with its neighbours. It precluded the Spartans from all possibility of exchange with other nations (except by the way of barter), and reduced them to the necessity of confining their wants almost solely to the productions of their own country. But such a forbearance was more than even Spartan virtue could long endure. Though it cannot now be exactly ascertained at what period they began to despise their own rude Money, and to covet the more generally circulating Coins of their neighbours, yet it is known that, in little more than half a century from the establishment of Lycurgus's Code, a dispute concerning Money (which unquestionably was not the Money of Sparta) was the cause of the first Messenian War ^y.

The failure of this experiment, which was made under circumstances the most favourable, and supported for a time by popular enthusiasm, clearly evinces it to be necessary that the Material of Money should have some intrinsic value; no matter whether it be real, or only given to it by the general consent of mankind. If it be otherwise, it will be received from necessity alone; and the universal adoption of Money of that kind would, in a short time, return commerce to the barbarism of its infant state, and re-establish barter as the universal mode of exchange.

STANDARD.

From the high intrinsic value of the Materials which have been generally adopted for the formation of Money, and from the necessity of mixing those Materials with others of inferior worth, in order to their preservation, has been derived the practice of reducing that mixture to a fixed proportion, which is called The Standard of Fineness. There is also another Standard, namely that of the Weight of each individual Coin. And both these two are commonly understood when the Standard of the Coins is spoken of.

^y Universal History, vol. VI. p. 28.

From the slight account which Cæsar has afforded us respecting the Brazen and Iron substitutes for Money amongst the antient Britons, no conclusions can be drawn as to the Standard adopted by them, as he says only, in general terms, that they adjusted their brazen masses and iron rings to a fixed weight, but has not given any proportions.

The Coins of Cunobeline are of too high a value, from their rarity, to be subjected to an assay, and consequently there are no means by which their Standard of Fineness can be ascertained; and it will be seen, from the Explanation of the Plates, that those which have been preserved to our times do not form aliquot parts of any certain unit. This, it is probable, was occasioned only by the inaccuracy of the workmen; but it totally prevents the formation of any theory as to their relative value with respect to each other.

The Standard of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish Money is involved in almost equal obscurity. No written documents have yet appeared which can elucidate the subject; and from the Coins themselves (unequally formed as they are, and varying from about 14 Troy Grains to somewhat more than 26) no correct inferences can be drawn as to their weight. If it be true, however, as it is conjectured, and indeed (as will be seen in the following Annals) is highly probable, that William the First made no alteration in the Standard, which was used in the Mints of this Kingdom, at his arrival here; and that the Statute of the 51st year of Henry III. which declared the weight of the English Penny, was declaratory only, and did not introduce any new proportion; it may fairly be concluded that the Anglo-Saxon Pennies, as well as the Anglo-Norman, vary from that weight only on account of the carelessness or incompetency of the Moneyers. The fineness appears to have been nearly equal to the present Standard, namely, eleven Ounces two Pennyweights fine, and eighteen Pennyweights of allay; with the exception of some particular Coins of Burgred King of Mercia, and of Aelfred the Great, which are of much coarser metal. The earliest accounts which mention this Standard of Fineness, and which are to be found even in the reign of Edward I.^z always speak of it as of high antiquity, and distinguish it by the title of The Old Standard of England.

^z See the Annals, under the year 1299 or 1300, the 28th year of Edward I.

The Pound Tower differed from that which is called Troy in weight only, for it consisted of twelve Ounces, each Ounce of 20 Pennyweights, and each Pennyweight of 24 Grains, but the whole was lighter than the Troy Pound by three quarters of an Ounce. The following Table will shew the proportions of the divisions of these two Pounds.

Thirty-two Wheat Corns, from the midst of the ear, the weight of a Sterling^b.

$1\frac{1}{3}$	Wheat Corn equal to one Troy Grain.		
32	24	Pennyweight equal to $22\frac{1}{2}$ Troy Grains.	
	480	20	Ounce equal to 450 Troy Grains.
	5760	240	12 Pound Tower equal to 5400 Grains, or $11\frac{1}{4}$ Oz. Troy ^c .

This Standard of eleven Ounces two Pennyweights fine and eighteen Pennyweights of alloy, and of the weight of twenty-four Grains to each Penny, became highly respected throughout Europe, and was distinguished by the name of Sterling, a term which at length came to be considered as equivalent to that of Penny, and indeed almost superseded it.

STERLING.

Although this word has continued in use even to these times, yet its origin and derivation are still doubtful and unsettled.

^b This was established by a Statute of uncertain date, but which is commonly placed under the 51st year of Henry III.

^c The following comparison of the Troy weight with Tower is in a MS. relating to Mint affairs in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries; the first page of which is signed by Sir Robert Cotton.

Troy Weight.	Tower Weight.
A Grain	is equal to a Grain and 8 Mites.
A Pennyweight	dwt. $1\frac{1}{2}$ Grains and 2 Mites.
A Quarter of an Ounce	Quarter and 8 Grains.
A Half Ounce	Half and 16 Grains.
An Ounce	Ounce and quarter and 2 Grains.
A Pound	12 Ounces 16 dwts.
A Journey of 30 lb.	32 lb.
100 lb.	106 lb. and 8 Grains.

This Table appears to have been drawn up by some one connected with the Mint, from the minute

The opinions of Writers upon this subject are extremely various; but the most probable appears to be that which deduces it from the Easterlings, who at some period were employed in regulating the Coinage; and that period I would fix between the year 1086, when the great Survey of the Kingdom was completed, in the reign of William I. and the 4th of Henry II. A. D. 1158, when the first instance of its use occurs^d. For if the term had been introduced before the completion of Domesday Book, it is scarcely possible that it should not have appeared in that Record, where such various modes of payment are stated.

This derivation has also the sanction of considerable antiquity. Walter de Pinchbeck, who was a monk of St. Edmundsbury in the reign of Edward I. says, when describing the mode of Coinage which was then used, “sed Moneta Angliæ fertur dicta fuisse à nominibus opificum, ut Floreni à nominibus Florentiorum, ita Sterlingi à nominibus Esterlingorum nomina sua contraxerunt, qui hujusmodi monetam in Anglia primitus componebant^e.”

The term *fertur*, in this passage, seems to place the arrival of these workmen at some time beyond the memory of the writer (who, as he lived in an Abbey which enjoyed the privilege of a Mint, could scarcely have failed to know the circumstance personally, if it had taken place in his own time); and this might well have been the case even if they were originally brought over in the reign of King Henry II. in whose fourth year the Money of this Kingdom, which had been much debased during the time of King Stephen, was restored to its due weight and fineness^f.

A very able Numismatic Antiquary has objected to this derivation, because, whilst all our Historians write the word *Esterlingi*, it is in our public Records invariably *Sterlingi*. The reason of which difference, he says, it was never his good luck to discover; but that it is alone sufficient to invalidate the opinion that they were first coined by the Easterlings^g.

minute divisions of the Grain, and from the technical term of a Journey, both of which are peculiar to that office.

^d Le Blanc, *Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France*, p. 153.

^e Antiq. S. Edmundi Burgi, Appendix, p. 134.

^f This is the date in *Annales Waverlienses*, viz. 1158; but Hoveden fixes it in 1156. Both these authors speak of it as a general Re-coinage; a circumstance which renders very probable the introduction of new workmen.

^g North's *Remarks on Clarke's Conjectures*, p. 29.

The accuracy of this statement cannot, I believe, be contested, but the weight of it may be balanced by an observation which is equally incontestible, namely, that, wherever the French language is used in our public Records, there the initial *E* is retained^h.

In this case of doubt my Readers must determine the question by their own judgment; and that they may be the better enabled to do this, I shall give below a reference to the various derivations of the term Sterling, by those who have written upon the subject, classed under the several headsⁱ.

^h See the Statutes to the end of Edward III.; and Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. passim, and Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. IV. p. 777, and vol. V. p. 45, and on the same Roll, *Libras Sterlingorum*, p. 46.

ⁱ STARE OR STARLING.

Lyndwood's *Provinciale*, page 171, note a. Oxon. 1679, folio.

Polydore Vergil, *Lib. XVI.* page 304. Basil, folio, 1534.

Belleforest's *Cosmography*, as quoted by Thynn, in Hearne's *Curious Discourses*, vol. I. p. 13.

A LITTLE STAR.

Polydore Vergil, as quoted above.

Belleforest, as quoted above.

Nicolson's *English Historical Library*, p. 253.

Tate, in Hearne's *Curious Discourses*, vol. II. p. 316.

STERLING IN SCOTLAND.

Grafton's *Chronicle*, under the year 1227.

Holland, in *Curious Discourses*, vol. II. p. 319.

Hector Boece, in his *Hystory and Croniklis of Scotland*, when speaking of English Money, invariably calls it *Striueling*. See folios 193, b. 195, 200, b. 217, b. 230, b.

STEORE, A RULE OR STANDARD.

Somner's *Glossary to Twysden's Decem Scriptores*; with whom Wise inclines to agree, *Num. in Scrin. Bodleian. recon. Catalogus*, p. 229.

Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities*, in the *Glossary*.

Pegge's *Assemblage of Coins by Archbishops of Canterbury*, p. 78.

STEOR, STANDARD, AND ALL OR ALLINE, NOBLE, THE NOBLE OR ROYAL STANDARD.
Simon's *Essay on Irish Coins*, p. 12.

[But if the Etymology of this word must be carried back to the Saxon times, that is, to a period when there is no evidence to prove that the thing itself was known, why may it not be derived from *Eartepn* Eastern, and *Ling*, an adjunct which denotes the peculiar state of the word of which it forms the termination? *Easternling* then would be something peculiarly of Eastern origin.]

STE-

Whatever may be determined respecting the Etymology of this word, or the time of its Introduction, it is undoubted that it was in use all over the

ΣΤΕΠΕΟΣ. SOLIDUS, *i. e.* INTEGER ET PERFECTUS.

Junii Etymologieon Anglicanum.

ESTERLINGS.

Sir Thomas Lake, Hearne's Curious Discourses, vol. I. p. 10.

Francis Thynn, Id. p. 13.

James Ley, Id. p. 15.

Arthur Agarde, Id. vol. II. p. 317.

William Pattin, Id. *ibid.*

— Broughton, Id. p. 318.

John Stowe, Id. *ibid.*

Thomas Talbot, Id. pp. 320 & 379.

Henry Burchyer, Id. p. 321.

Camden's Remains, article Money.

Skinner, Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae.

Lye's Additions to Junius, from Skinner.

Spelman's Glossary; but doubtfully, on account of Sterilensis, which occurs in Ordericus Vitalis.

[I question, however, whether Sterilensis and Sterlingus are to be considered as equivalent terms; because in Ordericus Vitalis, Moneta Anglica and Libra Sterilensium occur in the same passage as things distinct (p. 495). I have not met with the word in any other Historian, nor indeed in any other Author, excepting as a quotation from Ordericus.]

Cowel's Law Dictionary.

Clarke's Connexion of Roman, Saxon, and English Coins, p. 80.

[He does not, however, entirely agree with the Authors referred to before him, for he considers Libra Esterlingorum to mean the Pound Easterling, in contradistinction to Libra Occidua, the Pound Westerling.]

As the date of the Introduction of this word has been nearly as much the object of controversy as its Etymology has been, I subjoin the opinions of various Authors:

Brought in by the Saxons. [Clarke's Connexion, p. 80.]

A. D. 855—860, by Osbright at Sterling. [Harrison in Holinshed, p. 43; but denied by Holinshed, p. 186.]

A. D. 928. not improbably. [Pegge's Assemblage, p. 78.]

William I. soon after his time. [Lowndes's Report, p. 16:]

Stephen, or Henry II. and not before. [Talbot, Hearne's Curious Discourses, vol. II. p. 380.]

As old as 33 Henry II. [Ley, Curious Discourses, vol. I. p. 16.]

Richard I. [Belleforest, as quoted by Thynn, Curious Discourses, vol. I. p. 13.]

Before the reign of John. [Heneage, Curious Discourses, vol. II. p. 321.]

In Henry III.'s time, or before. [Tate, Curious Discourses, vol. II. p. 315.]

Henry III. [Polydore Vergil, Lib. XVI.]

Edward I. on account of Coins struck by him at Sterling. [Holland, Curious Discourses, vol. II. p. 319.]

Continent of Europe for the purpose of peculiarly designating the Money of England; and it is a striking circumstance in the History of our Coinage, that the fineness of the Silver Money, which was expressed by it, has preserved its integrity unbroken from the reign of Henry II. (at the lowest calculation) down to the present time — a period of more than 600 years^k!

In the earliest times the Silver Coins were professedly equal in weight and in tale. I say professedly, because, either from the irregularity of their division, or more probably from design, as it was too nearly general to be imputable to accident, they very rarely reached to the counterpoise of a Pennyweight. At that professed Standard, however, they continued for more than 200 years from the Norman Conquest, that is, until the 28th year of Edward I. From that time until the 43d of Elizabeth, a period of full 300 years, the legal weight of the Coins was progressively diminished; and yet, notwithstanding the variations in the price of Bullion which have taken place since the conclusion of her reign, the weight has continued stationary for more than 200 years.

When the Gold Coin was first introduced into our Mints by Henry III. the metal was of 24 Carats^l fine, that is, pure Gold. It remained so until the 18th of Edward III. when a different Standard of 23 Carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ Grains fine Gold and half a Grain alloy was used.

This was debased by Henry VIII. as low as 20 Carats. He likewise coined Crowns of Gold at 22 Carats; a Standard which, from that circumstance, took the name of Crown Gold, and which, in the reign of Charles II. was made, what it has still continued to be, the sole Standard of the Gold Coins.

The following Tables will shew the Variations of the Standard both of Silver and of Gold:

^k From this must be deducted about twenty years, from the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. to the beginning of Elizabeth's; which form an era highly disgraceful to the Mint.

This Standard was, by Statute 7 and 8 William III. Chap. 1, declared to be the lawful Standard of the Kingdom. The variations from it, in the Coins which were struck solely for the use of Ireland, may be seen by referring to the Index.

^l The Carat is a Bean, the fruit of an Abyssinian tree called Kuara. This Bean, from the time of its being gathered, varies very little in its weight, and seems to have been, in the earliest ages, a weight for Gold in Africa. In India it is used as a weight for Diamonds, &c. Bruce's Travels, vol. V. p. 66.

A TABLE of the STANDARD FINENESS of SILVER MONEY; Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Coins Sterling, except in a few Instances, whose Standard is unknown.

REIGN.	ENGLAND.		IRELAND.		SCOTLAND.	
	Fine. Oz. Dwt.	Alloy. Oz. Dwt.	Fine. Oz. Dwt.	Alloy. Oz. Dwt.	Fine. Oz. Dwt.	Alloy. Oz. Dwt.
11 John - - -			11 2	0 18		
28 Edward I. - - -	11 2	0 18				
9 Edward III. - - -			10 0	2 0		
18 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
19 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
20, 23 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
27 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
30 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
9 Richard II. - - -			11 2	0 18		
18 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
3 Henry IV. - - -	11 2	0 18				
9 Henry V. - - -	11 2	0 18				
1 Henry VI. - - -	11 2	0 18				
4 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
24 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
49 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
4 Edward IV. - - -	11 2	0 18				
5 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
7 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
8 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
11 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
12 - - - - -			11 2	0 18		
16 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
18 - - - - -			11 2	0 18		
22 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
1 Richard III. - - -	11 2	0 18	11 2	0 18		
19 Henry VII. - - -	11 2	0 18				
29 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
18 Henry VIII. - - -	11 2	0 18				
23 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
33 - - - - -			9 6	2 14		
34 - - - - -	10 0	2 0				
36 - - - - -	6 0	6 0	8 0	4 0		
37 - - - - -	4 0	8 0				
1 Edward VI. - - -	4 0	8 0				
2 - - - - -	4 0	8 0				
3 - - - - -	6 0	6 0				
4 - - - - -	3 0	9 0	4 0	8 0		
5 - - - - -	3 0	9 0				
6 - - - - -	11 1	0 19				
7 - - - - -			3 0	9 0		
1 Mary - - - - -	11 1	0 19	4 0	8 0		
2 and 3 Philip and Mary			3 0	9 0		
3 and 4 - - - - -			3 0	9 0		
1 Elizabeth - - - -	11 2	0 18	3 0	9 0		
2 - - - - -	11 2	0 18	11 2	0 18		
19 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
25 - - - - -	11 2	0 18				
40 - - - - -			3 0	9 0		
43 - - - - -	11 2	0 18	2 18	9 2		
1 James I. - - - -	11 2	0 18	9 0	3 0	11 2	0 18
10 Charles I. - - -			11 2	0 18		

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING TABLE.

For the Irish Standard 36 Henry VIII. Simon, p. 34, copies Leake, who at p. 210 gives the above proportion for Ireland, and says it was one ounce coarser than the English of the same year. But the English was then, as is stated above, only six ounces fine. I therefore suspect that the whole statement is incorrect, and that for eight ounces fine we should read four, according to the Standard of the English Coins, as they were reduced in the next year.

The Standard 7 Edward VI. is from an Indenture dated June 11. As this was a few days only before the King's death, it probably was never acted upon in his time. Folkes, p. 48, note.

A TABLE of the STANDARD FINENESS of GOLD MONEY.

REIGN.	Fine.		Alloy.		Fine.		Alloy.		Fine.		Alloy.		Fine.		Alloy.	
	Car.	Gr.	Car.	Gr.	Car.	Gr.	Car.	Gr.	Car.	Gr.	Car.	Gr.	Car.	Gr.	Car.	Gr.
Henry III. 41 - - -	Fine Gold.															
Edward III. 18, 19, 20, 23, 27, 30 - -																
Richard II. 18 - - -																
Henry IV. 3, 13 - - -																
Henry V. 9 - - -																
Henry VI. 1, 4, 24, 49	23	3½	0	0½												
Edward IV. 4, 5, 8*, 11, 16, 22 - - -																
Richard III. 1 - - -																
Henry VII. 19, 29 - -																
Henry VIII. 18 - - -									22	0	2	0				
22 and 23 - - -	23	3½	0	0½					22	0	2	0				
34 - - -					23	0	1	0								
36 - - -									22	0	2	0				
37 - - -													20	0	4	0
Edward VI. 1 and 2 - -									20	0			20	0	4	0
3 - - -									22	0	2	0				
4 - - -	23	3½	0	0½					22	0	2	0				
6 - - -	23	3½	0	0½					22	0	2	0				
Mary 1 - - -	23	3½	0	0½												
Elizabeth 1 and 2 - -	23	3½	0	0½					22	0	2	0				
19, 25, 26 - - -	23	3½	0	0½												
27, 35 - - -									22	0	2	0				
43 - - -	23	3½	0	0½					22	0	2	0				
James I. 1 and 2 - - -	23	3½	0	0½					22	0	2	0				
3 - - -	23	3½	0	0½												
10 - - -	23	3½	0	0½					22	0	2	0				
17 - - -	23	3½	0	0½												
29 - - -	23	3½	0	0½					22	0	2	0				
Charles I. 2 and 12 - -	23	3½	0	0½					22	0	2	0				
Charles II. - - -									22	0	2	0				

The Anglo-Scottish Gold Coins are all of 22 Carats fine.

Gold was never coined for the use of Ireland exclusively.

* According to Lowndes, the Gold Coins 8 Edward IV. were of the fineness here given; but the Indenture of that year in Archæologia, vol XV. p. 167, states it at 23 Carats 3 Grains only.

OF THE RELATIVE VALUE OF GOLD AND SILVER.

Of their proportion under the Government of the Britons there are no documents remaining, and under the Dominion of the Saxons they can only be guessed at by inferring that they probably were the same as in the fifth of Henry I. the earliest Record containing any information upon the subject which the searches of Mr. North had been able to discover. The date of this Roll is not quite 40 years from the period of the Saxon Government^m. The following Table commences with the above-mentioned year:

REIGN.	GOLD.	SILVER.	PROPORTION.
		Fine. Alloy. Oz.Dwt. Dwt.	
Henry I. 5 - - -	Fine.	11 2 18	1 to 9. a
Henry II. 2 - - -			1 to 9. b
John 9 - - -			1 to 9. c
Henry III. 11 - - -			1 to 9. d
----- 14 - - -			1 to 10. e
----- 41 - - -			1 to 9 $\frac{5}{9}$. f
Edward I. 6 - - -			1 to 10. g
Edward III.	Fine. Alloy. Car. Gr. Gr.		
Beginning of 18 -	23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0 $\frac{1}{2}$		1 to 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{5}$ $\frac{3}{4}$. f
July 9, 18 -			1 to 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{5}$ $\frac{7}{10}$. f
----- 20 -			1 to 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{6}{10}$ $\frac{3}{5}$. f
----- 27 -			1 to 11 $\frac{1}{9}$ $\frac{5}{10}$. f
Henry IV. 13 - - -			1 to 10 $\frac{1}{5}$ $\frac{9}{10}$. f
Edward IV. 4 - - -			1 to 11 $\frac{1}{9}$ $\frac{5}{10}$. f
Henry VIII. 18 - - -	{ 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 2 18 }	1 to 11 $\frac{1}{9}$ $\frac{5}{10}$ Old Standard. f
New Standard - - -	{ 22 - 2	}	1 to 11 $\frac{1}{9}$ $\frac{5}{10}$ New Standard.
----- 34 - - -	Debasement.		1 to 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{3}$. h
----- 36 - - -			1 to 6 $\frac{9}{11}$. f
----- 37 - - -			1 to 5. f

Edward

^m North's Remarks on Clarke's Conjectures, p. 41.

EXPLANATION OF THE LETTERS OF REFERENCE.

- a North's Remarks on Clarke, p. 41. Mag. Rot. commonly called 5th of Stephen.
b Mag. Rot. 2 H. II. Rot. 2. b. Madox Firm. Burgi. p. 191.
c Rot. Claus. 9 Joh. m. 9. Prynne's Hist. of K. John, p. 11. North, MS note to p. 41.
d Rot. Lib. 11 H. III. m. 1. North as before.
e Pat. 14 H. III. m. 4. North as before.
f Lord Liverpool's Letter to the King, *passim*.
g Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 791. But query? He speaks of a Cup weighing ten pounds in Gold, and worth 100 pounds in Money. Must not something be allowed for workmanship?
h Snelling's Table at the end of his View of the Gold Coins.

REIGN.	GOLD.	SILVER.	PROPORTION.
	Fine. Alloy. Car. Gr. Gr.	Fine. Alloy. Oz. Dwt. Dwt	
Edward VI. 3	Debasement.	11 2 18	1 to $5\frac{5}{3}$. i
4			1 to $4\frac{8}{5}$. i
5			1 to $2\frac{3}{5}$. i
	Fine. Alloy. Car. Gr. Gr.		
6	{ 23 $3\frac{1}{2}$ 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ 22 — 2		1 to $11\frac{5}{10}$ Old Standard. i 1 to $11\frac{1}{10}$ New Standard; less than 18 Henry VIII. $\frac{3}{2}$.
Mary 1			1 to $11\frac{1}{9}$. k
Elizabeth 2 *			1 to $11\frac{1}{10}$. k
			1 to $11\frac{5}{9}$.
43			1 to $10\frac{5}{6}$. i 1 to $10\frac{1}{6}$.
			1 to $12\frac{8}{9}$ Old Standard. i
James I. 2 and 3			1 to $12\frac{8}{9}$ New Standard; a rise in the value of Gold of $11\frac{3}{7}$ per cent.
			1 to $13\frac{1}{3}$ Old Standard. i
			1 to $13\frac{1}{3}$ New Standard. This, added to the rise in 2nd and 3rd year, made a total rise of
9			{ $20\frac{7}{9}$ Old Standard. $21\frac{3}{7}$ New Standard.
			1 to $13\frac{2}{3}$ Old Standard i
			1 to $13\frac{1}{3}$ New Standard; making a fur- ther rise of
17			{ $1\frac{3}{4}$ Old Standard. $\frac{1}{4}$ New Standard.
	Fine. Alloy. Car. Car.		
Charles II. 15	22 2		1 to $14\frac{3}{4}$ New Standard i; a rise of $8\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.; making, from the ac- cession of James I. in a space of sixty years, a rise in the value of Gold of $32\frac{5}{6}$ per cent.
William and Mary, no date			1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$. k
George I. 3			1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$. k
18			1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$ i; a rise of 5 per cent. The whole rise from 1 James I. that is, a space of 115 years, was $39\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.

EXPLANATION OF THE LETTERS OF REFERENCE.

i Lord Liverpool's Letter to the King; *passim*.

k Snelling's Table at the end of his View of the Gold Coins.

* Elizabeth — price of Silver in her reign five shillings the ounce: [Grafton's Chronicle, *sub anno* 1203]

DENOMINATIONS OF SILVER COINS.

A TABLE of the different DENOMINATIONS of SILVER COINS,
with their respective WEIGHTS in TROY GRAINS.

REIGN.	Far-thing.	Half-penny.	Three Farthings.	Penny.	Three Half-pence.	Half Groat.	Quarter Shilling.	Groat.	Half Shilling.	Shilling.	Half Crown.	Crown.	Ten Shillings.	Twenty Shillings.
Edward the Elder	—	Actual Weight	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Conquest - - - 1066	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
28 Edward I. - 1300	5½	11	—	22½	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18 Edward III. 1344	5	10	—	22	—	—	—	88 ^g	—	—	—	—	—	—
20 ——— 1346	5	10	—	20½	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25 ——— 1351	4½	9	—	18	—	36	—	72	—	—	—	—	—	—
13 Henry IV. - 1412	3¾	7½	—	15	—	30	—	60	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 Edward IV. 1464	3	6	—	12	—	24	—	48	—	—	—	—	—	—
49 Henry VI. - 1470	3	6	—	12	—	24	—	48	—	—	—	—	—	—
after his restoration.	3	6	—	12	—	24	—	48	—	—	—	—	—	—
18 Henry VII. * 1504	3	6	—	12	—	24	—	48	—	144	—	—	—	—
18 Henry VIII. 1527	2½	5	—	10½	—	21¼	—	42½	—	—	—	—	—	—
34 ——— 1543	2½	5	—	10	—	20	—	40	—	120	—	—	—	—
36 ——— 1549	—	—	—	—	9½ for Ireland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1 Edward VI. 1547	2½	5	—	10	—	20	—	40	—	120	—	—	—	—
3 ——— 1549	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	80	—	—	—	—
6 ——— 1552	5½	11	—	8	—	—	24	—	48	96	240	480	—	—
1 Mary - - - 1553	6	12	—	8	—	16	—	32	—	96	240	480	—	—
2 Elizabeth - 1560	—	4	—	8	—	16	24	32	48	96	—	—	—	—
3 ——— 1561	—	—	6	8	12	16	24	32	48	—	—	—	—	—
43 ——— 1601	—	3¾	—	7¾	—	15½	22½	31	46¼	92¾	232¼	464½	—	—
and ever since.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17 Charles I - 1642	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	929	1858

* Camden, in his Remains, article Money, says, "King Henry VII. stamped a small Coin called Dandyprats."



A TABLE of the different DENOMINATIONS of COPPER and TIN COINS,
with their respective WEIGHTS in TROY GRAINS.

REIGN.	Denomination.	Weight.	Pound coined into	
		Lb. Oz. Dwt. Gr.	£. s. d.	
James I. - - - 11	Farthing Token	0 0 0 6	1 4 3	Snelling, p. 8.
Charles I. - - - 10	The same			
Charles II. - - - 24	Halfpenny			
_____ - - - 32	Farthing	0 0 4 23		Leake, p. 375.
_____ - - - 35	Halfpenny	0 0 4 13		Leake, p. 375.
_____ Tin - 36	Farthing		0 1 8	Snelling, p. 37.
James II.				
_____ Tin - 1	Farthing			Snelling, p. 37.
_____ Tin - 3	Halfpenny			Snelling, p. 37.
William and Mary,				
_____ Tin - 3	{ Halfpenny		0 1 9	Snelling, p. 38.
	{ Farthing			
_____ Tin - 6	{ Halfpenny		0 1 9	Snelling, p. 43.
	{ Farthing			
Anne - - - - - 13	Farthing			
George I. - - - 3	{ Halfpenny		0 2 4	Snelling, p. 44.
	{ Farthing			
Wood's Money { 9	Halfpenny	from 120 Gr.	0 2 6	Simon, p. 71.
	Farthing	to 107.5		
George II. - - - 2	{ Halfpenny		0 1 11	Snelling, p. 44.
	{ Farthing			
Irish - - - { 10	Halfpenny	0 0 5 14	0 2 2	Simon, p. 73.
	Farthing			
George III. - - 10	{ Halfpenny			
	{ Farthing			
_____ - - - 37	{ Two Penny	0 2 0 0 }	0 1 4	Proclamation.
	{ One Penny	0 1 0 0 }		
_____ - - - 40	{ Halfpenny		0 1 6	Proclamation.
	{ Farthing			
_____ - - - 46	{ Penny		0 2 0	Proclamation.
	{ Halfpenny			
	Farthing			

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE MINT.

Of the manner in which the Britons conducted the Coinage of their rude substitutes for Money, no notices can now be recovered. Few regulations indeed would be required, where an equality of weight appears, from Cæsar's account, to have been the sole object in view.

If the Romans did actually coin in Britain, there can be no doubt but that their Mints were worked by the same Officers as were employed in other parts of their Dominions; but no documents have at present been produced in proof of it: nor is any thing known respecting the Mints of the British Kings after the departure of the Romans.

On the early Anglo-Saxon Coins are found, besides the names of the Monarchs, those of other persons, who are with great probability conjectured to have been the Moneyers; because on the later Anglo-Saxon Money the names of those officers frequently occur, with the addition of their title of office.

From the circumstance of their names being inscribed on the Coins, it is reasonable to conclude, that they were responsible for the integrity of the Money; and likewise, that they were the principal Officers of the Mint, because inferior Officers would have given security to their superiors, whose names would have appeared on the Money as a pledge to the Sovereign that it was duly executed. The silence also of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, and of Domesday Book, as to other Officers of the Mint, whilst they so frequently mention the Moneyers, greatly corroborates the opinion that they were the only persons employed in the Anglo-Saxon, and early Anglo-Norman, Mints, except perhaps occasional labourers. And it is observable, that, when in the reign of Henry I. the Money was so much corrupted as to call for a sentence of most exemplary severity on the offenders, the punishment is said to have been inflicted upon Moneyers only, without the least notice of any other Officer. This was also the case upon a similar occasion in the reign of Henry II.ⁿ

It should seem, however, that the Reeve had, in the Anglo-Saxon times, some kind of connection with the Mint, or jurisdiction over it; for in the

ⁿ A more full account of the Moneyers will be given under that head in the List of Officers.

Laws of Cnut it is provided, that if any person accused of false Coinage should plead that he did it by license from the Reeve, that Officer should clear himself by the triple Ordeal. If he failed to do this, he was to suffer the same punishment as the falsifier himself; which, in the same chapter of the Law, is said to be the loss of that hand by which the crime was committed, without any redemption either by Gold or Silver °.

As it would scarcely be possible for the Reeve to prove the falsity of such an accusation, it seems probable that his situation with respect to the Mint was such as to make it his duty to superintend the operations of it, and to prevent all clandestine practises. Indeed I suspect that, in this instance, *Legefa* does not mean (as it has generally been understood to do) the Chief Magistrate of the Town, but the Principal Officer of the Mint: for this, however, I have no other authority to produce than the tendency of the above-recited extract from Cnut's Laws.

After the Norman Conquest the Officers of the Mint appear to have been, in some degree, under the authority of the Court of Exchequer, as they were admitted to their respective stations in that Court, and took before the Treasurer and Barons the usual oaths of office.

The amount also of the Bullion which was brought into the Mint by Merchants, who were bound to deliver a certain quantity in proportion to the weight of various articles imported by them, was likewise returnable into the Court of Exchequer, in order that the Master might be charged with such Bullion in his account^p.

If the Gerefa, above-mentioned, were not the Presiding Officer of the Anglo-Saxon Mints, I am unable to ascertain at what period it became necessary to place some permanent superintending authority in the Mint, to prevent the ill practices of the Moneyers; but it is probable that such an officer was appointed between the 26th year of Henry II., when the Moneyers alone were punished for the adulteration of the Money, and the third year of Richard I., when Henry de Cornhill accounted for the profits of the Cambium of all England, except Winchester^q.

° Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 134, cap. 8.

^p Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 392, from Claus. 4 R. II. m. 39.

^q Madox, Hist. Exchequer, vol. II. p. 132.

The Mint, however, did not attain its full constitution of superior officers until the 18th of Edward II. when, as far as I have been able to discover, the Comptroller first appeared, and delivered in his Account, distinct from those of the Warden and Master, as theirs likewise were from each other. Thus they operated as mutual checks, and no fraud could be practised without the criminal concurrence of all those three persons.

One of the principal offices, namely that of Cuneator, and probably others, descended by inheritance, even in the female line, and the inheritor was sometimes allowed to sell it ^r.

From a very early period the Moneyers seem to have enjoyed exclusive privileges. In the 33d year of Henry II. the Moneyers of York were expressly exempted from the payment of the Donum which was assessed upon the men of that City ^s.

In the 18th year of Henry III. the Mayor, &c. of the City of London were commanded not to infringe upon the liberties of the King's Moneyers of London, by exacting from them Tallages or other Customs contrary to their privileges ^t.

And before his 41st year those privileges appear to have been extended to the whole body of Officers belonging to the Mint; for at that time the Bailiffs, &c. of Canterbury were ordered to appear in the Exchequer, to receive judgment for having distrained upon the Officers of that Mint ^u.

The earliest Grant of these privileges, by Charter, was in the reign of Edward I. when the Officers of the Exchange, and of the Mint, were (by the names of the Keepers of the Changes of the City of London and Canterbury, the Labourers, or Workers, Moneymakers or Coiners, and other Ministers deputed or appointed unto those things which touch the Office of the Changes aforesaid) freed from all Tallages, and were not to be put into any Assizes, Juries, or Recognizance, and were to plead before the said Keepers of the Changes only, except in Pleas appertaining unto Freehold and the Crown.

^r Dugdale's Baronage, vol. II. p. 31. See the account of the Office of Cuneator.

^s Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 635. See York Mint.

^t Cl. 18 H. III. m. 30.

^u Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 748. See Canterbury Mint.

These privileges were granted to them so long as they should continue in the above-mentioned offices; and were confirmed by Edward II. in his second year, with this addition, that they were to be quit of all manner of aids and contributions, as well as tallages, and, that if at any time they should, of their own proper will, grant any aid or contribution, such should be levied upon them by the Keepers of the Exchanges aforesaid, and that no other should intermeddle. The Keepers themselves were, in such case, to be taxed by the Barons of the Exchequer. Letters Patent to the same effect were issued by Edward III. Richard II. Edward IV. Henry VII. Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Philip and Mary^w. All these are referred to in the Charter of Incorporation which was granted by Elizabeth in the first year of her reign, but those of Edward I. and Edward II. alone are given at length.

In that year her Majesty, at the humble suit of the Keeper of the Changes, the Labourers, Coiners, and Ministers, deputed or appointed to those things which do touch the Offices of the Change, and in consideration of certain general words in the former Grants, which had occasioned them and their Predecessors to be molested, inquieted, and vexed, and because they should be able more especially to apply themselves to the business of their office, was graciously pleased to grant and confirm to them the Letters Patent and Grants aforesaid.

And to remove all the doubts and ambiguities to which the former Grants were supposed to be liable, her Majesty incorporated them by the name of the Keeper of the Changes, and the Workmen, Coiners, and other Ministers, deputed to the said Office; to be from thenceforth one Body perpetual, and one Commonalty perpetual, in deed and in name, and to have perpetual succession; to be of capacity in law to purchase lands, &c. by that name^x, and to hold to them, and their Successors for ever; to implead and to be

^w There were also Confirmations in the 1st of Henry IV. [Pat. pt. 5. m. 25]; 1 H. V. [Pat. m. 28]; 5 H. VI. [Pat. pt. 1. m. 17]; 18 H. VI. [Pat. pt. 3. m. 25]; 23 H. VI. [Mich. Commun. Rot. 17. Madox's MSS. N^o 69. p. 94.]

^x I have not discovered that this Company at large did ever purchase lands, but it will be seen hereafter that the Moneyers actually did. See account of the Moneyers.

impleaded; to answer and to be answered in all Pleas, &c. in any Court; and to have a Common Seal y.

By this Charter all the Officers had privilege of not being put against their will in any Assizes, Juries, Inquisitions, Attaints, Grand Assizes, or Recognizance whatsoever, even although they touched the Crown. The Workmen, Coiners, and Ministers were to stand right before the Keeper of all manner of Pleas, Suits, Actions, and Complaints, touching themselves; Pleas to Freehold, and specially pertaining to the Crown, excepted. None of the Officers was to be made Mayor, Bailiff, Collector, Searcher, or Assessor of the Tenths, Fifteenths, Subsidies, Tallages, or other impositions to be granted, or any part of them, or any other Officer, or Minister of the Crown, against his will. And all of them were to be quit and exonerate for ever, in the City of London, Town of Calais, and all other Cities and Towns, from all and singular Assizes, Lones, of and for wine, ale, beer, and all victuals whatsoever, to be made, and from all Tallages, Aids, Gifts, Contributions, Fifteenths, Tenths, Scots, Subsidies, and all other impositions to the Queen, or to her Progenitors, late Kings of England, granted or to be granted; and none of them to be distrained or molested in their lands, &c. for any of the premises, but to have due allowance and discharge of such Tallages, &c. before the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer for ever; and no corn, hay, horse grain, ploughs, carriages, sheep, hogs, pigs, carts, oxen, poultry, or other merchandise, things, goods, victuals, and chattels of whatsoever kind, to be taken from them by any Purveyor of the

y The Seal, which is used at this time, bears the impression of an antique castle, placed between the letters G. R. On the dexter side of the upper turrets is a shield with the Arms of England, and on the sinister side another shield, bearing, quarterly, in the first and fourth quarters the Arms of England and Scotland quarterly, in the second France, and in the third Ireland. Around the whole is this inscription: SIGIL: COR: CUSTODIS CAMB: OPERAT: ET ALIORVM MINIST. This Seal is evidently a copy from one of a more antient date, but I have not been able to trace it further back than the reign of Queen Anne. The peculiar bearing of the first quartering in the second shield, where England and Scotland are placed quarterly, is, I believe, unknown in any other instance; at least it has hitherto escaped the researches of my friends in the College of Arms.

Besides this Seal the Mint has a smaller one, with a representation of the White Tower, and over it MINT OFFICE. Both these are engraven on one corner of the Numismatick Map.

Queen, or her Heirs, any Statute to the contrary notwithstanding. This Charter bore date at Westminster on the 20th of February; and there were subsequent Confirmations of it in the second, third, fourth, and fifth years of her reign^z.

It should seem, however, that these privileges were sometimes intrenched upon, even by the Monarch who granted them. In the 22d year of Edward IV. when the King, in order to relieve his poor subjects from the continual taking of their goods for the expenses of his household, for which they were not sufficiently paid, ordained that certain sums should be taken yearly, for that purpose, from the Customs, &c.; the Warden of the Mint was charged with 100 Marks^a. And the same in 1485, the first year of King Henry VII.^b

They were likewise exposed to particular attacks from the Corporation of the City of London.

In the year 1536 Mr. Martin Bowes had three years respite granted to him from the charge of the office of Sheriff of that City^c; and it will be seen hereafter [in the 21st of Elizabeth] that this was drawn into a precedent.

In the year 1575 a Petition appears, in which the Officers of the Mint pray the Treasurer, Chancellor, and Barons of the Exchequer, for relief from the payment of a fifteenth, &c. which had been granted to the Queen in Parliament. As the ground of this prayer, they state the Charters of Edward II. and of Elizabeth. The Petition is signed by all the Officers, and is given under their Common Seal^d.

^z Harl. MSS. N^o 698. p. 29. The Witnesses to this Charter were persons of the highest rank:

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York.

The Earl of Exeter, Chancellor.

The Bishop of Ely.

The Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester.

The Earl of Warwick, Chamberlain of England.

The Earl of Essex, Treasurer.

Sir William Hastings, Chamberlain of the Household.

Sir Humphrey Suthwyke, Kt.

Mr. Robert Stylltontone, Keeper of the Privy Seal.

^a Rolls of Parliament, vol. VI. p. 199.

^b Id. p. 299.

^c Harl. MSS. N^o 698. p. 210.

^d Id. p. 120. The Seal does not, of course, appear in this MS.

But it should seem that this Representation was passed by without notice, for about two years afterward several of the Officers were charged with the second part of the Subsidy which had been granted by the last Parliament; and another Petition was accordingly presented, begging relief according to the tenor of the Charters. This, it is remarkable, was not signed by all the Officers, nor sealed with the Common Seal, but had the signature of the Warden, and his Seal only^e.

In the same year the privilege of exemption from public offices was attempted to be infringed by the Court of Aldermen of London, who nominated the Warden one of the Sheriffs. Of this he complained to the Privy Council, and prayed to be relieved from a duty which was incompatible with his station in the Mint. The Privy Council, by the Queen's command, directed the Aldermen to release him from that appointment, on the ground that he was exempted from such offices by the privileges which had been granted by her Progenitors, and confirmed by herself^f.

This was upon the 3d of August; but from a letter which bears date the 7th of that month it appears, that on account of some particular circumstances, the Warden was induced to wave his privilege, and to promise to accept the office of Sheriff, provided those who were nominated should refuse to serve. But after this promise the Warden informed Lord Burleigh, in a letter dated upon the 13th of the same month, that in consequence of the directions which had been given by the Privy Council to the Mayor and Aldermen, he had obtained what he desired, according to the form of her Majesty's Letters Patent^g.

Here it might be supposed that the matter would have rested, and that the City would not have dared to act again in opposition to a Royal Charter. It is, however, certain, that another attempt was made to establish the right of the Corporation to nominate the Warden of the Mint to the office of Sheriff; for, on the 14th of August in the year immediately following, that is, in the 21st of Elizabeth, the Court of Aldermen agreed to grant to Mr. Richard Martin three years respite from the charge of the office of Sheriff, the same indulgence having been granted to Mr. Martin Bowes in the 28th year of Henry VIII. This agreement was confirmed by a Common Council on the 12th of February following^h.

^e Harl. MSS. No 698. p. 196.

^f Id. p. 200.

^g Id. p. 202.

^h Id. p. 210.

These two entries seem to prove that the Corporation of London carried, at that time, their point against the Warden, whose duty it unquestionably was not to have accepted such indulgence, but to have opposed to it the exemption to which he was entitled by Charter. Why he neglected to avail himself of his privilege cannot now be determined; but it is evident that he did not plead it, for, if he had, he would not have failed to state that circumstance in his account of the transaction, when he recited the two entries of the proceedings of the Corporation, which are still extant in his handwritingⁱ.

The Charter of Privileges was again confirmed by James I. in the second year of his reign.

On the 19th of September 1642 the Company of Moneyers in the Mint in the Tower of London petitioned that an order might be given for the stay of any Levy upon them for the Bill of £.400,000. This was referred to a Committee; and the Levy on them was ordered to be suspended for the present. At the same time a Committee of five was appointed to consider of the Petition, and to think of some way for their relief, in such manner as that the said Bill should not be dispensed with^k.

On a further Petition from the same, on the 21st of December, their horses were ordered to be secured to them^l.

On the 27th of April 1644, it was ordered by the Parliament, that the Officers, Ministers, Moneyers, and Labourers of the Mint, who were actually employed there, and whose names should be certified under the hand of Sir Robert Harley [then Master], should be exempted, as to their persons, from impress upon any occasion whatsoever; and that the Warrant, under Mr. Speaker's hand, for their exemption, should be allowed by the House, and stand good.

It was also ordered, that the Committee concerning the Mint should meet, and suddenly make a Report^m.

It does not, however, appear that it was ever made; but on the 26th of June Sir Robert Harley was ordered to prepare, and bring in, an Ordinance for confirming such privileges to the Working Moneyers, as the two Houses should think fitⁿ.

ⁱ Harl. MSS. N^o 698; which is a volume of Papers relating to Mint affairs, collected by Richard Martin.

^k Commons Journals, vol. II. p. 772.

^l Commons Journals, vol. II. p. 898.

^m Id. vol. III. p. 470.

ⁿ Id. p. 543.

This seems not to have produced any thing decisive, for on the 18th of October, a Petition from the Company of Moneyers in the Tower of London, desiring the enjoyment of their privileges, which had for many hundreds of years been granted to them, was read, and referred to a Committee of twenty-four, together with all the Lawyers of the House, to inquire into the privileges which were claimed by the Officers and Moneyers; and to consider what privileges would be fit to be allowed for their encouragement; and to make their Report upon the whole matter ^o.

Upon the next day it was ordered, that all the Merchants of the House should be added to the Committee which had been appointed, upon the preceding day, for the Moneyers of the Mint. And it was further ordered, that the examination and inquiry into the misdemeanors and miscarriages of the Mint, and the Officers thereof (which were already under the examination of the Committee of the Revenue) should be continued, and referred to the consideration of that Committee ^p.

I have not been able to discover whether this Committee ever delivered in any Report, or whether further proceedings, of any kind, took place; nor have I met with any thing further relating to the privileges of the Officers of the Mint, until the 14th year of Charles II. when the Charter of Elizabeth was again confirmed; as it was also by the Indenture which was in force in the year 1744, and which established the Officers in their Houses, Places, &c. and in their Charters and Privileges. It likewise ordained, that they should have free gress and egress, without any let from any Officer of the Tower; and the bringers of Gold and Silver to the Mint were to have the same ^q.

These privileges they continue to enjoy unto this day.

To counterbalance, in some degree, these advantages, it appears that in antient times, such for instance as the reign of Edward III. they could not leave the Kingdom without special license ^r.

Soon after the date of their Charter of Incorporation by Elizabeth, which gave to them a Common Seal, it seems to have been intended to add the privilege of bearing Arms. For this purpose a Draft of a Grant was made,

^o Commons Journals, vol. III. p. 668.

^p Id. p. 670.

^q Pollet's Abstract of the Indenture, which was in force in 1744. MS.

^r Claus. 3 E. III. m. 9. dors.

in the second year of that Queen, by William Hervey, Clarencieux, but the Grant was never completed.

The Arms, as emblazoned in the Draft, were—Ar. a Cross Azure charged with a Bezant in the centre between two Harts' heads erased Or, above and below, and on each side a Bull's head erased Argent, horned Or; in each of the two upper quarters of the Cross a Fleur de lis Azure, in the lower ones a Castle Sable. On a Chief Gules a Lion passant regardant Or, between two Cross Croslets fitchée Argent.

The form of the Grant was, to "thole comunalty, felowshipe and mynysters of the Mynt.—By what name so ever they be at this present nomynated and called, or by what name they maye hereafter be nomynated and callyd, and to their successors for evermore. To use, beare, and shewe, in shilde, sealle, banner or banners, stander or standers, pencell or pencells, at all tymes hereafter, without impediment, lett, or interruption of any person or persons ^s."

No such Arms, nor indeed any other, are borne by the incorporated Officers of the Mint.

OF THE WAGES OF THE OFFICERS.

The following slight notices are all that I have been able to gather, upon this subject, from the Records of early times.

In the 35th year of Henry III. the Warden's salary was two shillings a day ^t.

In the 33d year of Edward I. the Porter of the Mint and Exchange received nine pence a day; and the same in the 9th of Edward II. and the 23d of Edward III.

The Warden's salary in that year was two shillings a day; at which time his Clerk received nine pence, and the Keeper of the Dies six pence a day ^u.

^s Hervey's Grants, in the College of Arms, folio 77. This Grant is indorsed, in a coëval hand, xxvij of November, a^o. 2^o. Elizabeth.

^t See the account of the Mint in the Tower of London.

^u These wages are stated in the Return to a Writ of Inquiry which was instituted in the 34th year of Henry VI. [Bundle in the Tower, unclassified.]

In the 25th and 31st years of Henry VI. it was two shillings and six pence; but I have not discovered when the rise took place.

In his 32d year the Engraver had twenty pounds *per annum*.

The person who held the offices of Comptroller, Exchanger, and Assayer in the first year of Edward IV. was to take the usual daily wages, amounting to 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *per annum*.

In the second year of the same King the Engraver's Wages were, as before, twenty pounds *per annum*.

And in his sixth year the Salary of the Warden's Clerk was nine pence a day ^x.

In the tenth year of Edward III. the Workmen of the Mint of London petitioned the King for an increase of their allowance for Coinage; alledging that they were at that time at greater expense, and bestowed more labour, in forming the Monies, than had been usual in former times, so that they could not maintain and continue such expense and labour unless their allowance was increased.

The King, being willing to grant their Petition if just, commanded John de Wyndesore, Warden of the Mints of London and Canterbury, together with Lapine Roger, and others experienced in such matters, to inquire whether the allowance were sufficient, and if not, to determine what addition should be made; and they were ordered to make their Report in Chancery, under their seals, without delay ^y.

A Warrant was in consequence issued, and Lapine Roger, and Roger Rikeman, Exchangers of London, and Stephen Boke, having been examined on oath by the Warden, the following Report was made:—That, having inquired diligently respecting the necessary expenses of the Master of the Mint and the Workmen, *viz.* of Alloy, Clay, and Salt, and other things used in the making of new Money, and also of the expenses occasioned by the waste arising from the whitening of the Halfpennies and Farthings, on account of the increase of the Alloy, and from the hardening of the metal of the said Coins in working and coining, they were of opinion that the work could not be carried on without an increase of three Pence for each Pound, at the least, and with that the Workmen ought reasonably to be contented.

^x See London Mint.

^y Claus. 10 E. III. m. 19. dors. Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 448.

Then, whereas of old they received for all costs, colour, &c. for a Pound of Halfpennies seven Pence Halfpenny, and for a Pound of Farthings nine Pence Halfpenny, they would receive for the former ten Pence Halfpenny, and for the latter twelve Pence Halfpenny, so that the Master should have of increase two Pence, and the Workmen one Penny^z.

The following Tables of Fees and Wages for the several Officers in the years 1584, 1599, 1649, 1689, 1739, 1743, and 1797, will shew the progressive increase of them.

A TABLE of FEES about 1584^a.

	£.	s.	d.
Master or Tresurer	100	0	0
Comptroller	66	13	4
Assay Master	66	13	4
Auditors	44	6	8
Allowance for Paper and Parchment	10	0	0
Tellers of Monies ^b , Fee apiece	33	6	8
Surveyors of the Melting House, Fee apiece	26	13	4
Clerk of the Irons	13	6	8
Clerk of the Mint	10	0	0
Chief Graver	30	0	0
Chief Finer	10	0	0
Melters 3, Fee apiece	13	6	8
Sinker of Irons	10	0	0
Branchars [Qu. Blanchers?] 2, Fee apiece	13	6	8
Purveyor	10	0	0
Potmaker	10	0	0
Porter	10	0	0
Diet to all the foresaid Officers of the Mint, weekly	1	10	0

^z Bundle in the Tower, unclassified. The Report is entitled—*Informatio super augmenta-
tionem mercedis Monetariorum*. The Warrant bears date June 1 10 E. III.

^a Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. I. lib. II. p. 11. See also a Collection of Ordinances, &c. for the Government of the Royal Household, p. 255.

^b William Wightman Teller 1584. MS. Knight. Peck.

A TABLE of FEES and SALARIES, 1599^c.

	£.	s.	d.
Warden	100	0	0
Clerk	20	0	0
Comptroller	66	13	4
Clerk	13	6	8
Assay Master	66	13	4
Clerk	10	0	0
Weigher and Teller	33	6	8
Clerk	10	0	0
Surveyor of the Meltings	26	13	4
Clerk of the Irons	13	6	8
Clerk	10	0	0
Chief Clerk	20	0	0
Clerk of the Papers	20	0	0
Two Auditors	20	0	0
Smith of the Mint	10	0	0
Porter	10	0	0
Chaplain	0	13	4
Sexton	0	4	0
Assay Master	40	0	0
Purveyor	20	0	0
Chief Engraver	30	0	0
Second Ditto	40	0	0
Assistant to Engravers	20	0	0

TABLE of FEES and DIET, 1649^d.

Warden, by the year	100	0	0
Clerk	20	0	0
Comptroller	66	13	4
Clerk	13	6	8

^c Snelling's View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of England, p. 53, from Goldsmith's Store-House, p. 75, MS.

^d Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 251. See Annals under this year.

	£.	s.	d.
Assay Masters, number not specified	66	13	4
Clerk	10	0	0
Two Auditors. To each for his Clerk 10 <i>l.</i> and to each for Parchment, Ink, Paper, and other necessities, 10 <i>l.</i> <i>per</i> <i>annum</i>	40	0	0
Tellers. No number mentioned	33	6	8
Clerk	10	0	0
Clerk of the Irons	13	6	8
Surveyor of the Melting House	26	13	4
Clerk	10	0	0
Graver of the Irons	30	0	0
Under Assayer	40	0	0
Under Graver	40	0	0
Sinkers of the Irons. No number	20	0	0
Smith	10	0	0
Porter	10	0	0
Parson of the Chapel in the Tower, for his Tythes	0	13	4
Sexton	0	4	4
For the Diet of the Officers	52	0	0
Two Clerks, to be employed for the keeping of Books, and other services, by the direction of the Officers; to each 20 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum</i>	40	0	0

FEES and SALARIES payable to and by the WARDEN, 1689^e.

Warden	400	0	0
For a Clerk	40	0	0
Comptroller	300	0	0
For a Clerk	40	0	0
Their Majesties Assay Master	200	0	0
For a Clerk	20	0	0
Surveyor of Meltings and Clerk of Irons	110	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
For a Clerk	10	0	0
Weigher and Teller	90	0	0
For a Clerk	10	0	0
Assistant to the Weigher, &c.	40	0	0
Chief Clerk and Clerk of the Papers	100	0	0
Porter	20	0	0
To the Minister	4	0	0
Sexton	1	0	0

Payable to and by the MASTER and WORKER.

Master	500	0	0
For three Clerks	120	0	0
For an Assayer	60	0	0
For a Purveyor	20	0	0
Engineer	100	0	0
Three Roettiers chief Engravers	325	0	0
The Smith assistant to the Engravers	50	0	0

A TABLE of FEES and SALARIES, 1739^f.

Warden	400	0	0
Clerk	50	0	0
Comptroller	300	0	0
Clerk	50	0	0
Assay Master	200	0	0
Clerk	25	0	0
Weigher and Teller	130	0	0
Clerk	12	10	0
Surveyor of the Meltings	132	10	0
Clerk of the Irons			
Clerk			
Chief Clerk	60	0	0

^f Snelling's Silver Coinage, p. 53.

CONSTITUTION OF THE MINT.

41

	£.	s.	d.
Clerk of the Papers	40	0	0
Two Auditors	40	0	0
Porter	25	0	0
Chaplain	4	0	0
Sexton	1	0	0

1743^g.

Master	500	0	0
Three Clerks	150	0	0
Assay Master	60	0	0
Purveyor	25	0	0
Chief Engraver	200	0	0
Second Ditto	80	0	0
Third Ditto	80	0	0
Assistant to Engravers	40	0	0
Provost of Moneyers as Engineer	100	0	0
Clerk to the Warden	100	0	0
Surveyor of Money Presses	40	0	0
Nine Moneyers $\frac{1}{4}$ of a year at 25 <i>l.</i> and $\frac{3}{4}$ at 40 <i>l.</i>	326	0	0

A SCHEDULE or TABLE of the FEES and SALARIES of the OFFICE of HIS MAJESTY'S MINT, within the TOWER of LONDON, payable to and by the WARDEN, 1797^h.

To the Warden for himself	400	0	0
To him for a Clerk	50	0	0
To him for another Clerk	100	0	0
To the Comptroller	300	0	0
More to him for a Clerk	25	0	0
To the Weigher and Teller	130	0	0
More to him for a Clerk	12	10	0

^g Snelling's Silver Coinage, p. 53.

^h Twenty-fourth Report of Select Committee on Finance 1797, Supp. B.

	£.	s.	d.
To the Surveyor of the Meltings	80	0	0
More to him for a Clerk	12	10	0
To the Clerk of the Irons	40	0	0
To the Auditors of the Mint	40	0	0
To his Majesty's Chief Clerk	60	0	0
To the Porter of the Mint	45	0	0
To the Clerk of the Papers	40	0	0
To the Minister	4	0	0
To the Sexton	1	0	0

Payable to and by the MASTER and WORKER.

To the Master for himself	500	0	0
To him for three Clerks	150	0	0
To him for an Assayer	100	0	0
To him for a Fireman to his Assayer	25	0	0
To him for a Purveyor	25	0	0
To him for the Smith assistant to Engravers	40	0	0
To him for a Surveyor of the Money Presses	40	0	0
To him for an Office Keeper	25	0	0
To the chief Engraver	200	0	0
To the second Engraver	80	0	0
To the assistant Engraver	80	0	0
To the Provost of the Moneyers exercising the office of Engineer, and keeping all the iron tools and utensils in repair	100	0	0

The NET RECEIPTS for the several OFFICES were, in 1797,

Warden	374	6	8
Master	4318	13	0
Comptroller	297	0	0
King's Assay Master	393	11	4
Weigher and Teller	125	12	8

	£.	s.	d.
Surveyor of Meltings and Clerk of Irons	123	0	0
King's Clerk and Clerk of the Papers	99	0	8
Minister and Sexton of the Garrison for the time being . .	4	5	0
Assay Master to the Master	309	3	0
Chief Engraver	166	13	4
Assistant Engraver	80	0	0
Probationer Engraver	70	13	4
Smith assistant to Engravers	206	15	7
Surveyor of Money Presses	60	0	0
Purveyor	45	0	0
Clerk to the Master	66	0	0
Porter	78	10	0
Office Keeper	25	0	0
Clerk to the Warden	100	0	0
Stamper of Weights	237	10	0
Solicitor, by Salary	63	0	0
Moneyers, Corporation of	5839	16	6 ⁱ

By an Act which was passed on the 12th of July 1799 the Master's Salary was fixed at £.3000 *per annum*, in lieu of all Fees, &c. which he was accustomed to receive^k.

In antient times extraordinary methods were resorted to in order to furnish the Mint with Workmen. Thus in the 31st year of Henry III. a Writ was issued authorising Reyner de Brussell to bring into England, from beyond the seas, persons skilled in the coinage and exchange of Silver, to work in the Kingdom, at the King's charge^l.

And in the 25th year of Edward III. Henry de Brusele and John de Cicestre, Masters of the Mint, were appointed, by Letters Patent, to chuse and take as many Goldsmiths, Smiths, and other Workmen in the City of London, and other places, where it might seem expedient to them, as should be necessary for the Works of the Mint in the Tower of London; and to

ⁱ Twenty-fourth Report of Select Committee on Finance, Supplement B.

^k Statute 39 G. III. chap. 94.

^l Pat. 31 H. III. m. 3.

bring the said Workmen to the said Tower, and to place them there to work at the wages allowed by the said Masters. And any of them which should be rebellious in that case, to seize and arrest, and to detain in prison within the said Tower, and to keep in safe custody until the King should determine upon their punishment. These Letters were directed to all Sheriffs, &c. who were commanded to assist the said Masters in carrying their provisions into execution^m. This power to take Workmen, &c. for the service of the Mint was not discontinued in the reign of Elizabethⁿ.

I shall now give an account of the Duties of the respective Officers, from a MS. drawn up by Anthony Pollett, who was Clerk to the Comptroller in 1748, and died in the year 1754^o; inclosing with brackets such variations as occur in earlier times; and shall add a List of the Names as far as I have been able to collect them.

The WARDEN.

What relates to him distinct from the other Officers.

The Master shall pay to him for Salaries £.1470 *per annum*.

Whilst the King allows £.52 *per annum* towards the Diet of the Officers, it is to be paid by him.

He shall pay the Salaries in the Schedule annexed.

He shall yearly account before the Auditors, and shall be allowed Officer's Fees, Salaries, and Diet, Charges, Expense of Repairs of Houses and Offices, under the *Avowment* of the Master, Comptroller, and Assay Master, or any two of them; the Master to be one.

Shall be discharged by Letters Patent without fee.

When necessary shall make two Piles of Weights, one for England, and one for Scotland.

[In the reign of Elizabeth it was his duty to enter in a Ledger Book the weight, price, and fineness of all the Bullion which should be brought from time to time into the Mint, with the names of the parties, and the day^p.]

^m Pat. 25 E. III. pt. 2. m. 13. dors.

ⁿ Indenture with Lonison 14 Eliz. Harl. MSS. 698; which says expressly that they are to work at the Queen's price.

^o Snelling's MS List of Officers.

^p Indenture 14 Eliz. Harl. MSS. 698.

His Duty conjointly with other Officers.

WARDEN and MASTER.

[In the time of Elizabeth, after the Bullion was received, and the Assays made and reported, and entered in the Warden's Ledger, the Bullion was to be put forthwith into a Chest with two keys (one to remain with the Warden, the other with the Master), and to be kept there until delivered to the melting.

The Warden to keep a Book of the Melting, and of the Pot Assays, and that and the Ledger of the Bullion to remain in his custody, and to be signed monthly by him and the Master ^a.]

WARDEN, MASTER WORKER, and COMPTROLLER.

When the Money is compleated, they shall lock it up, until it is assayed and delivered to the Importers.

Proof shall be made in their presence of weight and fineness.

Two pieces shall be taken out of every fifteen Pounds weight of Gold, and two pieces, at least, out of every sixty Pounds weight of Silver. One to be for the Assay ^r, and the other to be put into a Box, locked up by the Warden, Master, and Comptroller, to be tried hereafter before the King or Council, in the presence of the said Warden, Master, and Comptroller. They are bound to attend every Wednesday to receive Bullion, and to deliver out Monies; which they may also do on such other days as they shall appoint.

They are empowered to allow the Moneyers one Penny *per* lb. weight on Silver coined, in consideration of their performing their work well, and making 18 oz. weight in every hundred weight of Silver into small Monies, and returning but $\frac{5}{12}$ in Scissell.

The Moneyers and all other Officers of the Mint are enjoined, under pain of disfranchisement and imprisonment, to work when required by them.

The Moneyers and their Apprentices are to attend the service of the Mint, or the Warden, Master, and Comptroller are to punish, and expel, offenders.

^a Indenture 14 Eliz. Harl. MSS. 698.

^r That is, for the private Assay in the Mint; the other piece is reserved for the Trial of the Pix.

They or any of them may, at the King's price, engage as many Gravers, Smiths, Workmen, and Labourers, to work in the Mint, as shall to them seem needful. And all Mayors, &c. are required to be aiding ^s.

They may punish and remove the said Gravers, &c. at discretion.

Faulty Dies are to be defaced in their presence, and not otherwise.

When they require it, the Clerk of the Iron shall give them an account what blank Dies have been delivered to the Gravers, sunk, hardened, worn out, returned, or remaining in hand, that account may be kept.

Before they have sight of the Milling, they shall take an oath of secrecy before the Treasury.

None shall inhabit in the Mint, except the Officers and others who have a right, without their consent.

The King's Assay Master shall try the value of disputed Gold or Silver in their presence; and the Master is bound to stand to his Report.

The Melting Books which are kept by the Warden, Comptroller, and King's Clerk, are to be monthly subscribed by the Warden, Master, and Comptroller.

The Coinage Money received by the Master to be kept under their keys.

WARDEN and COMPTROLLER.

If the Monies, on the Trial of the Pix, be not found good in fineness, and yet within the Remedy, they shall record the Lack, and a true account shall be given to the King, who shall receive the whole profit by that Lack. And if it shall be found better in weight, fineness, or both, such Betterness shall be entered on Record, and hold place to the Master in the charge, when any Lack shall be found.

They shall oversee the Assay, melting, sizing, &c. at all times, and in all places; and that the Balances be kept in order.

WARDEN, COMPTROLLER, and ASSAY MASTER.

The Pot Assay shall be made of some Ingot taken by them, or any two of them.

^s This, I presume, refers to the power which was formerly given to them of taking Workmen, even against their will, to which all Mayors, &c. were to give assistance. But this power could not exist in Pollett's time.

WARDEN, COMPTROLLER, and KING'S CLERK.

Shall keep several Melting Books, to be monthly subscribed by the Warden, Master, and Comptroller.

WARDEN, COMPTROLLER, KING'S CLERK, and CLERK OF PAPERS.

The Bullion Bills given by the Master shall be recorded by them^t.

In the Report of the Select Committee appointed to consider Public Offices [1810] the Warden's Salary is stated at £.365, and his Deputy's at £.66 *per annum*; and it is there said that this office would admit of being brought, at the expiration of the existing interests, entirely under the management of the Deputy, as now constituted: but that the degree of responsibility, or trouble attending the discharge of the whole duties, would entitle the Deputy to an increase of salary.

A LIST of the WARDENS of the MINT.

Anno		RICHARD I.
4 and 5.	Henry de Cornhill ^u .	
8.	Odo Parvus and others ^w .	
		JOHN.
3.	Hugh Oisel ^x .	
4.	Wido de Vou ^y .	
5.	Hugh Oisel ^z .	
9.	Nigel Ruffus and Odo Parvus ^a .	

^t Pollett's MSS.

^u Madox, Hist. Exch. II. 133 and 189. In the third year he accounted for the profits of the Cambium of all England, except Winchester.

^w Madox, I. 280.

^x Id. II. 133.

^y Id. *ibid*.

^z Id. *ibid*.

^a Id. I. 283. Odo, Oisel, Vou, and Ruffus accounted for the profits of the Cambium; it is therefore to be presumed that they were Custodes.

Anno

HENRY III.

1. Hubert de Burg^b.
6. Ilger the Goldsmith, Radulfus de Frowik, Elias de Wirecestre, Terricus de Chaniurt^c.
8. Alexander de Dorsete and Henry de St. Alban's^d.
13. Richard Reinger, London and Canterbury^e.
27. Otto Fitz William^f.
29. William Hardell, London and Canterbury^g.
31. Walter de Flemeng^h.
32. William Hardell, London and Canterburyⁱ.
Walter de More^k.
35. J. Silvestre^l.
36. J. de Somercote^m.
42. William the King's Goldsmith, London and Canterburyⁿ.
- 50—54. B. de Castell and Richard de Geoffrey^o.
54. Bartholomew de Castello^p; alone from 16 November in this year^q.
55. Idem^r.
56. Idem^s.

^b Pat. 1 H. III. m. 3. In this year the Mayor, &c. of London were commanded to deliver to him the custody of the Mint and Exchange in London.

^c Memor. 6 H. III. Rot. 3. dors.

^d Madox, I. 389.

^e Id. II. 133.

^f Snelling's MS List of Officers of the Mint, *penes Auct.*

^g Madox, II. 134. In other places of Madox's work it appears that Hardell, and some of those which follow him, were Custodes Cunei. See the List.

^h Snelling's MS List.

ⁱ Cl. 32 H. III. m. 16.

^k Snelling's MS List.

^l Madox, II. 205.

^m Anecdotes of Painting, I. 21. note.

ⁿ Madox, II. 89.

^o From July 1, 50th, to November 16, 54th. Misc. Roll in Record Office at the Tower.

^p Pat. 54 H. III. m. 11.

^q Misc. Roll in Record Office at the Tower.

^r Idem.

^s Madox, Hist. Exch. II. 207.

Anno

EDWARD I.

1. Bartholomew de Castello, London and Canterbury ^t.
7. Idem ^u. He died in this year, and was succeeded by Gregory de Rokesle and Rolandino de Podio ^w.
9. Andrew Spersolte and Jacob Donat, Dublin ^x.
10. Gregory de Rokesley ^y.
14. John de Paturco ^z.
19. Gregory de Rokesle, Canterbury ^a.
20. 21. 22. 23. William de Wymondham, Canterbury ^b.
24. Id. London and Canterbury ^c.
25. Id. Canterbury ^d.
P. de Leycestre, London ^e.
26. Id. ^f.
William de Wymondham, Canterbury ^g.
27. 28. 29. William Wymondham, Custos Cambii & Cuneorum Lond. & Cant. ^h
30. John de Sandale ⁱ.

^t Madox, II. 207.

^u Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^w Snelling's MS List.

^x Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^y Cl. 10 E. I. m. 2.

^z Snelling's MS List.

^a Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^b Id.

^c Id. Wymondham was Warden of Canterbury alone until the death of Rokesle in this year. In the second year of the next reign the heirs of Rokesle petitioned that they might be released from a Distress which was levied upon them as his representatives. It seems that Rokesle had lent £.1000 to the King, and that he had a Grant, by Letters Patent, dated May 30 18 E. I. of a power to repay himself from the profits of the Mint, out of Monies then in his hands, or which might subsequently be in his possession. The Distress, I presume, was levied for the profits of the Mint which appeared to be in his hands at the time of his death. The Petition was granted. Rolls of Parliament, I. 275.

^d Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^e Id.

^f Register Kempe, Harl. MSS. No 645. folio 134 b.

^g Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^h Id.

ⁱ Cl. 30 E. I. m. 6. Warden of the Mint at London.

Anno

EDWARD I. (*continued.*)

33. John de Sandale, Custos Cambiorum London', Cantuar', Bristoll, Cestr', Novicastri super Tynam, Kyngeston super Hull, Ebor', & Exon' ^k.
 John de Everdon, Custos Cambii & Cuneorum ^l.
 Gregorius de Coket & Orlandinus de Podio, Custodes Cambii & Monete ^m.

EDWARD II.

1. John de Everdon, Custos Cambii & Cuneorum ⁿ.
 5. 7. John de Lincoln ^o.
 7. Peter de la Posterle, Bourdeaux ^p.
 8. John de Lincoln, London and Canterbury ^q.
 W. Trente ^r.
 9. 10. 11. 12. Augustine Le Walleys, London and Canterbury ^s.
 12. William de Stowe, Sacrist, St. Edmundsbury ^t.
 13. 14. Augustine le Walleys, Canterbury ^u.
 14. 15. William de Hausted ^w.
 16. 17. Robert de Haselshaw, Custos Cambii & Monete ^x.

EDWARD III.

- 1 and 2. Walter Turk, Custos Cambii & Monete, London and Canterbury ^y.
 1. John Bonguidy, Bourdeaux. See the 5th year.

^k Bundle in the Tower, unclassified. He is there called late Warden.

^l Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^m Lib. Rub. Scaccarii. The date does not appear.

ⁿ Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^o Id.

^p Rot. Vasc. 7 E. II. m. 12.

^q Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. In this year he was committed to the Marshall for Money due to the King upon his account. Madox, II. 241.

^r Madox, II. 90.

^s Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^t Madox, I. 292.

^u Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^w Id.

^x Id.

^y Id. His Patent dated February 3 in the first year.

Anno EDWARD III. (*continued*).

- 3 and 4. John de Flete, London and Canterbury until January 18, when he resigned to
John de Wyndesore ^z.
5. John Bonguidy of Lucca, Bourdeaux ^a.
10. John de Wyndesore, London and Canterbury ^b.
13. John de Flete ^c. He continued until the
18. when he is spoken of as the late Warden ^d.
14. Gerald de Podio, Bourdeaux ^e.
- 19—22. William de Wakefeld ^f.
- 22[about.] James de James, St. Sever in Gascony ^g.
23. John de Horton ^h.
23. 24. Robert de Mildenhale, London and Canterbury ⁱ.
25. 26. Idem, Custos Cambii & Cuneorum ^k.
- 27—34. William de Rockewell, London and Canterbury ^l.
28. William Hunter, York ^m.
William Borreu, Bourdeaux ⁿ.
31. Peter Vernhes, of Mint of Gold in Bourdeaux ^o.
32. Peter de la Grote, Aquen ^p.
- 34—44. John de Thorp, Clerk ^q.
37. 38. William de Speigne and Philip de Neueton, Calais ^r.

^z Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^a Rot. Vasc. 5 E. III. m. 1. His first appointment was in the first year of this reign, for five years; but he was now appointed during his good behaviour.

^b Rolls of Parliament, II. 448.

^c Rymer, V. 104.

^d Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^e Rot. Vasc. 14 E. III. m. 4.

^f Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^g Rolls of Parliament, II. 209. He was also Assayer.

^h Mint Accounts in the Exchequer from Michaelmas anno 23 to June 2d following.

ⁱ Id.

^k Id.

^l Id.

^m Id.

ⁿ Rot. Vasc. 28 E. III. m. 12.

^o Rot. Vasc. 31 E. III. m. 8.

^p Rot. Vasc. 32 E. III. m. 12.

^q Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^r Id.

Anno EDWARD III. (*continued*).

49. 50. Richard Lyons to the 24th of July ^s.

50. Thomas Hervy ^t.

William Byremyn, Calais ^u.

RICHARD II.

1—11. John Gurmonchester ^w.

1. Thomas Hervy ^x.

11—14. Guy Roncliff, Clerk ^y.

16—20. Andrew Neuport ^z.

HENRY IV.

1. 2. Robert Hethcote, Custos Monete ^a.

3—5. Id. Custos Cambii & Cunagiorum ^b.

5. Lodowick Reconche, Custos Monete & Cunagiorum ^c.

13. 14. Henry Somer, Custos Cambii & Monete ^d.

14. Andrew Neuport, Custos Monete ^e.

HENRY V.

1—10. Henry Somer ^f.

7. John Boindon and Robert Deboynaire, Rouen ^g.

8. Colin Barva, Saint Lo ^h.

HENRY VI.

1—13. Henry Somer ⁱ.

1. Thomas Haxey, York ^k.

^s Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^t Id.

^u Rot. Franc. 50 E. III. m. 7.

^w Pat. 1 R. II. pt. 1. m. 13. and Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^x Pat. 1 R. II. pt. 1. m. 29.

^y Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^z Id.

^a Id.

^b Id.

^c Id. Jan. 24, 1404.

^d Id. Nov. 29, 1412.

^e Id.

^f Id. June 15, 1413.

^g Rymer, IX. 847.

^h Rot. Norm. 8 H. V. pt. 1. m. 10. dors.

ⁱ Mint Accounts in the Exchequer, Dec. 20, 1423.

^k Pat. pt. 5. m. 12.

Anno HENRY VI. (*continued*).

9. Richard Bokeland, Calais ^l.
 18—24. John Somerseth, Custos Cambii, & Monete, & Cunagiorum ^m.
 25. John Langton and Walter Aumener, Calais ⁿ.
 25—27. John Lematon, Custos Cambii, & Monete, & Cunagiorum ^o.
 25. Richard Vernon and Walter Aumener, Calais ^p.
 28—30. Thomas Montgomery, Custos Cambii, & Monete, & Cunagiorum ^q.
 31. Thomas Montgomery and John Hynde, Custodes Cambii & Monete ^r.
 32—38. Thomas Montgomery ^s.

EDWARD IV.

1. Germayne Linche, Maister and Gardeine of the King's Mints and Money in Ireland ^t.
 9. John Wode, Arm. Custos Cambii, & Monete, ac Cunagiorum ^u.

EDWARD V.

RICHARD III.

HENRY VII.

- 1—16. William Stafford, Custos Cambii, & Monete, & Cunagii ^w.

^l Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^m Id.

ⁿ Rot. Franc. 25 H. VI. m. 20.

^o Mint Accounts. Patent of Appointment 25 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 29.

^p Rot. Franc. m. 20.

^q Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. On Lematon's death in 1450, but Patent not dated till 1452.

^r Pat. 31 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 20 and 23.

^s Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^t Pat. 1 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 25.

^u Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^w Id. In the Act of Resumption [1487] he is stiled Keeper of the Exchange and Money within the Tower of London, and of the Coinage of Gold and Silver there and elsewhere within the Realm of England. [Rolls of Parliament, VI. 380.]

Anno

HENRY VIII.

- 1—7. William Stafford, as in the reign of Henry VII.^x
 4. John Coppinger, Custos Cambii & Monete, & Cunagiorum auri
 & argenti.^y
 26. Thomas Pope, with the same title.^z
 28—35. John Browne.^a

EDWARD VI.

PHILIP AND MARY.

ELIZABETH.

- 2—37. Richard Martin.^b

JAMES I.

1. Sir Thomas Knevytt.^c
 5. Thomas Lord Knyvet.^d
 15. Thomas Lord Knyvet and Edmund Doobleday, Esq.^e
 22. Sir William Parkhurst, Knt.^f
 23. Henry Tweddy, Esq.^g

CHARLES I.

1. Sir Edward Villers and Sir William Parkhurst, Knts.^h
 4. Anthony St. Legar, Custos Cambii & Monete.ⁱ
 6. Sir William Parkhurst.^k

^x Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. Warton's History of Sir T. Pope, Appendix No III.

^y Warton, *ubi supra*. Coppinger resigned in favour of Pope, Id. p. 9.

^z Warton, Appendix No III. Nov. 13, 1535. He quitted the office within eight years from this date, but the exact time is not known.

^a Browne's Patent of Appointment was dated Dec. 23, 28 H. VIII. Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 35; and his Account from Michaelmas 35 to March 31 following is at folio 43. Warton says that Browne resigned, and had an annuity of £.18. 6s. 8d. by Writ of Privy Seal May 24, 36 H. VIII. Appendix, p. 274.

^b Harl. MSS. No 698, and Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^c Indenture. Lansdown MSS. No 745.

^d Malynes, *Lex Mercatoria*, part II. chap. 2.

^e Rymer, XVII. 19.

^f Snelling's Medals, Plate XVIII. No 5. But qu. whether the date be not incorrect?

^g Pollett's MSS.

^h Rymer, XVIII. 6.

ⁱ Rymer, XIX. 38.

^k Rymer, XIX. 28.

Anno CHARLES I. (*continued.*)13. Thomas Bushell, Esq. Aberistwith^l.18. Sir William Parkhurst, Knt. and Thomas Bushell, Esq. Oxford^m.

COMMONWEALTH.

1. John St. Johnⁿ.

CROMWELL.

CHARLES II.

1. Sir Philip Lloyd^o.11. Sir Anthony St. Leger^p.12—14. Sir William Parkhurst, Sir Anthony St. Leger^q.

23. }

24. }

26. }

30. }

31. }

34. }

Sir Anthony St. Leger^r.

Sir John Buckworth.

Char. Duncombe.

James Hoare^s.

35. Sir Thomas Wharton.

Philip Wharton^t.James Faulkenor or Falconar, Edinburgh^u.

JAMES II.

2. Sir Philip Wharton^w.3. Idem and Sir Thomas Wharton^x.^l Rymer, XX. 162.^m Folkes's Table of English Silver Coins, p. 85. He says they began to coin at Oxford in this year under the direction of Parkhurst and Bushell; but he does not state their title, or titles, of office.ⁿ Commons Journals, 1649.^o and ^p Snelling's MS List of Officers.^q Vertue's Works of Simon, p. 93, and Folkes's Table, p. 104.^r Snelling's MS List.^s Id.^t Id.^u Cardonnel, Num. Scot. p. 117, and Preface, p. 22.^w Snelling's MS List.^x Id. In another MS. Snelling says, I find Wynne in 1685, and Sir Philip Lloyd in 1686; and therefore it is probable that the Whartons were laid aside the beginning of James II.

Anno

WILLIAM AND MARY.

4—7. Benjamin Overton ^y.9. Mr. Isaac Newton ^z.

ANNE.

Sir John Stanley, Bart.^a7. Craven Peyton ^b.

GEORGE I.

2—5. Sir Robert Sandford ^c.8. William Thompson ^d.11. Walter Carey ^e.13. Sir Andrew Fountaine ^f.

GEORGE II.

1—26. Sir Andrew Fountaine ^g.26. Richard Herbert ^h.

GEORGE III.

6. William Whitmore ⁱ.11. Robert Piggott ^k.38. Sir Walter James, Bart.^l

^y History of Grantham, quoted in *Gent. Mag.* vol. LXXVI. p. 532. He was made one of the Commissioners of the Customs in this year, and was succeeded as Warden by Mr. afterward Sir Isaac Newton.

^z Snelling's MS List. *General Dictionary*, VII. 791. In 1699 he was made Master of the Mint.

^a Snelling's MS List.

^b He was appointed on the 1st of May Keeper of the Change and Money within the Tower of London, and Keeper of the Coinage of Gold and Silver within the said Tower, and elsewhere in England, in the same manner as the said offices were granted by her Majesty to Sir John Stanley, Bart. whose Patent was by this Grant determined. *Malcolm's Londinium Redivivum*, vol. IV. p. 626. Snelling's MS List.

^c Snelling's MS List.

^d Id.

^e Id.

^f *Anecdotes of Bowyer*, p. 111.

^g He held the office until his death in this year. *Id. ibid.*

^h Snelling's MS List.

ⁱ Id.

^k Id.

^l Twenty-fourth Report of the Select Committee on Finance, 1798, Supplement (B).

Of the DUTIES of the MASTER of the MINT, distinct from the other OFFICERS ^m.

Shall receive Gold and Silver after their Value.

If the value be disputable, the King's Assay Master shall try it in the presence of the Warden, Master, and Comptroller; and the Master shall stand to his Report.

Shall bring all Gold and Silver which he receives by virtue of his office to be coined, except Medals, and Healing Pieces.

Shall receive Bullion by weight, and deliver it out to the Importers by the same weight.

Shall receive whatever is nigh to Standard; and the expense of refining shall be borne out of the Revenue.

Shall give Bills for the Bullion he receives.

If the Money on the Trial of the Pix be found good, he shall be quit, and discharged by Letters Patent, without fee.

If it be found without the Remedy, he is finable at the King's will ⁿ.

^m He coins by virtue of an Indenture between the King and him, in which the different sorts of Money, their weight and fineness, are specified.

One part of the Indenture was used to be kept in the Exchequer, as appears from the following entry on the Clause Rolls:

"Indenture between the King and Antony Bache, Merchant de Gene, and Nicholas Choue, Masters and Workers in the Mint in the Tower of London.

"Mem^m. On April 14 in the present year David de Wolloure, Keeper of the Rolls, delivered another part of this Indenture, under the seals of the aforesaid Antony and Nicholas, to William de Stowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, William de Brockesby, one of the Barons, and Nicholas de Holme, Remembrancer, to be kept, as is the custom." [Cl. 24 E. III. pt. 1. m. 16. dors.] Sometimes, however, a Commission was issued for making the Monies: as in 3 E. VI. when one was directed to Sir Edmond Peckham, High Treasurer, Sir Martin Bowes, Knt. one of the Under-treasurers, Sir John Godsalue, Knt. Comptroller, William Billingesley, and Thomas Stanley, Assay Masters, and John Germin, Provost of the Moneyers, and to all other Workmen. [Lansdown MSS. No 745.]

ⁿ It seems that the Master sometimes took an undue advantage of the Remedy, for in an Indenture of the 20th E. III. he is reminded that the Remedy was not granted that the Money should be made more feeble, but that the Masters should work truly. [Claus. 20 E. III. pt. 1. m. 25. dors.]

Shall deliver the Gold and Silver to the Moneyers in clean pieces, who are to make good all deficiencies, and then he to pay these their wages.

Shall receive for the Coinage of Gold *per* Pound weight six shillings and six pence, and of Silver *per* Pound weight one shilling and four pence halfpenny.

Shall coin five sorts of Money of Gold, *viz.* Quarter Guinea, Half Guinea, Double Guinea, and Five Guinea Pieces, of the Standard of 22 Carats Fine, and 2 Carats Allay. In weight, after the rate of 44 Guineas and an Half to the Pound weight Troy; and in value £.46. 14s. 6d.

Is not obliged to coin the Quarter Guineas, unless required by the King, or the Treasury °.

Contracts to make eight sorts of Silver Money, *viz.* Pieces of One Penny, Two Pence, Three Pence, Four Pence, Six Pence, One Shilling, Half a Crown, and a Crown, of the Standard of 11 Ounces 2 Pennyweights Fine Silver, and 18 Pennyweights Allay. Every Pound weight Troy to be in value £.3. 2s. 0d.

Is allowed for Remedy one sixth part of a Carat on the Pound weight Troy in weight, or fineness, or in both, on Gold Monies coined too strong or too feeble.

Shall, at his own cost, recoin Gold Monies coined too strong or feeble more than the Remedy p.

Half a Grain in weight on every four Quarter Guineas is allowed to him as a further Remedy.

He may put a Privy Mark on the edges or flat sides of Gold and Silver Monies, and change it as he pleases q.

° That is, I presume, because those pieces were not particularized in the Indenture under which he then coined; for this Clause, and also those respecting the Gold and Silver Monies, must be considered in reference to the time when Pollett wrote. At present the Seven Shilling Pieces must be added to the Denominations of the Gold, and the Quarter Guineas withdrawn.

p Pollett mentions only the Gold Money, but I presume that the Master is obliged to recoin the Silver Money also, if it should be inaccurately made.

q This he was absolutely required to do by the Indenture of the 8th year of Edward IV. which says, "and the same Maist. be holden at his pēll of the same to make a p̄vee marke in all the Moneys which he shall make as well of Gold as of Sylver, so that another tyme if it nede he may knowe and wite which Moneis of Gold and Sylver amonge other of the same Moneys been of his workyng, and which not." Archæologia, vol. XV. p. 171. This also forms an article of the Master's duty in the Indenture of the 14th year of Elizabeth. Harl. MS. 698.

Shall pay the Moneyers for coining, waste, and charges, by the Mill and Press, three shillings, by the Pound weight, for Gold.

Shall pay them for making the Gold Pieces round before they are sized, and for marking the edges with letters and grainings, and for all tools, instruments, and engines, such allowances, as shall be directed by the Treasury, not exceeding six pence the Pound weight.

Shall pay them for coining Silver eight pence the Pound weight; and for making the Pieces round not more than three halfpence the Pound weight.

Shall pay them one penny more on the Pound weight, in consideration of their performing their work well, and making eighteen Ounces in every hundred Pound weight into small Monies; *viz.* Pennies half an Ounce; Two Pences three Ounces; Three Pences six Ounces; Groats eight Ounces and an half; and for returning but $\frac{5}{12}$ in Scissell of the Gold and Silver delivered to them in clean Ingots; under the inspection of the Warden, Master, and Comptroller, or two of them, the Warden to be one. If they are satisfied that the Moneyers have so done, then that sum to be allowed to the Master in his Account.

He covenants to bring in supplies of Gold and Silver, and to deliver Monies according to the Acts of Parliament; and likewise to bear the waste and charges of coining by the Mill and Press.

He shall receive the Coinage Money to defray the Expenses, and encourage the Coinage; and lock it up, under the Warden's, his own, and the Comptroller's keys.

He shall pay to the Warden, for Salaries, £.1470 *per annum*.

He shall pay £.52 *per annum* towards the Diet of the Officers, so long as the King shall allow the same sum to be paid by the Warden.

He is authorized to repay the Warden what he disburses.

He shall account yearly before the Auditors, &c. and be acquitted without fee.

Shall yearly retain £.1255 for Salaries.

The security he gives is £.20,000; and he takes an oath to perform covenants^r.

^r The security given by Lord Hastings in the eighth year of Edward IV. was his bodily oath in the King's Chancery, binding himself, his heirs, and executors; and besides this he found eight borowes [or Bondsmen] in one hundred pounds each. Indenture, Archæologia, vol. XV. p. 177.

He shall have full allowance of his disbursements in his Accounts before the Auditors ; and shall receive his Salary, &c.^s

[In former times he had authority to take as many Gravers of the Irons, and other Workmen, at the King's cost, as he should think necessary ; and all Mayors, Bailiffs, &c. were commanded, by the King, to assist him in taking such Gravers, &c.^t]

[He might then make a delivery of the Coins to the Merchant, once, or twice, in a week, or oftener if he thought fit ^u.]

[In the reign of Elizabeth he engaged to have of his own Coin and Money two thousand Pounds in stock, for the readier payment of those who should bring Bullion to be sold, in order to encourage the bringing it to the Mint ^w.]

He is bound to make the Gold Monies agreeable to the Trial Piece of the fourth year of James II. ; and the Silver according to that of the first of George II.

MASTER, WARDEN, and COMPTROLLER. See WARDEN.

MASTER, COMPTROLLER, and ASSAY MASTER.

They, or any two of them, whereof the Master to be one, to avow the Officers' Fees, Wages, Diet, Charges, Expense of Repairs of Houses and Offices, in the Warden's Account.

By the Indenture the King confirms to the Master all buildings, &c. profits, privileges, &c. belonging to the Office^x.

^s His Salary is confirmed by the Indenture, and is £.500, payable either out of several (recited) Acts of Parliament, or, in default, out of the King's Seignorage for Coinage, or some other of his Majesty's Revenues. [Pollett's Abstract of the Indenture in force between the King and Mr. Conduitt in 1744.] But in this statement there must be some error, as the Seignorage was abolished by Statute 18 Charles II. Chap. V.

From Mr. Chancellor Montague's Letter to Sir Isaac Newton it appears that in 1695 the Salary was about £.600 [Gent. Mag. LXXVI. 532] ; but by Statute 39 George III. Chap. XCIV. it was limited to £.3000 *per annum* in lieu of Salary and Fees, the latter of which amounted to a large sum upon every considerable Coinage.

^t Indenture 8 E. IV. Archæologia, vol. XV. p. 172.

^u Id. p. 174.

^w Indenture 14 Eliz. Harl. MS. 698.

^x Pollett's MS.

In the Report of the Select Committee appointed to consider Publick Offices [1810] this is stated to be one which requires little or no attendance, though it is of occasional responsibility; that it does not come under the description of *Sinecure Offices*, or Offices executed entirely, or principally, by Deputy; that it is not held, either by patent, or by custom, for life; nor given as the reward of publick services.

A LIST of the MASTERS of the MINT.

Anno

HENRY I.

Godwin Socche, Winchester ^y.

EDWARD I.

3. Gregory Rokesley ^z.
8. William de Turnemire, of Marseilles ^a.
Richard de Lothebury, St. Edmundsbury ^b.
9. Alexander Norman de Luic, Dublin ^c.
- 9 or 10. Gregory de Rokesley ^d.
13. William de Turnemire, in Gascony ^e.
14. John de Caturco and Gerald Mauhan, London and Canterbury ^f.
15. John de Caturco, Magister Monete in Camb'. Lond'.^g
- 25—28. John Porcher, Magister Monete Cambii ^h.
- 25 to 12 E. II. Roger de Rede, St. Edmundsbury ⁱ.
28. Alexander Norman de Luyke, Dublin ^k.
Hubert Elion, William de Turnemire, and his Brother ^l.

^y British Topography, vol. I. p. 389.

^z Stow. He was Mayor of London in this year.

^a Lib. Rub. Scaccarii, folio 247. In Stow's Survey Rokesley appears as Master of the Mint under this year.

^b Reg. Kempe, Harl. MSS. 645, folio 116, b. He continued until 25 E. I.

^c Mint Accounts in the Exchequer; and Simon's Irish Coins, p. 15.

^d Madox, I. 291.

^e Rot. Vasc. 13 E. I. m. 2.

^f Madox, II. 90.

^g Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^h Id. and Lib. Rub. Scacc. folio 259.

ⁱ North's Answer to Clarke, p. 13.

^k Lib. Rub. Scacc. fol. 259. In a Clause Roll of the 30th. year of Edward I. the King styles him Alexander Norman De Luca Monetar' nr'. Hib'n', m. 6.

^l Idem. List without date, fol. 245.

Anno

EDWARD II.

- 2. John de Puntoyse ^m.
- 6. John de Pontoyse and Lapine Roger, London and Canterbury ⁿ.
- 8. Lapine Roger ^o.
- 10—12. Giles de Hertesburgh and Terric de Lose, London and Canterbury ^p.
- 12 from 25 E. I. Roger de Rede, St. Edmundsbury ^q.
- 12. Alan de Cove, St. Edmundsbury ^r.
- Giles de Hertesburgh, Canterbury ^s.
- 12—17. Lapine Roger, Magister Monete monetand. in Cambiis London' & Cant. ^t
- 13. Hugh de Houton, St. Edmundsbury ^u.

EDWARD III.

- 1. Roger Rykeman, London and Canterbury ^w.
- 17. George Kirkyn and Lotto Nicholyn, of Florence ^x.
- Henry Brisele ^y.
- Hugh Martyn, Bourdeaux and Aquen ^z.
- 18, 19, 28. Percival de Porche de Luca ^a.
- 18. Luke Nicholyn ^b.
- Walter de Dunflower ^c.
- 20. George Kirkyn and Lotto Nicholyn ^d.

^m Madox, II. 90. He succeeded John le Porcher.

ⁿ Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^o Id. In the next year Stephen Week was his *locum tenens* at Canterbury.

^p Mint Accounts in the Exchequer; on the resignation, as it should seem, of Lapine Roger.

Baldewyn de Afflyngham was their *locum tenens* at Canterbury.

^q North's Answer to Clarke, p. 13.

^r Reg. Werketone, folio 11, b. Harl. MSS. No 638.

^s Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^t Id.

^u Reg. Kempe, fol. 117. Harl. MSS. No 645.

^w Madox's MSS. vol. LXIX. p. 107. He succeeded Lapine Roger.

^x Cl. 17 E. III. pt. 2. m. 4. dors.

^y Cl. 17 E. III. m. 15. dors.

^z Rot. Vasc. 17 E. III. m. 14.

^a Cl. 18 E. III. pt. 1. m. 4. Cl. 18 E. III. m. 19. dors. Rolls of Parliament, II. 452.

^b Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^c Lowndes.

^d Cl. 20 E. III. pt. 2. m. 22.

Anno EDWARD III. (*continued*).

- 21 and 22. Bertrand de Polirac, Meistre du Coigne, & de Monoies de la Duchee de Guien ^e.
 Luke Nicholyn and George Clerkyn ^f.
 23. John Lotte Nicole Donato du Chastell de Florence & Socii Sui.^g
 24. Anthony Bache of Geneva and Nicholas Choue ^h.
 Henry de Brusele ⁱ.
 25 and 26. Henry de Brusele and John de Cicestre ^k.
 27 and 28. Henry de Brusele, London and Canterbury ^l.
 28. Henry de Brusely, York ^m.
 30. John Donative of the Castle of Florence, and Philip John Denier ⁿ.
 34. Peter Bataile, Rochelle ^o.
 35. G. de Barde ^p.
 36. Robert de Porch ^q.
 37. Idem ^r.
 Guater de Barde ^s.
 Henry de Brussele, Calais ^t.
 38. G. de Barde, Calais ^u.
 39. Thomas Kyng, Calais ^x.
 40. John Chichester ^y.
 40, 41, 43. Gautron de Barde, Calais ^z.
 44. Gauter or Gawtron de Bard ^a.
 45, 46, 48. Bardet de Malepily ^b.
 49, 50. Galtron de Bard ^c.

^e R. Parl. II. 208.

^f Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^g Id.

^h Id. and Cl. 24 E. III. pt. 1. m. 16. dors.

ⁱ Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^k Pat. 25 E. III. pt. 2. m. 13. dors. and Cl. m. 15; and Mint Accounts.

^l Mint Accounts.

^m Id.

ⁿ Indenture, Lansdown MSS. No 745.

^o Rot. Cales. 34 E. III. pt. 1. m. 6.

^p Snelling's MS List.

^q Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^r Id.

^s Id.

^t Id. In Rot. Franc. 37 E. III. n. 11. his name is written Brisele.

^u Mint Accounts.

^x Rot. Franc. 39 E. III. m. 9.

^y Cl. 40 E. III. pt. 1. m. 12.

^z Mint Accounts, and Rot. Franc. 40 E. III. m. 4.

^a Mint Accounts.

^b Lowndes. Cl. 45 E. III. m. 27. dors.; Snelling's MS List; and Cl. 46 E. III. m. 18. dors.

^c Mint Accounts.

Anno

RICHARD II.

- 1—14. Gautron de Bardes ^d.
 18. Nicholas Malakin, a Florentine ^e.
 John Wildeman ^f.
 19. Nicholas Malakine ^g.
 19, 20, 21. Geoffrey Mullekyn ^h.

HENRY IV.

3. Walter Merwe, Magister Monete Lond. ⁱ
 4. Idem, Magister Monetarum ^k.
 14. Richard Garner ^l.
 Lodowic John ^m.

HENRY V.

- 1 and 2. Lodewick or Lowys John, London and Calais ⁿ.
 5. Conrad Melwer, Duchy of Normandy ^o.
 5—7. John Lowys, or Lodowic John ^p.
 8. John Marceur, St. Lo ^q.
 9. Bartholomew Goldbeter ^r.

HENRY VI.

- 1—11. Bartholomew Goldbeter, London, York, Bristol, and Calais ^s.
 4. Robert Manfeld ^t.

^d Pat. 1 R. II. pt. 1. m. 31. Rolls of Parliament, III. 392, and Mint Accounts. Snelling's MS List has John Wildman as Master 1 R. II., but I know not on what authority.

^e Lowndes.

^f Claus. 18 R. II. m. 25.

^g Bre. Reg. 18 and 19 R. II.

^h Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

ⁱ Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. Claus. 3 H. IV. pt. 2. dors.

^k Mint Accounts.

^l Id.

^m Id.

ⁿ Ind. Cl. 1 H. V. m. 35. dors. Snelling's MS List.

^o Rot. Norm. 5 H. V. m. 9.

^p Mint Accounts. His name is written both ways in the same Account.

^q Rot. Norm. 8 H. V. pt. 1. m. 10. dors.

^r Claus. 9 H. V. m. 2. dors.

^s Cl. 1 H. VI. m. 13. dors. Pat. 4 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 16. Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. Pat. 7 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 18. Acquietanc. p' Execut. Barth'i Goldbeter M'ri Monet'. R. post Assaya inde fact'. Pat. 11 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 11. He is sometimes called Bartholomew Seman Goldbeter.

^t Lowndes, and Snelling's MS List.

Anno HENRY VI. (*continued*).

- 10 and 11. William Russe, London, Calais, Bristol, and York ^u.
 13—24. John Paddesley, of the same places ^w.
 24—38. Robert Manfeld, London and Calais ^x.
 37—49. Sir Richard Tonstall, Knt. ^y.
 39. Robert Bishop of Ross, London, the Realm of England, and Calais ^z.
 Germaine Lynch, Ireland ^a.

EDWARD IV.

- 1—16. William Lord Hastings, London and Calais ^b.
 1—13. Germaine Linche, Ireland ^c.
 19. Hugh Brice ^d.
 22. Bartholomew Reed ^e.

^u Pat. 10 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 29. and 11 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 9.

^w Mint Accounts, and Cl. 12 H. VI. m. 4. dors.

^x Mint Accounts.

^y Cl. 37 H. VI. m. 11. dors. and Cl. 49 H. VI. m. 4. dors.

^z Pat. 39 H. VI. m. 16. He was Bishop of Ross in Ireland; which See is now annexed to Cork.

^a Pat. 39 H. VI. m. 7.

^b Pat. 4 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 16. Mint Accounts. Pat. 11 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 3. Pat. 16 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 3. Of the King's peculiar munificence, the same year [*i. e.* 1 E. IV.] he had a Grant of the office of Master of his Mint in the Tower of London, and Town of Calais, for twelve years. [Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I. p. 580.] From an Indenture of 4th E. IV. it appears that Lord Hastings was also Keeper of all manner of the King's Eschaunges and Outchaunges in the Tower of London, Realm of England, Territory of Ireland, and Town of Calais. [Pat. 4 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 16.] Another Indenture, of the eighth year of E. IV. was communicated by Taylor Combe, Esq. to the Society of Antiquaries, and was printed in the XVth volume of the Archæologia, p. 164.

^c Pat. 1 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 25. Simon's Irish Coins, p. 27, and Appendix No XIII.

^d Rymer, XII. 96. Brice was Deputy to Lord Hastings [Pat. 9 E. IV. pt. 1. m. 20. and anno 13. pt. 1. m. 10.] as he was also to Reed [Mint Accounts in the Exchequer]. I therefore suspect that he was Master of the Mint of Calais only. Rymer states, above, that Hugh Brice, Alderman of London, Master of the Mint, was one of the persons appointed to hold the Conference at Maclinia, on the part of the King, upon the 12th of January 1279.

Caxton, in "Thymage, or Myrrour of the Worlde," which he printed in 1481, says, that he translated that book at the request, desire, cost, and dispense of the honourable and worshipful man Hugh Brice, Alderman and Citizen of London, who told him that he intended to present it to the Lord Hastings. [Typographical Antiquities. Dibdin's Edition, vol. I. pp. 105, 106.]

^e Lowndes. Mint Accounts

Anno

EDWARD V.

RICHARD III.

1. Robert Brackenbury ^f.

HENRY VII.

- 1—5. Giles Lord Dawbeney, Knt. and Bartholomew Rede, Goldsmith ^g.
1. Robert Bowley, Maister of the Cunage and Mynt within the Cities of Dyvelyn and Waterford ^h.
8. John Shaa and Bartholomew Reed ⁱ.
9. Robert Fenrother and Bartholomew Reed ^k.
- 10—13. John Shaa and Bartholomew Rede, Operarii Monete ^l.

HENRY VIII.

- 1—10. William Blount Lord Mountjoy ^m.
15. William Wright, York ⁿ.
18. Ralph Rowlet and Martin Bowes ^o.
22. William Blount Lord Mountjoy ^p.
25. William Tillesworth, Archbishop's Mint, Canterbury ^q.
34. Sir Martin Bowes and Ralphe Rowlett ^r.
35. Sir Martin Bowes ^s.
36. Sir Martin Bowes, Knt. Stephen Vaughan and Thomas Knight, Esquires, Under-treasurers, Robert Brook, Comptroller, John York, William Billingsley, William Knight, and Thomas Stanley, Assay Masters ^t.
Nicholas Tyery ^u.

^f Lowndes. ^g Mint Accounts in the Exchequer, Snelling's MS List of Officers.

^h Rolls of Parliament, VI. 346.

ⁱ Snelling's MS List.

^k Lowndes.

^l Mint Accounts.

^m Id.

ⁿ Wynne's MSS. in the Library of All Souls College, Oxford, vol. LXXXI. folio 233, b.
Wright was Master of the Archbishop's Mint.

^o MS Indentures, *penès* G. Chalmers, Arm.

^p Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. In this year he appointed Hugh Welshe to be his Deputy in the Tower of London, the Realm of England, and the Town of Calais.

^q See that Mint.

^r Lowndes.

^s Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 43.

^t Indenture, Lansdown MSS. No 745. These were not Masters but Commissioners.

^u Nicolson, Eng. Hist. Lib. p. 249, no date.

Anno

EDWARD VI.

1. John York and others, Southwark.
William Tilsworth, Canterbury.
Sir Martin Bowes, Tower ^w.
2. George Gale, York.
John York, Southwark.
William Tilsworth, Canterbury ^x.
- 3, 4, and 5. Sir Edmund Peckham and others ^y.
Sir William Sharington, Durham House ^z.
- 4—6. Martyn Pirri, Dublin ^a.
5. York and Throgmorton ^b.
6. George Gale, John Winde, Richard Lee, York ^c.

PHILIP AND MARY.

1. Thomas Egerton ^d.

ELIZABETH.

2. Sir Thomas Stanley and others ^e.
- 14—19. John Lonison ^f.
15. Thomas Stanley ^g.
23. Sir Richard Martin ^h.
- 24, 25. Richard Martin ⁱ.
- 26—43. Sir Richard Martin, Knt. and Richard Martin his son ^k.

^w Lowndes. Lansdown MS. No 744. says the same on 36 H. VIII.

^x Id

^y Lowndes. These were Commissioners, like those in the 36th of Henry VIII. Snelling's MS List has Richard Throgmorton for these years.

^z Pennant's London, p. 132.

^a Cotton MSS. Otho E. X. folio 186. Edward VI. Journal. Burnet's Reformation, vol. II. Appendix, p 47.

^b Journal, p. 32.

^c Harl. MSS. No 38. folio 249.

^d Lowndes.

^e Id.

^f Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 24. Lowndes.

^g Lansdown MSS. No 5.

^h Leake, p. 250.

ⁱ Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 23. Lowndes.

^k Lowndes. Indenture, Lansdown MSS. No 745.

Anno

JAMES I.

- 1—3. Sir Richard Martin, Knt. and Richard Martin his son ^l.
 13. Lord Knevet and Edward Doubleday ^m.
 17—21. Randall Cranfield ⁿ.
 21. Sir Edward Villiers, Knt. ^o.
 22. Sir Edward Villiers, Knt. and Henry Twedy, Esq. ^p.
 23. Sir Edward Villiers, Knt. ^q.

CHARLES I.

- 1—11. Sir Robert Harley ^r.
 11—16. Sir Ralph Freeman ^s.
 13. Thomas Bushel, Esq. Aberistwith ^t.
 18. Sir Robert Harley ^u.
 22. Henry Slingsby ^w.
 John Faulkener or Falconar, Edinburgh ^x.

COMMONWEALTH.

- 1—3. Aaron Guerdain ^y.

CROMWELL.

CHARLES II.

12. Sir William Parkhurst ^z.
 12—14. Sir Ralph Freeman, Knt. ^a.
 Sir Thomas Vyner, Robert Vyner, and Daniel Bellingham,
 Dublin ^b.

^l Folkes, p. 66. Lowndes.

^m Snelling's MS List.

ⁿ Id. Pollett. Leake, p. 279. Rymer, XVIII. 6.

^o Pollett.

^p Id.

^q Id.

^r Folkes, p. 94. Pollett.

^s Lowndes.

^t Folkes, p. 82.

^u Snelling's MS List.

^w Lowndes.

^x See Plate XLI. No 11. and the following Note ^e.

^y Folkes, p. 95. Violet's Mysteries of Mint Affairs, p. 172.

^z Violet's Appeal to Cæsar, p. 26.

^a Vertue's Works of Simon, second edition, p. 83.

^b Simon's Irish Coins, Appendix LVII.

Anno CHARLES II. (*continued.*)22, 24, 26, 30. Henry Slingsby ^c.30. Thomas Neale ^d.John Faulkener or Falconar, Edinburgh ^e.

JAMES II.

1. Thomas Neale ^f.4. John Trinder, Thomas Goddard, William Talbot, William Brumfield, Francis Rice, Edward Fox, Dublin.
Walter Plunket, Limerick ^g.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

1—10. Thomas Neale ^h.11. Sir Isaac Newton ⁱ.Major Wyvil, York ^k.

ANNE.

GEORGE I.

4—12. Sir Isaac Newton ^l.12. John Conduit ^m.

GEORGE II.

1. John Conduit ⁿ.11—13. Honourable Richard Arundell ^o.18. The same ^p.18—30. William Chetwind ^q.^c Snelling's MS List.^d Id.^e Cardonnel, Num. Scot. p. 117, and Preface, p. 22.^f Lowndes.^g Simon's Irish Coins, p. 59. They were Commissioners for coining the Brass Money.^h Lowndes. Harl. Miscel. VIII. 484.ⁱ Snelling's MS List. General Dictionary.^k Drake's York, Appendix, p. ciii.^l Pollett. He held this office until his death on the 20th of March, 1726-7. General Dictionary. Upon his death it was offered to Dr. Clarke, who refused it. Life by Wharton, p. 135.^m General Dictionary.ⁿ Id. Snelling's MS List.^o Snelling's MS List. Vallavine's Observations on the current Coin, p. 15. Arundell's Final Account, 1744, January 3. Lansdown MSS. vol. 704.^p Folkes, p. 112.^q Snelling's MS List. Maitland's History of London, vol. I. p. 155.

Anno	GEORGE III.
10.	Honourable Charles Sloane Cadogan ^r .
24.	Earl of Effingham ^s .
29.	Earl of Chesterfield ^t .
30.	Earl of Leicester ^u .
34.	Sir George Yonge, Bart. ^w
39.	Lord Hawkesbury ^x .
41.	Lord Arden ^y .
42.	Right Honourable John Smythe ^z .
44.	Earl Bathurst ^a .
45.	Lord Charles Spencer ^b .
46.	Bragge Bathurst ^c .
47.	Earl Bathurst ^d .

The Master has his own Assay Master. In the 29th of George II. that office was held by Joseph Lucas ^e, and in the 38th of George III. by Robert Bingley ^f.

Of the DUTY of the COMPTROLLER of the MINT, distinct from the other OFFICERS.

Shall annually make a Roll of the Gold and Silver molten and coined, and deliver it on oath before one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

^r Verdict on Trial of the Pix, 1799.

^{s t u} Gent. Mag. LXXVI. 533, from Turnor's History of Grantham

^w Verdict in 1799, as above, Note ^r.

^x Gent. Mag. as above.

^y Votes of the House of Commons, Feb. 19, 1801.

^{z a} Gent. Mag. as above.

^{b c d} From the Publick Papers.

^e Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.

^f Report of Select Committee on Finance, 1798, Report XXIV. Supplement (B).

COMPTROLLER and WARDEN. See WARDEN.

COMPTROLLER, WARDEN, and MASTER. See WARDEN.

COMPTROLLER, WARDEN, and ASSAY MASTER See WARDEN.

COMPTROLLER, WARDEN, and KING'S CLERK. See WARDEN.

COMPTROLLER, WARDEN, KING'S CLERK, and CLERK OF PAPERS. See WARDEN.

COMPTROLLER, MASTER, and ASSAY MASTER. See MASTER ^g.

A LIST of the COMPTROLLERS of the MINT.

Anno

EDWARD II.

5—15. Roger de Frouwik, or Roger Frowyke, Canterbury ^h.

EDWARD III.

3 and 4. John Ponteyse ⁱ.

23—28. Richard de Grymmesby, London and Canterbury ^k.

28. Henry de Brusle, York ^l.

William Borreu, in Aquitaine ^m.

34. Henry de Brysele, Cont^r. Monet' argent' in Turr' London'. ⁿ

Hugh de Wythingham ^o.

36 and 37. Gauter de Bard ^p.

37—43. Eustas de Glaston ^q.

44. Gauter de Bard ^r.

RICHARD II.

^g Pollett's MS.

^h Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

ⁱ Id.

^k Id.

^l Id.

^m Rot. Vasc. 28 E. III. m. 12.

ⁿ Mint Accounts, from April 5 to June 16.

^o Mint Accounts, from June 17 to Michaelmas following.

^p Mint Accounts.

^q Id.

^r Id.

Anno

HENRY IV.

- 2—5. William Fitzhugh, Goldsmith, Contr. Mag^ri Monete ^s.
 13. Thomas Drayton, Comptroller and Assayer ^t.
 14. William Fitzhugh ^u.

HENRY V.

- 5—7. William Fitzhugh, Contr. Cambii & Monete ^w.

HENRY VI.

- 1—8. John Derlyngton ^x.
 1. Thomas Roderham, Comptroller, Exchanger, and Assayer, York ^y.
 8. John Tyse ^z.
 9 and 10. John Hexham ^a.
 13—19. Henry Ragley ^b.
 16. Giles Seyntlowe, Calais ^c.
 23—28. Thomas Thorpe ^d.
 23. Giles Seyntlowe and William Wever, Calais ^e.
 29. Richard Joynour ^f.
 30—38. Humphrey Hayford, Citizen and Goldsmith of London, Contr.
 Monete & Cunagii ^g.

EDWARD IV.

1. Thomas St. Legier, Comptroller, Campsor, and Assayer ^h.

EDWARD V.

RICHARD III.

HENRY VII.

- 1—3. Nicholas Flynte, Contr. Monete & Cunagii infra Turrin Lond.¹

^s Mint Accounts.^t Pat. 13 H. IV. pt. 2. m. 27.^u Mint Accounts.^w Id.^x Id.^y Pat. 1 H. VI. pt. 5. m. 12.^z Mint Accounts.^a Id.^b Id.^c Rot. Franc. 16 H. VI. m. 7.^d Mint Accounts.^e Rot. Franc. 23 H. VI. m. 12.^f Mint Accounts.^g Id.^h Claus. 1 E. IV.ⁱ Mint Accounts.

Anno HENRY VIII.

- 3—10. Henry Wyott, Miles, Contr^r. Moneto dñi Regis infra Turrim Lond.;
ac Cunagii Auri & Argenti infra Tur'. predict'; & alibi infra
Regnum Anglie^k.
33. Peter Meawtas^l.
- 34—36. Hugh Egglionbie, Contr^r. and Assayer^m.
36. Robert Brooke or Brookesⁿ.

EDWARD VI.

3. Sir John Godsalue^o.
Robert Recorde, Bristol^p.
4. Thomas Fleetwood^q.
Oliver Dawbeney, Dublin^r.

PHILIP AND MARY.

ELIZABETH.

1. Thomas Stanley^s.
37. Andrew Palmer^t.

JAMES I.

- 2—15. Richard Rogers^u.

CHARLES I.

1. Richard Rogers and William Wood^w.
15. Henry Cogan and William Wheeler, Contr^s. Cunagii & Monetæ^x.

^k Mint Accounts.

^m Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 35, 43.

^o Snelling's MS List.

^q Snelling's MS List. Noble says that he was Treasurer of the Royal Mint in Southwark.
Memoirs of Cromwell, vol. II. p. 349.

^r Cotton MSS. Otho E. X. fol. 186.

^s Pat. 1 Eliz. m. 3. dors. Snelling has in this year John Bull instead of Stanley.

^t Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^u Snelling's MS List. Rymer, XVII. 19.

^w Rymer, XVIII. 6.

^x Rymer, XIX. 379. Henry Cogan was appointed to these places, in reversion, on the 6th
of September 1627. Rymer, XVIII. 988.

^l Sir Julius Cæsar's MS. *penès Autor*.

ⁿ Snelling's MS List.

^p Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 440.

Anno

COMMONWEALTH.

1. Henry Cogan ^y.
3. Barnardiston ^z.

CROMWELL.

CHARLES II.

13. James Hoare ^a.

JAMES II.

4. Messrs. Holland, Morgan, Osborn, and Dempsey, Dublin ^b.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

James Hoare ^c.

ANNE.

2. John Ellis ^d.
10. Edward Phelips ^e.
13. Martin Bladen ^f.

GEORGE I.

1. Martin Bladen ^g.

GEORGE II.

- 2—29. Lord Aylmer ^h.
28. John Buller.

GEORGE III.

26. John Buller ⁱ.
38. John Carthew, Esq. ^k.

^y Commons Journals.^z Snelling's MS List.^a Id.^b Simon's Irish Coins, p. 59. They were Comptrollers of his Mint for the Brass Money.^c Snelling's MS List; without date.^d Id.^e Id.^f Biographia Dramatica, vol. I. p. 29.^g Biographia Dramatica, vol. I. p. 29. I know not whether his appointment took place in this reign or in the preceding one. It is dated in 1714.^h True State of England, 1729. Snelling's MS List. Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.ⁱ Snelling's MS List. The date of the 28th George II. does not agree with the preceding; but Maitland gives Lord Aylmer as Comptroller in 1756. John Buller, Esq. M. P. for East Looe, one of the Lords of the Treasury, and Comptroller of the Mint, died on the 26th of July 1786. Gent. Mag.^k State of the Nation, Report XXIV. vol. III. p. 207.

Of the DUTY of the KING's ASSAY MASTER, distinct from the other
OFFICERS.

He shall keep a Book of Bullion brought into the Mint, and also of the Pot Assay, to be made of some Ingot to be taken by the Warden, Comptroller, and Assay Master, or two of them.

The Master is bound to stand to his Report on the Trial of Gold and Silver, in dispute between him and the Importers, being made in the presence of the Warden, Master, and Comptroller¹.

ASSAY MASTER, WARDEN, and COMPTROLLER. See WARDEN.

ASSAY MASTER, MASTER, and COMPTROLLER. See MASTER ^m.

A LIST of the KING's ASSAY MASTERS.

Anno

HENRY III.

- 6. Robertus de Grettone and Galfridus de Frowic ⁿ.
- 32. Richard Bonaventure ^o.
Galfridus Rikeward, Canterbury ^p.
- 33. Peter Delveday, Winchester ^q.
- 54. Bartholomew de Castello, Keeper of the Cambium, appointed to prove and assay the King's Money throughout the whole Kingdom ^r.

EDWARD I.

- 1 and 2. Bartholomew de Brauncestre ^s.
- 3. Gregory Rokesley, Chief Saymaster of all the King's Mints throughout England, and Keeper of the King's Exchange in London ^t.

¹ See Statute 2 H. VI. Chap. XII.

^m Pollett's MS.

ⁿ Madox, Memor. 6 H. III. Rot. 3. dors. Madox, in the second volume of his History of the Exchequer, p. 87, gives the latter of these names *Frowe*. The above is taken from an extract from the Roll attested by Henry Bromfeild, one of the Secondaries, Dec. 14, 1744, for which I am indebted to my friend and Printer the venerable Historian of Leicestershire.

^o Madox, II. 88.

^p Id. *ibid*.

^q North's Remarks on Clarke, p. 15.

^r Pat. 54 H. III. m 11.

^s Madox, II. 90.

^t Stow's Chronicle. He was then Mayor of London.

Anno

EDWARD I. (*continued.*)

5. Richard de Bentley, St. Edmundsbury ^u.
8. John de Rede, St. Edmundsbury ^w.
— Fache, Mercator, Capital' Essaiator, Emptor, & Ponderator,
Monete ^x.
10. John Guyot ^y.
25. Hugh Houton, St. Edmundsbury ^z.
28. John de Sandale, also Keeper of the Exchange of England ^a.
Boniface Galoani, of Florence ^b.

EDWARD II.

Before 12th year, Lapine Roger, Canterbury ^c.

14. John de Redgrave, St. Edmundsbury ^d.

EDWARD III.

1. John de Pointroyse. Also Exchanger London and Canterbury ^e.
6. Arnald Delescapoins ^f.
- 11—19. Geoffrey de Thoresby, Canterbury ^g.
21. William de Salop, also Custos Cuneorum, Calais ^h.
- About 21 or 22. James de James, also Warden, St. Sever ⁱ.
25. Hugh de Wychyngham ^k.
- 26—28. Richard de Grymesbi, London and Canterbury ^l.
30. Hugh de Wychyngham, Campsor and Assayer ^m.

^u Madox, II. 90.^w Reg. Kempe, Harl. MSS. No 645. folio 117.^x Lib. Rub. Scacc. fol. 247.^y Cl. 10 E. I. m. 2.^z Reg. Kempe, Harl. MSS. 645. fol. 117.^a Abbrev. Rot. Orig. Scaccarii.^b Lib. Rub. Scacc. fol. 245.^c Madox, II. 90.^d Reg. Kempe, Harl. MSS. 645. fol. 117.^e Madox's MSS. vol. LXIX. fol. 109.^f Rot. Vasc. 6 E. III. m. 8.^g Pat. 11 E. III. pt. 2. m. 34. in like manner as Lapine Roger deceased had held it. Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.^h Rot. Franc. 21 E. III. p. 2. m. 4.ⁱ Rolls of Parl. vol. II. p. 209.^k Mint Accounts.^l Id.^m Pat. 30 E. III. pt. 3. m. 18. He is said to have the office on the same terms as Henry de Brisele held it. This is the only instance in which I have found that person mentioned as Campsor and Assayer. The time when he held these offices does not appear.

- Anno EDWARD III. (*continued*).
32. Peter de la Grote, Aquenⁿ.
35. Clare de Court, Campsor and Assayer^o.
35. Hugh de Wychingham, Campsor and Assayer of Silver Money in
 the Tower of London^p.
41. Eustace de Glaston^q.
- 49 and 50. John de Leycestre^r.
49. John de Maunsfeld, Campsor and Assayer, Calais^s.

RICHARD II.

1. John Leicester, Campsor and Assayer^t.
- 11—14. John Leycestre, Assayer^u.
17. John Wildeman, Campsor and Assayer^w.
- 17—18. Richard Clytherowe, Campsor and Assayer, Calais^x.
- 20 and 21. Walter Merwe, Campsor and Assayer^y.
20. John Feld, Campsor and Assayer, Calais^z.

HENRY IV.

- 1—14. William Fitzhugh^a.
13. Thomas Drayton, Assayer and Comptroller^b.

HENRY V.

- 5—7. William Fitzhugh, Goldsmith^c.
7. John Courel, Rouen^d.
8. Perrin Pelagin, St. Lo^e.

ⁿ Rot. Vasc. 32 E. III. m. 12.

^o Mint Accounts, from March 5 to June 18.

^p Id. from Michaelmas to March 5.

^s Rot. Franc. 49 E. III. m. 13.

^u Mint Accounts.

^x Cl. 18 R. II. m. 13.

^z Rot. Franc. 20 R. II. m. 6.

^b Pat. 13 H. IV. m. 27.

^d Rot. Norm. 7 H. V. pt. 1. m. 81. dors. He succeeded his father Laurence Courel.

^e Rot. Norm. 8 H. V. pt. 1. m. 10. dors.

^q Id. ^r Id.

^t Pat. 1 R. II. pt. 1. m. 20.

^w Pat. 17 R. II. m. 2.

^y Mint Accounts.

^a Mint Accounts.

^c Mint Accounts.

Anno

HENRY V. (*continued*).

9. John Derlyngton, Campsor and Assayer ^f.
 10. Jacob Shaft, Campsor and Assayer, Calais ^g.

HENRY VI.

- 1—8. John Derlyngton ^h.
 1. Thomas Roderham, York ⁱ.
 Jacob Shaft, Campsor and Assayer, Calais ^k.
 8. John Tyse ^l.
 9 and 10. John Hexham ^m.
 13. Henry Ragley ⁿ.
 16. Giles Seyntlowe, Calais ^o.
 17. John Amanyn, of Bourdeloys, Master de la Touche, Bourdeaux ^p.
 18. Henry Ragley and Thomas Thorpe, vicissim Assaiatores Monete ^q.
 23—28. Thomas Thorpe ^r.
 23. Giles Seyntlowe and William Wever, Calais ^s.
 29. Richard Joynour ^t.
 30—38. Humphrey Hayford ^u.

EDWARD IV.

1. Thomas St. Legier, Comptroller, Campsor, and Assayer ^w.

EDWARD V.

RICHARD III.

HENRY VII.

- 1—3. Nicholas Flynte, Assaiator Monete & Cunagii ^x.

^f Pat. 9 H. V. pt. 2. m. 6. dors.^g Rot. Franc. 10 H. V. m. 3.^h Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.ⁱ Pat. 1 H. VI. pt. 5. m. 12.^k Rot. Franc. 1 H. VI. m. 20.^l Mint Accounts.^m Id.ⁿ Id.^o Rot. Franc. 16 H. VI. m. 7.^p Rot. Vasc. 17 and 18 H. VI. m. 8. as Stephen Soporet had held it.^q Mint Accounts.^r Id.^s Rot. Franc. 23 H. VI. m. 12.^t Mint Accounts.^u Id.^w Claus. 1 E. IV.^x Mint Accounts.

Anno

HENRY VIII.

- 1—4. Henry Wiatt, or Wyott, Miles, Assaiator Monete d'ni Regis infra Turrim London', ac Assaiator Cunagii Auri & Argenti infra Turrim prædict', & alibi infra Regnum Anglie^y.
- 35—36. Hugh Eglonby, or Egleby, Assayer and Comptroller^z.
36. John York, William Billingsley, William Knight, and Thomas Stanley^a.
- Laurence Warren, of London, Goldsmith, Assay Master Cambii, Cunagii & Monete, Canterbury^b.

EDWARD VI.

3. William Billingesley and Thomas Stanley^c.
4. William Knight^d.
- 4—6. William Williams, Ireland^e.

PHILIP AND MARY.

ELIZABETH.

- 1—5. William Humphreys^f.
1. John Bull^g.
18. William Humfrie and William Williams^h.
25. William Williams and Walter Williams his sonⁱ.
32. Walter Williams^k.

^y Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^z Harl. MSS. No 698. p. 43.

^a Indenture, Lansdown MSS. No 745.

^b He received a general pardon, under the Great Seal, for all offences against the Mint, in the time of King Henry VIII., in which he is stiled late Assay Master, &c. Orig. penès Joseph Dimsdale, Arm.

^c Indenture, Lansdown MSS. No 745.

^d Id.

^e Cotton MSS. Otho E. X. fol. 186. Edward VI. Journal. Burnet, vol. II. p. 51.

^f Snelling's MS List. Indenture, Lansdown MSS. No 745.

^g Pat. 1 Eliz. m. 3. dors. He seems to have been appointed for the special purpose of assaying the base Coinage for Ireland.

^h Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 120.

ⁱ Id. fol. 25.

^k Lansdown MSS. vol. LXV. No 6. He succeeded his father, who is called late Assayer.

Anno

JAMES I.

8. Walter Williams, Andrew Palmer, and John Reynold¹.
 15: Walter Williams and Andrew Palmer^m.

CHARLES I.

1. Andrew Palmer and George Turnerⁿ.
 3. Andrew Palmer^o.
 12. George Turner and others were appointed to the office Magistrorum Assaiarum Auri & Argenti cunati & Bullionis infra Minetam infra Turrim London', ad vitas, Jul. 11 P.

COMMONWEALTH.

1. Andrew Palmer and Thomas Woodward^q.

CHARLES II.

23. Sir John Brattle^r.

JAMES II.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

3. Sir John Brattle^s.
 Daniel Brattle.
 Charles Brattle^t.

ANNE.

¹ Snelling's MS List of Officers. Reynolds (so his name should be written) calculated Tables to cast up Silver and Gold. I know not when they were first published, but they appear at the end of the second edition of the "New Touchstone for Gold and Silver Wares" [London, 1679, 8vo], where they are said to be taken from a printed copy corrected by him, with his hand to testify the same.

^m Rymer, XVII. 19.

ⁿ Rymer, XVIII. 6.

^o Commons Journals, I. 918. In this year Henry Cogan had the reversion of this place, and also that of Comptroller, granted to him. He was joint Comptroller in 1639; but I have not found that he was ever Assayer.

^p Rymer, XIX. 203.

^q Commons Journals, *sub anno* 1649.

^r Snelling's MS List under this reign, but without date.

^s Sir John Brattle, a worthy person, and who hath long enjoyed a considerable office in the Royal Mint. [Dr. Walker's Account of Εικων Βασιλικη, 4to, London, 1691, p. 19.]

^t Snelling's MS List gives these two names, but without dates.

Anno 1714 GEORGE I.

3. Charles Brattle ^u.
9—12. Hopton Haynes ^w.

GEORGE II.

2. Hopton Haynes^x.
7. Joshua White.
—— Whitaker^y.

- 19—24. Joseph Harris^z.
24. ——— Lucas^a.

GEORGE III.

4. Joseph Harris ^b.
4. Joseph Lucas ^c.
29. Stanesby Alchorne ^d.
38. Robert Bingley ^e.

Of the OFFICE of CUNEATOR.

Another Officer, of great importance in early times, bore the title of Cuneator. This office was hereditary, and, as far as I have discovered, the only one in the Mint which was so. The Engravers of the Dies seem to have been appointed by him, and to have been under his immediate cognisance. By him they were presented to the Barons of the Exchequer, before whom they took the usual oath of office; and it was probably his duty to see that all the Dies, as well those which were used in the paramount Mint in the Tower of London, as those which were issued from thence to the subordinate Mints, were of the same type^f. This was a circumstance of high moment

^u Snelling's MS List.

w Id.

^x True State of England, svo, London, 1729.

y Snelling's MS List.

^z *Gent. Mag.* February 1749, on the resignation of Haynes, p. 93.

^a Snelling's MS List; but qu. if correct.

^b He died Sept. 26, 1764, *Gent. Mag.* p. 450.

c d e From the information of Robert Bingley, Esq. who was the Master's Assayer in 1798, and succeeded Mr. Alchorne as King's Assay Master.

f Madox's History of the Exchequer, vol. II. pp. 88 and 89. He claimed the old and broken Dies as his fee; which claim was allowed to Thomas Fitz Oto, in the 49th year of Henry III. on his petition to the King in the Court of Exchequer, that they belonged to him of right and inheritance, and that his ancestors had been accustomed to have them. This, upon examination, was found to be true. [Madox, II. p. 11.]

whilst so many Mints were allowed to be worked in various parts of the kingdom; but when they were abolished, and the Mint in the Tower became the only source from whence the Coins were derived, this precaution was no longer necessary, and the office soon sunk into disuse.

I have not been able to trace it to its origin, but conceive that it is of high antiquity, as the necessity for its establishment must have been nearly coëval with the earliest appointment of any branches of the Royal Mint, to be fixed at a distance from it.

In Domesday Book the name of Otho, a Goldsmith, occurs as holding lands in Essex and Suffolk ^g. It is probable that he was the father of Otho the younger, to whom Henry I., in the early part of his reign, restored the Mystery of the Dies which his father had held, together with all other his offices, and certain lands, &c. ^h

These he afterwards confirmed to William Fitz Otho, Goldsmith, together with other lands which his father had possessed, on condition that he should perform the duties of the office, which Otho the Goldsmith had executed ⁱ.

In the 6th of John, William Fitz Otho was commanded by Writ to make the Dies for the Royal and Episcopal Mints at Chichester ^k; and in the 27th year of Henry III. he presented before the Barons of the Exchequer Richard Abel, Goldsmith, to be Maker and Cutter of the Money Dies ^l.

Towards the latter end of that reign some doubts appear to have arisen respecting the nature of the tenure by which this office was held; for, in his

^g Vol. II. folios 3. b. 97. b. 106. b. in Essex; and 28. b. in Suffolk. Kelham says positively, that he was ancestor of Thomas Fitz Otho, *Mint Master*, or Engraver for the King's Mint; and that the last of the male line died in 1282. Domesday Book illustrated, p. 132, quoting Morant, vol. II. p. 305.

^h Cart. Antiq. in Tur. Lond. Y. No 17. directed to Maurice Bishop of London, who was consecrated in 1085, and died in 1197, the 7th of H. I. It was probably on account of some dispute respecting his office that in the 18th year of the same King William Fitz Otho paid into the Exchequer xxxvj*l.* and *xd.* that he might no longer have a Master over him. [Mag. Rot. vulgo 5 Step. Rot. 15. a. Londonia. Madox, Hist. Excheq. vol. I p. 476.]

ⁱ Cart. Antiq. Y. No 20. directed to Richard Bishop of London, who was consecrated in 1108, and died in 1127, the 27th of H. I.

^k Cl. 6 Joh. m. 1. From a Mint Account in the Exchequer it appears that in the 1st E III. he was entitled to receive from the King seven shillings for every twelve dies.

^l Madox, II. 88.

41st year, the King commanded the Barons of the Exchequer that, after examining the Rolls of that Court, they should without delay inform him what kind of Serjeanty Otto Fitz William, then dead, held on account of the custody of the King's Die in England, whether in fee, or *ex gratia*, or for the term of his life; and by what service; who was his heir, and of what age. And whether the said Otto held of the King any land not belonging to that Serjeanty, and how much, and where, and by what service, &c.^m I have not discovered the Return to this Writ; but it will be seen, a little lower down, that he held by Petit Serjeanty.

In the 49th of Henry III. Thomas Fitz Otho claimed, in the Court of Exchequer, the broken Dies, as belonging to him of inheritance, and had his claim allowedⁿ; and in the 52d year he presented before the Barons Ralph le Blund to the office of Cutter of the King's Dies^o.

When Edward I., in his 8th year, appointed William de Turnemire to make his Coins for that present time, the King took upon himself the payment of the fee which Hugh Fitz Otho, guardian of Otho his nephew, claimed for keeping the Dies; or otherwise to satisfy him for the same^p.

In the 22d year of the same King it was found that Otho Fitz William held of King Henry III. the Manor of Lilleston in the County of Middlesex, *in capite*, by the Serjeanty of keeping the King's Money Stamp; but that the Master of the Knights Templars then held that Manor^q.

It is certain, however, that the Serjeanty still continued in Otho's Family, although the Manor, held in virtue of it, was by some means separated; and it remained with them until John de Boutetourt, Lord of Willy, became possessed of it by his marriage with Maud^r, the heiress of her brother Hugh Fitz Otho, Lord of Mendlesham in Suffolk, in the 30th year of Edward I.^s After the death of Lord Boutetourt, in the 18th year of Edward II. Maud his widow sold this office to William Lord Latimer, for himself and

^m Madox, Baronia, p. 249.

ⁿ Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. II. p. 11.

^o Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. II. p. 89.

^p Lib. Rub. Scacc. fol. 247.

^q Beckwith's Edition of Blount's Tenures, p. 129, referring to Plac. Coron. 22 E. I.

^r She was the daughter and heiress of Thomas Fitz Otho. [Mint Account in the Exchequer, 1 E. III.]

^s Magna Britannia, vol. V. p. 210. This Hugh Fitz Otho procured from Edward I. the privilege of a Market and Fair to Mendlesham. Dugdale's Baronage, II. 46.

his heirs, in the 3d year of Edward III. As he made that purchase without the King's License having been first obtained, he was obliged to sue out his pardon; which was allowed; and the King further granted for himself and his heirs, as far as he had power, that the said William should have and hold, for himself and his heirs for ever, the said office of the King and his heirs, by the service due and accustomed, without any impediment, &c.^t

After this he seems to have enjoyed his office quietly until about the 27th year of Edward III. when he presented a Petition to the King in Parliament, stating that the office of Engraver and Maker of the King's Dies in the Tower of London, and City of Canterbury, belonged to him and his heirs, as plainly appeared by divers evidences; that of late he had been disturbed by the King's Servants in having and using the said office, touching the Coins of Noble, Half and Farthing Noble, and the Groat; because the said Coins were then but newly commenced. He therefore prayed that the King would please to command full inquiry to be made, in that Parliament, touching the same, and do right and reason to him, on the consideration that he had possession of the said office before such Coins were made. In consequence of this Petition he was commanded to produce his Charters and other evidences^u.

The further proceedings do not appear; but it should seem that the determination was favourable to the Petitioner, as the office was confirmed to him, about twenty years afterward, without any exception of the Coins above-mentioned^w.

He held this office until his death in the 4th year of Richard II.^x; after which I have not met with any thing further relating to it. In the 12th year of the same reign the Engraver of the Dies was appointed by the King^y.

^t Pat. 3 E. III. pt. 1. m. 18.

^u Bundle in the Tower, unclassified. The instrument is without date; but, from the mention of Groats as new Coins, it was probably issued soon after the 27th E. III., when those Coins first appear in the Indentures.

^w Pat. 47 E. III. pt. 2. m. 15.

^x Dugdale's Baronage, vol. II. p. 32. He left a daughter and heiress, Elizabeth wife of John Lord Nevill of Raby. It does not appear that the office descended to her.

^y See London Mint, under that year.

A Seal of William Fitz Otho has been engraven as if it were his Seal of Office, but I believe without due consideration. It represents him sitting in an antique chair, with a sword in his left hand, and in the right an instrument which has been supposed to be intended for the coining hammer. Its form is however very ill calculated for that purpose, as it resembles a common pickaxe, the head of which is sharp pointed at both ends^z.

The inscription on the Seal is, ✠ SIGIL - - - WILLELMI FILII OTH, without any reference to his office; so that there is nothing upon the face of it to warrant the appropriation which has been made^a; nor does it appear from any Record, yet discovered, that a Seal of Office was ever granted.

Pinchbeck's Register of the Abbey of St. Edmundsbury divides the duties of this office between two persons: — "In Cambio Londini ad cuneos Regis custodiendos duo sunt intendentes; unus, viz. ex parte Regis, qui ferrum & asserum emere debet, & a Fabro usque ad manus Sculptoris lamina ferrea formata portare; ipsosque cuneos sculptos, et rite paratos, quotiens cudere & monetare necesse fuerit, deliberare; & Monetarios, ut apertè flodones cudant, supervidere; et alius ex parte D. Johannis de Buturtis, qui habet in uxorem filiam & hæredem Thomæ filii Ottonis, cujus est de feodo cudere cuneos Regis, qui deserviunt per totam Angliam, qui capit pro sculptura & fabricatura cujuslibet duodenæ viis. cujus vero officium est cuneos usitatos deformare, ne amplius deserviant, & penès se omnes veteres cuneos ad opus Domini, ut pro feodo suo, retinere^b."

The former of these Officers I have not met with elsewhere; and suspect that there is some inaccuracy in the above statement. If the latter part of it

^z In Madox's History of the Exchequer, vol. I. p. 551, is a rude representation of a duel, in which each of the combatants is armed with a weapon precisely similar to that described above.

^a See Bibl. Topog. Britannica, vol. III. N^o XX. p. 63, and Mr. Gough's letter, Gent. Mag. April 1796, p. 289.

This Seal was first engraven by Vertue, and is said to have been copied from the original in the Library of King's College, Cambridge; but upon enquiry being made there, about a dozen years since by Mr. Gough, at my desire, the Seal was not to be found. It was published with the Latin Poems of Nicholas Hardinge, Esq. by his son George Hardinge, Esq. in 1780. See Gent. Mag. as referred to above, where a copy of Vertue's engraving is given.

^b Pinchbeck's Register. Appendix to Batteley's Antiq. S. Edm. Burgi, N^o X. p. 135. What is there printed as a note forms part of the text in Kempe's Register. Harl. MSS. N^o 645. fol. 137.

be correct, the Engravers were actually Working Deputies to the Cuneatores. It is however scarcely possible to form a decided opinion upon the nature of this office from the few circumstances concerning it which at this time remain upon record.

The high rank of some of those persons who held it, and the manner in which they presented the Engravers to the Barons of the Exchequer (not as if they were their Deputies, but as Officers actually appointed by them), almost forbids the supposition that they could be the mere Engravers and Formers of the Dies; and yet they are so stated to be even as early as the reign of Henry I., and also as late as the Petition of Lord Latimer, in the 27th year of Edward III., which has been detailed above. They must therefore be inserted in the List of Engravers until something more decisive can be obtained concerning them.

Of the DUTIES of the ENGRAVERS.

They are not to make Dies in any other place but in the Tower.

They are to deliver monthly the faulty Dies to the Clerk of the Irons, to be defaced in the presence of the Warden, Master, and Comptroller, and not otherwise ^c.

ENGRAVERS, SMITHS, WORKMEN, and LABOURERS.

As many of these as shall seem needful, the Warden, Master, and Comptroller, or either of them, may engage at the King's price to work in the Mint; and they are to be punished and removed at the discretion of those Officers.

They are also enjoined to work when required by them, on pain of disfranchisement and imprisonment ^d.

^c From the St. Edmundsbury Register it appears that this was expressly the duty of the Cuneator, without any reference to the Officers above-mentioned.

^d Pollett's MS. Various instances are to be found, in the History of our Coinage, which shew that in old times these Officers had authority to take Workmen into the Mint by force, in case of refusal.

A LIST of ENGRAVERS of the MINT.

Anno
Some time
previous to
the 7th of
Henry I. } WILLIAM I. or II. ?
Otto the Elder.

HENRY I.

Otto the Younger ^e.William Fitz Otto ^f.

JOHN.

6. William Fitz Otho ^g.

HENRY III.

6. Mich. de St. Elene ^h.27. William Fitz Otho ⁱ.Richard Abel ^k.49. Thomas Fitz Otho ^l.52 or 53. Ralph le Blund ^m.

EDWARD I.

8. Hugh Fitz Otho, for his Nephew Otho ⁿ.18. Thomas Fitz Otho, Die Graver in Fee ^o.22. Otho Fitz William ^p.30. John Lord Boutetourt ^q.

EDWARD II.

^e Cart. Antiq. in Tur. Lond. Y. No 17. before 7 H. I.^f Id. No 20. between 8 and 27 H. I.^g Cl. 6 Joh. m. 1.^h Snelling's MS List of Officers.ⁱ He was dead 41 H. III. Madox, Baronia, p. 249, where he is called Otto Fitz William.^k Madox, II. 88. Abel was then presented in the Exchequer by Fitz Otho.^l Madox, II. 11.^m Id. p. 89.ⁿ Lib. Rub. Scacc. fol. 247.^o Mag. Rot. 18 E. I. Rot. 1. a. Madox's MSS. vol. LXIX. p. 85.^p Beckwith's Blount's Tenures, p. 129. Probably for William Fitz Otho.^q Magna Britannia, vol. V. p. 210.

Anno

EDWARD III.

3. William Lord Latimer ^r.27—47. Idem ^s.

RICHARD II.

12. Jo. Edmund, Goldsmith, appointed by the King ^t.

HENRY IV.

HENRY V.

9. Gilbert Vanbranburgh ^u.

HENRY VI.

1—9. Gilbert Brandeburgh, or Guysbryght van Brondeburgh ^w.10—19. John Orewell ^x.32. William Wodeward, London and Calais ^y.39. German Lynch, Master of the Mint in Ireland, and Graver of the Puncheons ^z.

EDWARD IV.

2. Edmund Shaa, London and Calais ^a.

EDWARD V.

RICHARD III.

1. John Shaa ^b.^r Pat. 3 E. III. pt. 1. m. 18.^s Bundle in the Tower, unclassified, and Pat. 47 E. III. pt. 2. m. 15. ad Officium Sculpturæ & Fabrice Cuneorum Regis in Tur. Lond. & in Cantuar.^t Cl. 12 R. II. m. 25. See London Mint.^u Pat. 9 H. V. pt. 2. m. 6. dors.^w Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. He was appointed, by Letters Patent, Sculptor of the Dies, of Gold and Silver, within the Tower of London, where he was to reside, a house being assigned to him, with a stipend of £.20 *per annum*. [Memor. 3 H. VI. Hil. m. 6.]^x Mint Accounts.^y Cl. 32 H. VI. m. 30.^z Pat. 39 H. VI. m. 7.^a Cl. 2 E. IV. m. 25.^b Graver of the Coining Irons of Gold and Silver within England and Calais.

Anno

HENRY VII.

2. Nicholas Flynte, Sculptor de & pro ferris ^c.

HENRY VIII.

- 1—4. John Sharpe ^d.
 — Demaire ^e.

EDWARD VI.

6. Deric Anthonie ^f.

PHILIP AND MARY.

Vincentius ^g.

ELIZABETH.

- 2—18. Derick Anthony ^h.
 Menestrelle ⁱ.

JAMES I.

8. Charles Anthony ^k.
 John Dicker ^l.

CHARLES I.

- 3—8. Nicholas Briot ^m.
 5. Edward Greene ⁿ.
 21. Thomas Simon ^o.
 23. Thomas Rawlins ^p.

^c Mint Accounts.

^d Id.

^e Extract from the Note Book of James West, Esq. communicated by my friend John Nichols, Esq. I do not find this Engraver in the Anecdotes of Painting.

^f Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 51. He is said to have succeeded Robert lately deceased.

^g Mr. West's Note Book.

^h Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 120.

ⁱ Mr. West's Note Book. Qu. whether Eloy Menestrell, who was hanged for false coining in 1658? but does not appear to have been Engraver to the Mint.

^k l Snelling's MS List.

^m Rymer, XIX. 40. and 256.

ⁿ Id. p. 254.

^o Vertue's Works of Simon, p. 61.

^p Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, vol. II. p. 257. Langbaine says he was Engraver to both Charles I. and II. Dramatick Poets, p. 424. At the beginning of this reign Abraham Vanderdort had a salary for making Patterns for his Majesty's Coins, and for giving his assistance to the Engravers, and his furtherance that they might be well engraven according to their abilities. [Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, vol. II. p. 80.]

Anno COMMONWEALTH.

1. Thomas Simon ^q.

CROMWELL.

2. Thomas Simon ^r.

CHARLES II.

12. Thomas Simon ^s.

John Roetier.

James Roetier.

Norbier, or Norbert, Roetier.

Philip Roetier.

Joseph Roetier ^t.14. Thomas Simon and John Roetier ^u.32. Henry Harris ^w.

JAMES II.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

1. Three Roetiers ^x.

ANNE.

4. John Croker.

Samuel Bull.

Gabriel Clerk ^y.

GEORGE I.

12. Samuel Bull ^z.John Croker ^a.^q Commons Journals.^s Vertue, p. 84.^u Folkes, p. 106.^x Lansdown MS. vol. 246.^a Croker continued to be Mint Master from his appointment by Queen Anne until his death in 1740, when he was succeeded by Dessier. Anecdotes of Painting, vol. IV. p. 218. Another MS List by Snelling has under the last year of G. I. and the first of G. II.^r Folkes, p. 100.^t Snelling's MS List.^w Snelling's MS List.^y Snelling's MS List.^z Id.

Croker, Rolles, Ocks.

Croker, Ocks, Tanner.

Anno

GEORGE II.

- John Croker ^b.
 1. John Rolles ^c.
 Beresford ^d.
 2—13. J. Sigismund Tanner ^e.
 14. James Anthony Dassier ^f.
 Richard Yeo ^g.
 J. Ralph Ocks, jun. ^h.
 15. Sigismund Tanner, John Ralph Ocks, John Tanner.
 22. Jo. Sig. Tanner, Jo. Ralph Ocks, and Ja. Ant. Dassier.
 23. Tanner, Dassier, and Yeoman.
 24. Tanner, Dassier, Yeoman, Rich. Yeo.
 25. Tanner and Yeo.
 28. Tanner, Yeo, and Ja. Ant. Dassier.
 31. Tanner, Yeo, Ocks ⁱ.

GEORGE III.

4. Laurence Natter.
 11. Thomas Pingo ^k.
 19. Lewis Pingo, Chief.
 27. John Pingo, Assistant.
 37. Nathaniel Marchant, Probationer ^l.

When the Dies were finished by the Engraver they were delivered to another Officer, whose title was *Custos Cunei, vel Cuneorum*, or the Keeper of the Die or Dies; now Clerk of the Irons.

^b See the last Note.

^c Snelling's MS List says that Rolles is mentioned in this year; but he thinks that he quitted the Mint at this time for Seal-engraving.

^d Snelling's MS List.

^e Id.

^{f g h} Id. Some of these must have been Under-Engravers, or Assistants; but Snelling has not distinguished them.

ⁱ Snelling's MS List.

^k Id.

^l Report of Select Committee on Finance, Report XXIV. Supp. (B).

The precise duties of this office I have not been able to ascertain, but it was clearly distinct from that of the Custos Monetæ; for in the 6th year of Henry III. the Custodes Monetæ and the Custodes Cuneorum were sworn at the same time before the Barons of the Exchequer^m.

The Dies are now in the care of the Surveyor of the Money Presses.

Formerly a certain rent was paid for the Dies; and the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer were sometimes authorized to let them, and to take a fine upon the entrance into office, for the King's advantageⁿ.

A LIST of the KEEPERS of the DIES.

Anno

HENRY II.

8. At the decease of Abbat Sylvester, A. D. 1161, Elverd Porrere had the Custody of the Die belonging to the Mint in the Abbey of St. Augustine in Canterbury^o.

HENRY III.

6. Adam Blundus, Randulphus de Hanore, Walterus Polite, Willelmus Rufus, Willelmus de Lindesie, Ric[ardus] de Nekinton, Nich[olaus] Orbatur, Ric[ardus] Orbatur^p.
 14. William, the King's Taylor, Custos Cunei, Canterbury^q.
 21. Adam Mercer, the same^r.
 22. Lambine Dravet, the same^s.
 30. John Hardell, Custos Cunei^t.
 32. Walter de Mora, Custos Cuneorum^u.
 33. John Juvenal, Custos Cunei^w.
 39. William de Gloucester, Goldsmith, Custos Cunei^x.

^m Madox, Hist. Excheq. II. 87.

ⁿ Pat. 40 H. III. m. 14.

^o Chron. W. Thorn. Col. 1816.

^p Memor. 6 H. III. Rot. 3. dors.

^q Pat. 14 H. III. pt. 2. m. 3. He succeeded Simon Chich deceased.

^r Madox, Hist. Ex. II. 88.

^s Id. ibid.

^t Id. ibid. He succeeded Walter le Flemeng deceased.

^u Id. ibid.

^w Id. p. 89.

^x Pat. 39 H. III. m. 8. He succeeded Richard de Sancto Albano.

Anno HENRY III. (*continued*).

40. John Terri, Custos Cunei, Canterbury ^y.
 William Cokyn, the same ^z.
 Robert de Cambro, the same ^a.
 41. William de Gloucester, Custos Cunei, Canterbury ^b.
 52. William le Shrub, Custos Cunei, St. Edmundsbury, for the Abbot ^c.

EDWARD I.

- 4 and 5. Jocee the Goldsmith, Custos Cunei, St. Edmundsbury, for the
 Abbot ^d.
 27—29. William Wymondham, Custos Cuneorum, et Cambii, Lond. and
 Cant. ^e

EDWARD II.

1. John de Everdon, Custos Cuneorum ^f.
 7. Peter de la Posterle, Custos Cuneorum, Bourdeaux ^g.

EDWARD III.

1. Reymond de Lincoln, Custos Cuneorum, Lond. and Cant. ^h.
 21. William de Salop, Custos Cuneorum and Assaiator, Calais ⁱ.
 23—25. William de Huseburn, or Husshburn, Custos Cuneorum, Lond.
 and Cant. ^k.
 24. Robert Mildenhale, Custos Cuneorum ^l.

^y Pat. 40 H. III. m. 14. His appointment is to *one* of the King's Dies in the Mint of Canterbury. The two persons following had likewise the custody of single Dies only.

^z Id.

^a Id.

^b Pat. 41 H. III. m. 1. He succeeded to the custody of that Die which had been held by Robert de Cantuar'.

^c Madox, Hist. Exch. II. 89.

^d Id. p. 90.

^e Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^f Id.

^g See that Mint.

^h Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

ⁱ Rot. Franc. 21 E. III. pt. 2. m. 4.

^k Mint Accounts. In the 25th year he was ordered to deliver all the old Dies of the Money last made to the Masters of the Mint, that they might be made new, according to the King's Ordinance. [Cl. 25 E. III. m. 17.]

^l Mint Accounts.

Anno EDWARD III. (*continued*).

John de Salesbury^m.

RICHARD II.

5—20. Stephen Rummylowe, Custos Cuneorum aur. & arg. Lond. & Cant.ⁿ

HENRY IV.

HENRY V.

10. Richard Bokeland, Custos Cuneorum, Calais^o.

HENRY VI.

- 1. John Kempley, Custos Cuneorum, Calais^p.
- 20. John Langton, Custos Cuneorum, Calais^q.
- 23—25. John Langton and Walter Aumener, Custodes Cuneorum, Calais^r.

CUSTOS CUNAGII.

Another Officer occurs with the title of Custos Cunagii, or Custos Cunagiorum, Auri & Argenti. I have not been able to discover any thing respecting the nature of his office.

A LIST of the CUSTODES CUNAGII.

Anno HENRY IV.

- 3 and 4. Robert Hethcote, Custos Cunagiorum^s.
- 5. Lodowick Reconche, Custos Cunagiorum Auri & Argenti^t.
- 13. Henry Somer, Custos Cambii, Monete, & Cunagii^u.

^m It appears that he held this office at the death of Edward III.; for in the 1st R. II. he was commanded to deliver all the Dies in his custody to Thomas Hervy [then Warden]. He and William de Husburn were appointed by E. III. for life. [Pat. 5 R. II. pt. 1. m. 11.]

ⁿ Pat. 5 R. II. pt. 1. m. 11. and Mint Accounts.

^o Rot. Franc. 10 H. V. m. 3.

^p Rot. Franc. 1 H. VI. m. 20.

^q Rot. Franc. 20 H. VI. m. 21.

^r Rot. Franc. 25 H. VI. m. 20.

^s Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^t Id.

^u Id.

HENRY V.

HENRY VI.

- 25—27. John Lematon, the same^x.

- 28—30. Thomas Montgomery, the same y.

EDWARD IV.

9. John Wode, Custos Cunagiorum ^z.

EDWARD V.

RICHARD III.

HENRY VII.

- 1—7. William Stafford, Custos Cunagii Auri & Argenti ^a.

1. Giles Lord Dawbeney and Bartholomew Reede, Magistri Cunagii b.

HENRY VIII.

- 3—7. William Stafford, as before ^c.

4. John Coppinger d.

26. Thomas Pope e.

SURVEYOR of the MELTINGS.

His duty is to survey the Meltings, and to keep a Book of Gold and Silver, and Allay f.

x Id.

y Id.

2 Id.

^a Id. In this Account Stafford is called Custos Cambii & Monete & Custos Cunagii; so that the three were distinct offices.

c Id.

^d Warton's History of Sir Thomas Pope, Appendix, No III. It is there stated that a Grant had been made to Coppinger of the Office and Custody Cunagiorum Auri & Argenti.

^e Warton's Sir Thomas Pope, *ubi supra*.

^f Pollett's MS.

In the first Report from the Select Committee appointed to consider the Publick Offices [1810] it is said, that this place would admit of being brought, at the expiration of the existing interests, entirely under the management of the Deputy, as now constituted; but that the degree of responsibility or trouble attending the discharge of the whole duties would entitle the Deputy to an increase of Salary. The Deputy's Salary is stated to be £.28, the Principal's £.103.

Very few names of the persons who have held this office can, at this time, be recovered. The following are all that I have met with.

Anno	ELIZABETH.
18.	Thomas Johnson. He is called Surveyor of the Melting House ^g .
	JAMES I.
15.	Paule Swallow ^h .
	CHARLES I.
17.	James Hoare, also Clerk of the Irons ⁱ .
	CHARLES II.
23.	Thomas Swallow ^k .
34.	George Evans ^l .
	JAMES II.
3.	George Evans ^m .
	WILLIAM AND MARY.
12.	George Evans ⁿ .
	ANNE.
1.	George Evans ^o .
6.	William Evans ^p .
	GEORGE I.
1.	Major-General Evans ^q .

^g Harl. MSS. N^o 698. folio 120.

^h Rymer, XVII. 19.

ⁱ Id. p. 542.

^{k l m n o p q} Snelling's MS List.

GEORGE II.

- ## GEORGE III.

- ## The CLERK of the IRONS.

He is also to give an account to the Warden, Master, and Comptroller, when required, what Blank Dies have been delivered to the Graver, sunk, hardened, worn out, returned, or remaining in hand, that account may be kept^z.

The following names only have occurred :

ELIZABETH.

- ## CHARLES I.

17. James Hoare, also Surveyor of the Melting House b.

1. Richard Pight c.

u Id.

^c Commons Journals.

Anno

GEORGE I.

4. Major-General Evans ^d.

GEORGE II.

29. George Augustus Selwyn, also Surveyor of the Meltings ^e.

GEORGE III.

- 1—31. The same ^f.

- 31—38. Honourable Spencer Perceval, both offices ^g.

Of the MONEYERS.

It has been already observed that, with the exception of a single instance in the reign of Cnut ^h, the Moneyers appear to have been the sole Officers in the early Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Mints. Their rank has been the subject of much controversy. By some they have been elevated to the dignity of Noblemen ⁱ, whilst others have depressed them to the state of mere Workmen ^k.

That they were not of the highest class is evident from their number, which sometimes amounted to three or four hundred ^l; and we are forbidden to reduce them to the lowest, from the circumstance of their names being impressed upon the Coins, as that could be done only as a security that the integrity of the Money should be preserved; and what effectual security could the name of a common Workman give?

It must be confessed, however, that the question of their precise rank is by no means of easy solution, though it may be concluded not to be of high elevation, from the following facts.

^d Snelling's MS List.

^e Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.

^f Annual Register, 1791, p. 7*. He died Jan. 25 in that year.

^g Report of Select Committee on Finance, 1798, Report XXIV. Supplement (B).

^h Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 134. Cap. 8.

ⁱ Thwaites's Notæ in Ang. Sax. Num. Sir A. Fountaine, Numismata Ang. Sax. Thoresby's Museum. Hearne's Preface to Johan. Glaston. Chron.

^k Wise, Numm. Bodl. p. 230. Pegge's Assemblage, p. 73.

^l See the List of Edward the Confessor's Moneyers.

In the reign of Eadgar, if Eadmer be correct in his description of them at that period, they ranked with the Villeins, for he says they were “Viri qui in potestate erant^m ;” that is, men who were in the power of their Lordⁿ.

It is remarkable, likewise, that no Moneyer is to be found amongst the King’s Tenants *in capite* which are entered in Domesday Book; though his officers of various ranks occur there.

In the reign of Henry I., however, they must have possessed considerable wealth, whatever their rank might be, if the exclamation of William Gemeticensis is to be taken literally; for he says that the King might have received immense sums, for the redemption of the limbs of those Moneyers who were condemned to punishment as false Coiners^o; but the whole passage is in so high a strain of panegyrick, that it must, probably, be received with some degree of allowance.

It may be observed, here, by the way, that neither in this, nor in the following reign, when severe punishments were inflicted on the Moneyers, were any of their names preserved, either in the Records of those times, or by the Chroniclers who afterwards related the transactions; which warrants a suspicion that their rank in life was not such as to entitle them to publick personal notice.

Mr. Simon is of opinion that they were not the common Workmen, but the Farmers of the Mint, who gave so much a year to the Prince for the sole privilege of coining in a city or town. Thus, says he, in the Book of Statutes of Charles the Bald, Gofninus, brother to the Castellane of Tournay, is called Monetarius, because he was Dominus Monetæ Tornacensis, which must imply Master or Farmer, and not Lord, of the Mint of Tournay; for the Mint or right of coining Money did then belong to the Bishop of that place. And as these Farmers or Mint Masters were answerable for the weight and purity of the Money struck by them, or the people under them,

^m Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, vol. II. p. 216. See the whole of this curious anecdote under the reign of Eadgar.

ⁿ Vide Du Cange, sub voce *Homines potestatis*, vol. V. col. 710.

^o Hist. Normanorum, lib. VIII. p. 304. See the passage at length in the Annals in the reign of Henry I.

they were obliged to stamp their name or some private mark on the Monies of their respective Coinage ^p.

But however just this his conclusion may possibly be with respect to France, it cannot be admitted to apply to our English Mints, where, as it appears from Domesday Book, there were sometimes six or seven Moneyers belonging to the same Mint; for it is not probable that there should have been at one time so many Farmers of it ^q.

The entries in that Record, slight as they are, will, I think, enable us to form a tolerable judgment of the actual rank of the Moneyer, and the nature of his office, about the latter end of the 11th century; and also to infer the probable state of both, prior and subsequent to that period; as it is not known that any change took place about that time, or for some years afterward.

From that authentic document we learn, that in some cases the Moneyers were allowed houses, rent free, whilst they continued to work ^r:—

That in others they were obliged to march with the Vicecomes, when he went with the Army, or to pay a fine upon refusal ^s:—

That whenever the King should come to the place where the Mint was kept, they were obliged to coin as much Money as he pleased, out of his Silver ^t:—

That they had Sac and Soc ^u:—

That when any one of them died, the King had a certain sum for a Relief; and if he did not devise his property, it devolved to the King ^w:—

That they paid a certain annual rent to the King ^x, and also a kind of fine upon every renewal of the Money, for the new Dies, which were sent to them from London ^y.

^p Essay on Irish Coins, p. 6, note *.

^q See Volume I. folio 179 and 262. b.

^r Domesday Book, vol. I. folio 56.

^s Id. folio 179.

^t Id. *ibid*.

^u Id. *ibid*.

^w Id. *ibid*.

^x Id. folios 203. 230. 280. and vol. II. 106. b. 290.

^y Id. folios 26. 75. 172. 179. 252. It seems that a part of this fine was paid upon the receipt of the Dies, and the remainder within a certain number of days afterward. See folios 179 and 252.

These data will, I think, lead to the conclusion that men in such a situation could not be Magnates; whilst the trust which was reposed in them raises them above the level of common Workmen.

A very accurate Numismatick Antiquary says, "There are many reasons to believe that the Saxon Kings were always attended by Monetarii, who frequently coined Money for present exigencies in Towns where the King rested; which will account for our finding Money minted in obscure places, and that perhaps only once^z."

I know not of what kind the many reasons might be which he has alluded to above, but it will not be easy to assign one more satisfactory, than that which he has given, for the appearance of Towns of such little importance under the character of Mints.

The custom of placing the Moneyer's name upon the Coins prevailed at a very early period in this Island; indeed we find it upon the Money of Ecgberht King of Kent, which is the second, in point of antiquity, in the Anglo-Saxon series, and must be dated about the middle of the seventh century. It was usually stamped upon the reverse of the Coin, but in some few instances it is found upon the obverse, whilst the name of the Monarch is removed to the other side^a. The names of two Moneyers sometimes occur upon the same Coin^b.


From the time of Aethelstan, with some few exceptions only, the name of the Town was added, probably in conformity to his law, that the Money should be coined within some Town^c.

The name of the Moneyer is to be found no lower than the reign of Edward I., but that of the Mint was not entirely disused in the last year of Elizabeth.

These Officers do not appear to have possessed any exclusive privileges at a very early period, but rather in some instances to have been more

^z Mr. North's MSS. *penès Aut.*

^a As upon some of the Coins of Offa and his Queen.

^b As on the Reverse of one of Aelfred's Pennies. See the List of his Moneyers. Mr. Miles obligingly communicated a Penny (of the same type as N^o 3 of Eric's Money, Plâte XI.) which reads — Obv.  ELTANGERHT. Rev. RERNART. These should seem to be the name of a Moneyer on each side.

^c Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 59.

restrained than some others; for in the first year of Henry II., when he confirmed to the Citizens of London that they should not plead beyond the walls of their City, except in the case of foreign tenures, the King's Moneyers and his Servants were particularly excluded^d.

They likewise were assessed, as others were, to Aids and Tallages. Thus in the 5th year of Henry II. the Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk accounted in the Exchequer for xxxij*l.* vjs. and viij*d.* for the Moneyers of Norwich, and for five Marks for the Moneyers of Thetford; such being the amount of their Donums^e. In his 14th year, Achard the Moneyer paid one hundred Shillings, Lefwine Besant five Marks, and Ailwine Finch two Marks, to the Aid for marrying the King's daughter^f. At the same time, and on the same account, Thurstan, and William son of Derewold, and William de Wiclewood, Moneyers of Thetford, paid five Marks and a half, and the Moneyers of Norwich ten Marks^g. In his 33d year, however, the Moneyers of York had the indulgence of not being included with the other Citizens in the Donum which was required of that City^h.

But this appears to have been a particular favour at that time, and was probably extended to those persons only; for in the 4th year of John, when a Tallage was made *per capita* in the City of Lincoln, Lefuin the Moneyer was charged with five Marksⁱ.

Yet it could not be long after this that they received a Grant of peculiar privileges, as is evident from a Writ, which bears date in the 18th year of Henry III., and commands the Mayor, &c. of London not to trouble or disturb the King's Moneyers of London, by exacting from them Tallages or other Customs contrary to their privileges^k.

These privileges were, as it seems, then confined to the Moneyers alone, but in the reign of Edward I. they were extended to all the Officers of the Mint; and, after various confirmations by succeeding Monarchs, were granted to them, as a Corporate Body, in the first year of Elizabeth^l.

^d Wilkins, *Leges Ang. Sax.* p. 319. The same exception with respect to the Moneyers of Winchester occurs 1 R. I. in *Cart. Antiq. R.* No 30. N. 19. Brady on Burghs, Appendix, p. 45.

^e Madox, *Hist. Exch.* I. 222.

^f *Id.* p. 589.

^g *Id.* *ibid.* See other instances in Madox, I. 284 and 696.

^h *Id.* p. 635.

ⁱ *Id.* p. 737.

^k Claus. 18 H. III. m. 30.

^l Harl. MSS. No 698. p. 29. See above, p. 28.

Amongst Snelling's Collections, which, by the kindness of my lamented friend Mr. Gough, are now in my hands, is the following printed Advertisement:— "Whereas the Company of the Moneyers of the Money of England in 1699, and their Representatives, are intituled to an Estate in Devonshire, and to the Rents thereof received for several years past: All such Moneyers and Representatives are desired to meet their Trustee on Wednesday next, the 13th instant, at ten o'clock precisely, at Garraway's Coffee-house in Exchange Alley, to receive their several proportions of the said Rents, and to consider about the Sale of the Estate.

"*Note.* The Representatives are desired to bring the Probates of Wills and Administrations under which they make out their claims."

This Advertisement, which has been cut out of some News-paper, is, unfortunately, without date; I am therefore unable to say when it was published. The wording of it is undoubtedly incorrect, for the Moneyers never were a Corporate Body exclusive of the other Officers of the Mint, and therefore it is impossible that they should possess property as a Company. Or, if they should be allowed to be a Company, by what power could the Moneyers of that day alienate the property?

The present Duty of these Officers is thus set forth by Mr. Pollett, in the MS. so often referred to:

On pain of disfranchisement and imprisonment they are not to distribute any Coin until it has been delivered into the Office of Receipt, and has been assayed:—

They are enjoined to work whenever required by the Warden, Master, and Comptroller, under the like penalty^m:—

They and their Apprentices are to attend the service, or the Warden, Master, and Comptroller are to punish and expel the offendersⁿ.

The punishments which were inflicted upon these persons, when they were convicted of having corrupted the Coinage, were, in antient times, dreadfully severe.

^m In the 39th year of Henry II. Walter the Linen-draper was amerced five Marks for refusing to make the King's Money. [Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 560.]

ⁿ Pollett's MS.

By the Anglo-Saxon Laws they were to lose the hand which had committed the offence^o; but at a later period that infliction was found insufficient to check the practice, and therefore Henry the First added to it the loss of sight and emasculation^p.

According to Sir Matthew Hale they were guilty of Treason if they made the Coins too light, or not of the fineness required^q.

The Names of the Moneyers, so far as I have been able to recover them, will be found at the end of the reign of each Monarch.

PROVOST of the MONEYERS.

This Officer is the Senior Moneyer, and his office is only a regulation formed by the Moneyers themselves.

Anno HENRY VIII.

35. Richard Harry Yonge^r.

EDWARD VI.

3 and 4. John Germin or Germaine^s.

ELIZABETH.

1. John Munnys^t.

18. Thomas Denham^u.

COMMONWEALTH.

1651. Simon Corbet^w.

CHARLES II.

34. Nicholas Harris^x.

^o See Cnut's Laws, Chap. 8. Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 134.

^p See Knyghton, Bromton, Hemingford, Henry of Huntingdon, Hoveden, &c.

^q Pleas of the Crown, Part I. p. 213.

^r Sir Julius Cæsar's MSS. folio 153. See Trial of the Pix under this year.

^s Indenture. Lansdown MSS. No 745.

^t Pat. 1 Eliz. pt. 3. m. 36. dors. The Lansdown MS. calls him Munes.

^u Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 120.

^w Snelling's MS.

^x Id.

Anno

JAMES II.

3. Nicholas Harris ^y.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

- 4—6. Thomas Anderson ^z.

- 8—12. John Braint ^a.

ANNE.

3. The same ^b.

GEORGE I.

1. The same ^c.

3. George Russel ^d.

13. Richard Collard ^e.

GEORGE II.

1. The same ^f.

- 17—22. Henry Haley ^g.

23. ——— Searle ^h.

- 24—29. Daniel Kemp ⁱ.

GEORGE III.

- About 32. Joseph Sage.

The ENGINEER ^k.

CHARLES II.

14. Peter Blondeau. His Patent expired 28 C. II.^l

34. Thomas Doyley ^m.

JAMES II.

- 1—12. The same ⁿ.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

2. ——— Bowes ^o.

^{y z a} Snelling's MS.

^{b c d e f g h i} Snelling's MS. and Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.

^k The Provost of the Moneyers for the time being is the Engineer also; but I know not when the two offices were united.

^{l m n o} Snelling's MS.

The WEIGHER and TELLER.

He weighs the Bullion before it goes to the Moneyers, and after it is coined, to see that it answers ^p.

- | | |
|-------|--|
| Anno | EDWARD III. |
| 34. | Colin Galliard, Weigher, Rochelle ^q . |
| | JAMES I. |
| 2. | Edmond Doubleday, Teller ^r . |
| 15. | Anthony Knyvet, Teller ^s . |
| | COMMONWEALTH. |
| 1. | The same ^t . |
| | CHARLES II. |
| 34. | Lancelot Perot ^u . |
| | JAMES II. |
| 3. | The same ^w . |
| | WILLIAM AND MARY. |
| 6—12. | Thomas Fitch ^x . |
| | ANNE. |
| 1. | Hopton Haynes ^y . |
| | GEORGE I. |
| 1—8. | The same ^z . |
| 12. | ——— Eaglesham ^a . |
| | GEORGE II. |
| 1. | The same ^b . |
| 2—29. | Captain John Phillips ^c . |
| | GEORGE III. |
| 1—38. | Maurice Morgan ^d . |

^p Pollett's MS.

^q Rot. Cales. 34 E. III. pt. 1. m. 6. It gave to him Officium ponderis Statere seu Balance Monetarum nostrarum, in Villa Rupella, auree, argentee, & nigree.

^r MS. *penès* G. Chalmers, Arm.

^s Rymer, XVII. 19.

^t Commons Journals.

^{u w x y z a} Snelling's MS. The first instance which I have found of the union of the two offices of Weigher and Teller occurs in the person of Lancelot Perot. They seem not to have been separated since his time.

^b Snelling's MS.

^c Id. and True State of England, 1729, and Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.

^d Snelling's MS. and Report of Select Committee on Finance for the Year 1797, Report XXIV. Supplement (B).

CLERK of the PAPERS.

His Duty is to keep the Registers and Records of what is done ^e.

Anno COMMONWEALTH.

1. James Howard and John Reinolds ^f.

GEORGE II.

2—29. Thomas Hill ^g.

GEORGE III.

38. William Dick ^h.

Of the INFERIOR OFFICERS of the MINT.

The Names of their respective Offices will be found under the Account of their several Wages and Fees.

All these, together with the Workmen, before they are admitted to a sight of the Milling, take an oath of secrecy in the presence of the Warden; and it is their duty to work when required by the Warden, Master, and Comptroller, on pain of disfranchisement and imprisonment ⁱ.

Besides those Offices which have been enumerated above, I have met with slight notices of others, whose exact functions are, in some instances, now entirely unknown. I shall give the fragments which I have collected.

CLERK of the MINT.

Anno EDWARD I.

John de Maydenstane ^k.

^e Pollett's MS.

^f Commons Journals.

^g True State of England, 1729, and Maitland as before.

^h Report of Select Committee on Finance, as above. He died in 1800, having held this office nearly 40 years,

ⁱ Pollett's MS.

^k Lib. Rub. Scaccarii. Without date.

Anno

EDWARD III.

1. William de Merlawe^l.
 18. John de Charinton, or Shurington^m.

RICHARD II.

12. Guy de Ronclifⁿ.

HENRY VI.

30. John Blakeney and Robert Caterton^o.

EDWARD IV.

- 6—12. Hugh Brice and John Sondes^p.

HENRY VIII.

18. John Rogers^q.

EDWARD VI.

4. John Mardiley, of the Mint in Southwark, called Suffolk House^r.

The AUDITOR of the MINT.

HENRY VIII.

34. William Duncke^s.

EDWARD VI.

3. The same^t.

^l Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^m Id. The name is variously spelled in different Accounts.

ⁿ Claus. 12 R. II. m. 25.

^o Mint Accounts. Cl. 30 H. VI. m. 17.

^p Cl. 6 E. IV. m. 18. and 12. m. 28.

^q His Grant was of the office of Clerk Cambii, Cunagii, & Monete, vacant by the death of John Porthe, as he was to hold it in as ample manner as the said John, John Blakeney, John Sanders, and Thomas Wilde had held ^t, either jointly or separately, in the reign of Henry VI. and Edward IV., with the fee of 9*d.* *per day*, or £.13. 13*s.* 9*d.* *per annum*, as it had been in the before-mentioned reigns. [Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 54.]

^r Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. III. p. 194. He translated 24 of David's Psalms into English verse.

^s Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 35.

^t Talbot Papers, vol. B. p. 159.

Anno ELIZABETH.

18. William Dodington^u.

COMMONWEALTH.

1. ——— Bingley, ——— Beale^w.

SENECHALL of the MINT.

ELIZABETH.

18. Thomas Fanshaw^x.

NUMERATOR MONETE.

ELIZABETH.

18. William Wightman^y.

POT-MAKER.

HENRY VIII.

38. William Foxley^z.

ELIZABETH.

18—21. The same^a.

The SURVEYOR of the MONEY PRESSES.

He has the care of the Dies^b.

GEORGE II.

29. William Vaughan^c.

GEORGE III.

38. John Chambers^d.

^u Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 120.

^w Commons Journals.

^x ^y Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 120.

^z Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. II. p. 972. Stow's Survey of London, p. 56. According to these Authors, this man once slept fourteen days and nights, and upon his awakening was as if he had slept but one night. This was in 1546, and he was still living in the Tower in 1579.

^a Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 120.

^b Trial of Turnbull, for robbing the Mint, in 1799. Sessions Paper, p. 205.

^c Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.

^d Report of Select Committee on Finance, Report XXIV. Supp. (B).

PURVEYOR.

Anno

GEORGE III.

38. James Morrison ^e.

The SINKER of the IRONS.

ELIZABETH.

18. Humphrey Cole and George Tyson ^f.

COMMONWEALTH.

1. Daniel Bratle ^g.

The SMITH.

ELIZABETH.

18. William Hopkins ^a.

COMMONWEALTH.

1. ——— Hodgins ⁱ.

GEORGE II.

29. Reuben Fletcher ^k.

GEORGE III.

38. Assistant to the Engravers, Elias Walter ^l.

The KEEPER of the MONEY.

RICHARD II.

5. Gerard de Meute, Bourdeaux ^m.^e Report of Select Committee on Finance, Report XXIV. Supp. (B).^f Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 120.^g Commons Journals.^h Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 120.ⁱ Commons Journals.^k Maitland's History of London, 1756, vol. I. p. 155.^l Report of Select Committee on Finance, Report XXIV. Supplement (B).^m Rot. Vasc. 5 R. II. m. 10. By that Writ was granted to him Custodiam Monetarium nostrarum auri & argenti quæ in Villa nostra Burdegalia cudebuntur. I have not met with any other instance of this, although the wages are said to be as usual; nor do I know what was the nature of the office, nor whether it differed from the Keeper of the Mint.

INSPECTOR of the COINAGE.

- Anno RICHARD I.
10. Geoffrey Fitz Walter, Northampton ^a.

SURVEYOR of the COINS.

- EDWARD VI.
6. John Brown ^o.

SURVEYOR of the MINT.

- CHARLES II.
15. Thomas Swallow ^p.

The MELTER.

- ELIZABETH.
18. Thomas Stanley and Thomas Munde ^q.

REPARATOR CUNEORUM.

- HENRY III.
6. Michael de Sancta Elena ^r.

HIGH TREASURER of the MINT.

- HENRY VIII.
36. Sir Edmund Peckham ^s.

^a Bridges's Northamptonshire, vol. I. p. 423. See the Account of Northampton Mint.

^o Anecdotes of Painting, I. 205.

^p He had a Grant of Arms, August 13, 1663. Snelling's MS.

^q Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 120.

^r Madóx. Memor. 6 H. III. Rot. 3. dors.

^s British Museum MS. No 83. H. 8.

Anno

EDWARD VI.

1. Sir Edmund Peckham ^t.
George Gayle, Esq. Treasurer of the King's Mint in York ^v.

MARY.

1. Sir Edmund Peckham ^u.

ELIZABETH.

1. The same ^w.
Francis Gale, Treasurer of the Royal Mint of York ^x.

JAMES II.

1689. — Hewlet, Treasurer of the Dublin Mint for the Brass Coins ^y.

UNDER-TREASURER of the MINT.

HENRY VIII.

36. George Gayle, York ^z.

EDWARD VI.

4. Sir M. Bowes ^a.
Sir John Yorke, of the Mint in Southwark ^b.

The PORTER of the MINT.

I know not how this office happened to have so much importance attached to it, but it will be seen in the next page that the name of the person who filled it is to be found, not unfrequently, in the Public Records.

^t Inventory of the Effects of Henry VIII. in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. See Comptrollers 4 Edw. VI.

^v Pedigree of Gale, Lit. Anec. of the XVIIIth Cent. vol. IV. p. 536. No date is given. He was Sheriff in 1530, and died 1557.

^u Archæologia, XII. 334.

^w Pat. 1 Eliz. m. 3. dors.

^x Pedigree of Gale as before. He died in 1590.

^y Simon's Irish Coins, p. 59.

^z MS. Brit. Mus. No 83. H. 11.

^a Strype's Memorials, II. 271.

^b Lansdown MSS. No 745.

Anno	EDWARD VI.
4.	Richard Farre ^c .
	ELIZABETH.
13.	Richard Farre and William Humfrey ^d .
18.	Richard Far ^e .
20.	Robert Knolles ^f .
	CHARLES I.
8.	John Denbeigh and Thomas Kenevett ^g .
	COMMONWEALTH.
1.	John Dendy ^h .
	GEORGE II.
29.	John Sandell ⁱ .
	GEORGE III.
38.	John Kemp ^k .

The MAKER and STAMPER of the MONEY WEIGHTS.

The first person appointed under the Act by which this office was established in the year 1774 ^l was John Whitehurst.

	GEORGE III.
38.	Joseph Sage ^m .

Besides these Officers, the Red Book of the Exchequer has preserved the name of another, with whose duties I am entirely unacquainted. The entry is without date, but is probably to be referred to an early part of the reign of Edward I. It is in these words: "Cantra Jocular sit ex parte Regisⁿ."

^c Harl. MSS. No 698. fol. 95. He succeeded William Flippes.

^d Id. ibid.

^e Id. fol. 120.

^f Id. fol. 196.

^g Rymer, XIX. 431.

^h Commons Journals.

ⁱ Maitland's History of London, vol. I. p. 155.

^k Report of Select Committee on Finance, Report XXIV. Supplement (B).

^l Statute 14 G. III. Chap. 92.

^m Report of Select Committee on Finance, Report XXIV. Supplement (B).

ⁿ Lib. Rub. Scaccarii, fol. 245 b.

I have some suspicion, however, that the word *Clericus* is to be understood, and then the meaning will be, that *Cantra* the Jester, or Bard, was the King's Clerk, an officer still known in the Mint. This entry is immediately preceded by "*Johes de Maydenstone clericus cambii.*"

The Chief Officer of the Mint of Scotland bears a title unknown to the English Mint, for he is called General of the Mint; the inferior Officers have the title of Master, Warden, &c. &c.

I have been able to recover only the following names, since the Union :

Anno	CHARLES II.
1664.	John Faulkener of Balmaker, Master °.
1682.	James Faulkener of Plaisley, Warden P.

The following Extracts from Ruddiman's Introduction to Anderson's "*Diplomata Scotiæ*" will shew the manner in which the Coinage of Scottish Gold and Silver was conducted after the Union of the two Crowns under James VI. of Scotland and I. of England :

GOLD.

Anno Domini.	Anno Regni.	Fineness.			Allay.			Value of the Coin, coined out of one Pound.			Pound of pure Gold weighed of pure Silver.			
		oz.	pw.	gr.	oz.	pw.	gr.	£.	s.	d.	lb.	oz.	pw.	gr.
1601.	James VI. 35.	11	0	0	1	0	0	43	2	0	12	0	0	0
1633.	Charles I. 9.	11	0	0	1	0	0	49	2	0	13	2	7	11
1738.	George II. 12.	11	0	0	1	0	0	56	0	14	15	2	10	7

SILVER.

1601.	James VI. 35.	11	0	0	1	0	0	36	0	0
1738.	George II. 12.	11	2	0	0	18	0	37	4	0

OF THE EXCHANGE.

A full account of the nature of this office, together with a sketch of the duties which the chief Officer was bound to perform, is prefixed to the History of the various Mints and Exchanges; I shall therefore in this place only give as full a List of the Officers as my researches have been able to collect. But must observe that it is difficult, in many instances, to distinguish whether they were Officers of the Exchange or of the Mint.

WARDENS of the EXCHANGE.

Anno	RICHARD I.
	Guido de Vee ^q .
	JOHN.
1.	Hugh Cycles ^r .
9.	Nigel Rufus and Odo le Petit ^s .
	HENRY III.
1.	Hubert de Burg ^t .
2.	William Mareschall, jun. ^u
6.	Andrew Buterell ^w .
9.	Andrew Bukerell and Everard, Goldsmith, London and Canterbury ^x .
13.	D—— B——, London and Canterbury ^y .
32.	William Hardel, Custos Cambii ^z .
41.	John de Somerket ^a .

^q Cambium Regis, p. 1.

^r Id. p. 2.

^s Madox, Hist. Exch. I. 283.

^t Pat. 1 H. III. m. 3. De Burg was Justiciary, and the Mayor, &c. of London were commanded to deliver to him the Mint and Exchange of London.

^u Pat. 2 H. III. m. 5.

^w Pat. 6 H. III.

^x Claus. 9 H. III. m. 17. dors.

^y Fin. 13 H. III. m. 10. and Claus. m. 3. This reference is from Vincent's MSS., but I have not found the passage on either of these Rolls.

^z Pat. 32 H. III. m. 4.

^a Pat. 41 H. III. m. 1.

Anno HENRY III. (*continued*).

47. Roger de la Laye and John Gisors; but John being unable to act,
William Fitz Richard was appointed in his stead ^b.
50—55. Bartholomew de Castello and Richard de Gamft ^c.

EDWARD I.

- 7—18. Gregory de Rokesle, Citizen of London, and Orlandino de Podio,
London and Canterbury ^d.
8. John le Flemeng, Burgess of Newcastle upon Tyne, Newcastle ^e.
9. Alexander de Luk, Merchant, Ireland ^f.
19. Lapin, Canterbury ^g.
26. Peter de Leycester ^h.
27. John Ballard, John Galeys, and their Companions, Merchants of
Lucca, Yarmouth and Dover ⁱ.
28. John de Sandale ^k.
Roger de Frowyke, Canterbury and Bristol ^l.
Taldus Isaniam and Coppus Cotenne, and their Fellows, Merchants
of the Company of Friscobalds of Florence, Newcastle upon Tyne,
Kingston upon Hull, and Exeter ^m.

EDWARD II.

1. Emeric de Friscobald, Merchant, London and Canterbury ⁿ.
5—9. John de Lincoln, Citizen of London, the same ^o.
6. Roger de Frowyk, London and Canterbury ^p.

^b Pat. 47 H. III. m. 15.

^c Rot. emptionum 50—55 H. III.

^d Abbrev. Rot. Orig. Scacc. Mag. Rot. 18 E. I. Rot. 1. a. Madox's MSS. vol. LXIX. p. 85.

^e Abbrev. Rot. Orig. Scacc.

^f Id.

^g Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^h Wardrobe Account, p. 343.

ⁱ Pat. 27 E. I. m. 24. Stat. de falsa Moneta, 27 E. I.

^k Red Book of the Exchequer, fol. 259.

^l Id.

^m Abbrev. Rot. Orig. Scacc. In the Red Book of the Exchequer the first of these is called Calde Jaman; folio 87.

ⁿ Abbrev. Rot. Orig. Scacc.

^o Id. Madox, Hist. Exch. II. 241.

^p Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

Anno EDWARD II. (*continued*).

12 [before]. John Van, and his Companions, Lombards ^q.

Lapine Roger, Canterbury ^r.

12. Augustin le Galeys or Waleys, London and Canterbury ^s.

13—17. Roger Frowyke, London and Canterbury ^t.

14. William de Haustede, London and Canterbury ^u.

EDWARD III.

1. John de Pontoyse, Cambitor ^w.

3 and 4. Id. Camsor ^x.

3. Lapine Roger, Cambitor, Canterbury ^y.

9. John de Wyndesore, Gardein del Exchange de Loundres & de Cantrebys ^z.

William de la Pole ^a.

10. The same ^b.

11. Geoffrey de Thoresby, Campsor in Cambio, Canterbury ^c.

13. John de Flete, Custos Cambiorum, London and Canterbury ^d.

18. Hugh de Brandon, & Socii, Camb. Camb. Regis London ^e.

19. Simon Berkyng, nuper Campsor ^f.

Anthony Bythesea [Versus Mare], Supervisor and Warden Cambiorum London, York, and Canterbury ^g.

Conrad Roirar, and others, London, York, and Canterbury ^h.

22—24. Richard de Grymmesby ⁱ.

25. Hugh de Wychyngham ^k.

^q Claus. 12 E. II. m. 14. dors.

^r Madox, II. 90.

^s Madox, I. 291. I believe this is wrong; Waleys was at this time Warden of the Mint.

^t Mint Accounts.

^u Abbrev. Rot. Orig. Scacc.

^w Mint Accounts.

^x Id.

^y Id.

^z Rot. Fin. 9 E. III. m. 10.

^a Claus. 9 E. III. m. 8. dors.

^b Claus. 10 E. III. m. 37. He was removed in this year.

^c Pat. 11 E. III. pt. 2. m. 34. In like manner as Lapine Roger, deceased, had held it.

^d Claus. 13 E. III. pt. 2. m. 42.

^e Mint Accounts in the Exchequer. See Annals, *sub anno* 1343.

^f Id.

^g Pat. 19 E. III. pt. 1. m. 15.

^h Claus. 19 E. III. pt. 1. m. 11. dors.

ⁱ Mint Accounts.

^k Id.

Anno

EDWARD III. (*continued*).

- John de Wesenham, Cambiator Monetarum in Civitate Lond.^l
- 26—28. Richard de Grymesbi, London and Canterbury ^m.
27. William Hunt, Clerk, York ⁿ.
28. Hugh de Wichengham ^o.
- 29—32. Henry Picard ^p.
30. Hugh de Wychyngham, London and elsewhere ^q.
- 33—35. Bartholomew Guy de Castilon and Adam de St. Ive ^r.
34. Hugh de Wythingham ^s.
35. Clar' de Court ^t.
- Hugh de Wychingham ^u.
- 35—37. Gauter de Bard ^w.
- 38—40. Adam de St. Ive, in all places, except the City of York ^x.
- 37—43. Eustas de Glaston ^y.
44. John de Leycestre, Calais ^z.
- 49, 50. John de Leycestre ^a.
49. John de Maunsfeld, Calais ^b.

RICHARD II.

- 1—14. John Leicester ^c.
2. William Salesburie, appointed to the Exchange in Lombard Street^d.
6. John de la Vale, John Rogey, Arnald Lary, and Arnald de Vyes,
for Aquitain ^e.
17. John Wildeman^f.

^l Claus. 25 E. III. pt. 1. m. 16. dors.^m Mint Accounts.ⁿ Orig. 27 E. III. Rot. 3. Madox's MSS. vol. LXIX. p. 106.^o Claus. 28 E. III. m. 28. dors.^p Claus. 29 E. III. m. 13. dors. Claus. 32 E. III. m. 7. dors.^q Pat. 30 E. III. pt. 3. m. 18. As Henry de Brisele held it.^r Claus. 33 E. III. m. 13. dors. Claus. 34. m. 13. dors. and 35. m. 40. dors.^s Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.^t Id.^u Id.^w Id.^x Claus. 38 E. III. m. 10. dors. Claus. 40 E. III. m. 13. dors.^y Mint Accounts.^z Rot. Franc. 44 E. III. m. 9.^a Mint Accounts.^b Rot. Franc. 49 E. III. m. 13.^c Pat. 1 R. II. pt. 1. m. 20. Mint Accounts.^d Fin. 2 R. II. prope initium. Vincent.^e Rot. Vasc. R. II. m. 17.^f Pat. 17 R. II. m. 2.

Anno RICHARD II. (*continued*).18. Richard Clytherowe ^g.20. Walter Merwe ^h.John Feld, Calais ⁱ.

HENRY IV.

1—7. Walter Merwe, Custos Cambii Regis in Civitate Lond. tent. in
Lumbard Strete ^k.2. Stephen Spouret, Bourdeaux ^l.2—4. William Fitzhugh ^m.3—5. Robert Hethcote, Custos Cambii Monete ⁿ.13. Henry Somer, Custos Cambii & Monete ^o.

HENRY V.

1—5. Lodovic John, London and Calais ^p.8. Peter Edomart, Rouen, Caen, and Constantyn ^q.
Godin Dureaume, Rouen ^r.9. John Patesley ^s.Roger Mustel, Rouen, Caen, and Evreux ^t.10. Bartholomew Goldbeater ^u.John le Gris, Rouen, Caen, and Evreux ^w.

HENRY VI.

1—9. John Derlyngton ^x.1 and 2. Bartholomew Seman, alias Goldbeter, York ^y.1. Thomas Roderham, York ^z.^g Claus. 18 R. II. m. 13.ⁱ Rot. Franc. 20 R. II. m. 6.^l Rot. Vasc. 2 H. IV. m. 18. n. 15.ⁿ Mint Accounts.^p Pat. 1 H. V. pt. 1. m. 28. Pat. 2 H. V. pt. 2. m. 23. Pat. 5 H. V. m. 1.^q Rot. Norm. 8 H. V. pt. 3. m. 9. dors.^r Rymer, IX. 920.^t Rot. Norm. 9 H. V. m. 32. dors.^w Rot. Norm. 10 H. V. m. 14. dors.^y Cambium Regis, p. 6. Indenture 2 H. VI. Bundle in the Tower, unclassified.^z Pat. 1 H. VI. pt. 5. m. 12.^h Mint Accounts.^k Mint Accounts.^m Mint Accounts.^o Pat. 13 H. IV. pt. 1. m. 18.^s Claus. 9 H. V. m. 1. dors.^u Cambium Regis, p. 6.^x Mint Accounts.

Anno

HENRY VI. (*continued*).

- 8. John Tyse ^a.
- 9. John Hexham ^b.
- 10. William Russe ^c.
- 16. John Paddesle, in England and at Calais ^d.
- 18. Henry Ragley and Thomas Thorpe ^e.
- 18—24. John Somerseth ^f.
- 23. Thomas Thorpe ^g.
- 24. Robert Mansfield ^h.
- 25. John Lematon ⁱ.
- 25—28. Thomas Thorpe ^k.
- 27. Richard Tunstall ^l.
- 28—30. Thomas Montgomery ^m.
- 29. Richard Joynour ⁿ.
- 30—38. Humphrey Hayford, Campsor Monete & Cunagii ^o.
- 31. Ric. Tunstall and William Avenor ^p.
Tho. Montgomery and Jo. Hynde ^q.
- 34. Elias Horwoud ^r.
- 36. ——— Tonstall ^s.

EDWARD IV.

- 1. Tho. St. Legier ^t.
- 4. William Hatcliffe and M. Burhull ^u.
- 4—8. William Lord Hastings ^w, Tower of London, Realm of England,
Town of Calais and Marches of the same ^x.

^a Mint Accounts.^b Id.^c Pat. 10 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 29.^d Pat. 16 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 4.^e Mint Accounts.^f Id.^g Id.^h Cambium Regis, p. 6.ⁱ Pat. 25 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 29.^k Mint Accounts.^l Cambium Regis, p. 6.^m Mint Accounts.ⁿ Id.^o Id.^p Pat. 31 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 33.^q Pat. 31 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 20 and 23.^r Pat. 34 H. VI. m. 13. See Prynne's *Aurum Reginae*, p. 132.^s Cambium Regis, p. 8.^t Claus. 1 E. IV.^u Pat. 4 E. IV. pt. 1. m. 18.^w Pat. 4 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 16. *Cambium Regis*, p. 8.^x Mint Indenture, *Archæologia*, vol. XV. p. 166.

Anno EDWARD IV. (*continued.*)

7. William Hatcliffe the King's Secretary, and E— C—, Merchant of Florence^y.
 9. John Wode^z.
 22. Bartholomew Read^a.

RICHARD III.

1. John Kendall^b.

HENRY VII.

- 1—3. William Stafford, Keeper of the Exchange^c.
 1. Richard Fox, Keeper of the Exchange at Calais^d.
 1—3. Nicholas Flynte, Campsor Monete & Cunagii infra Tur. London^e.
 23. Peter Corsy, Merchant of Florence^f.

HENRY VIII.

- 1—4. Henry Wiatt^g.
 4. John Coppinger, Custos Cambii & Monete^h.
 26. Thomas Pope, the sameⁱ.

EDWARD VI.

PHILIP AND MARY.

ELIZABETH.

14. Richard Martyn^k.
 17. Sir William Cecil Lord Burleigh^l.
 44. Sir George Carey, Keeper of the Exchanges between England and Ireland^m.

^y Rot. Fin. 7 E. IV. m. 11.

^z Mint Accounts.

^a Cambium Regis, pp. 7 and 8.

^b Id. p. 7.

^c Harl. MSS. N^o 698. p. 70. Mint Accounts. Rolls of Parliament. VI. 380.

^d Rolls of Parliament, VI. 377.

^e Mint Accounts.

^f Rymer, XIII. 216.

^g Mint Accounts.

^h Warton's Life of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 9, and Appendix N^o III.

ⁱ Id. *ibid*.

^k Rymer, XVI. 706.

^l Harl. MSS. N^o 698. p. 91.

^m Simon's Irish Coins, p. 41.

Anno

JAMES I.

CHARLES I.

3. Henry Earl of Holland, Keeper of the Exchanges between England and Ireland ⁿ.

The other Officers of the Exchange were, the COMPTROLLER, of which I have met with but one instance, *viz.* Michael de Wincester, who held that office in the Exchange at Dover in the 27th year of Edward I.^o; and the CLERK OF THE EXCHANGE, for which see the CLERK OF THE MINT.

SUPPLY OF BULLION.

Of the various MODES by which the MINT has been supplied with BULLION.

The materials of the British rude substitutes for Money were, as we are informed by Cæsar, only Copper and Iron.

Of these metals the former was with the Britons the more precious, for they had not, at that time, discovered that their own country produced it, and therefore it was imported by them; the latter was furnished by their own mines, though in small quantities ^p.

The Roman Mints, if any were worked in Britain, might possibly be supplied with Gold and Silver from the Mines of this Island, for both Strabo and Tacitus enumerate those metals among its products ^q.

It should seem, however, that the more precious metals had not been discovered when Cæsar invaded Britain, for it is scarcely possible that they should have escaped his penetrating eye, or his minute enquiry: and it is

ⁿ Simon's Irish Coins, p. 46.

^o Pat. 27 E. I. m. 24.

^p "Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum: sed ejus exigua est copia: Ære utuntur importato." [Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. V. cap. X.]

^q "Φέρει δὲ σίλον, καὶ βοσκήματα, καὶ χρυσον, καὶ ἀργυρον, καὶ σιδηρον." [Strabonis Geographia.]
 "Fert Britannia aurum & argentum, & alia metalla pretium victoriæ, gignit & oceanus margarita, sed subfusca & liventia." [Tacitus de Vita Agricolæ.]

clear from his silence, in that part of his Commentaries where he details the other productions of the country, that he had no knowledge of their being found here. It was likewise the general opinion at Rome that neither Gold nor Silver was to be met with in this Island, as appears from two of Cicero's Epistles^r; and Suetonius mentions the Pearls of Britain as Cæsar's chief inducement to its conquest^s.

It has been said that collars of Gold and Silver, for the necks of women, made part of the Tribute which Augustus imposed upon the Britons, but I cannot find any other authority for this than the passage which is referred to below^t. Indeed the report but ill agrees with the acknowledged practice of that people to adorn themselves with chains of iron; for as that metal is of all others the most disposed to rust, and by its rust to corrode the skin, it cannot be doubted that the precious metals, which are void of those ill qualities, would have superseded the use of iron for personal ornament on the unclothed bodies of the Britons, if such metals had been known to them.

Notwithstanding the reports of Strabo and Tacitus, it is not probable that the ores of Gold and Silver were ever found, in any considerable quantity, in Britain; for it cannot be supposed that the mines were at a very early period worked out, and yet no other supposition can satisfactorily account for the absolute disappearance of those ores.

It is true that the Lead ore is sometimes richly impregnated with Silver, but it requires a degree of skill, which it is not probable the Britons possessed, to part the two metals.

If, therefore, they were in a capacity to pay such a tribute to Augustus, from the natural produce of their own country, it should seem that they had been instructed by the Romans in the discovery of the Mines, and in the

^r "Britannici belli exitus expectatur. Constat enim aditus Insulæ esse munitos mirificis molibus. Etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum, in illa Insula, neque ullam spem prædæ, nisi ex Mancipiis." [Ciceronis Epist. ad Atticum, lib. IV. Epist. 16.]
 "In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod suadeo capias, et ad nos quam primum recurras." [Ciceronis Epist. ad Familiares, lib. VII. Epist. 7.]

^s Suetonius de Cæsaribus, lib. I. cap. 47.

The pearls of Britain are represented by Pliny as being small and of a bad colour; and yet Cæsar seems to have been so proud of those which he acquired by his descents upon the Island, that he thought them worthy to adorn the statue of Venus. [Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. IX. cap. 35.]

^t Holinshed's Description of Britain, page 111.

management of the ore, in the interval between his accession to the Empire, and the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar.

Be this, however, as it may, it is certain that no traces of Gold or Silver Mines, properly so called, are now to be found; nor, so far as I am informed, do any documents exist, to shew in what manner, or from what sources, even the Saxons, the successors of the Romans, supplied their Mints with Bullion^u. The difficulty with which sufficient quantities of Gold and Silver, for the purposes of coinage, were procured during the infancy of commerce, was no doubt the origin of that branch of the royal prerogative which vested in the King all Mines of those metals, wheresoever they might be found. By the old common law, if Gold or Silver were discovered in Mines of base metal, according to the opinion of some, the whole was a Royal Mine, and belonged to the King; though others held, that it only did so, if the quantity of Gold or Silver was of greater value than the quantity of base metal. The disputes which naturally arose upon this subject were, with great propriety, set at rest for ever by the Statutes 1 William and Mary, St. 1. c. 30, and 5 William and Mary, c. 6, which enacted that no Mines of base metal should be considered as royal, notwithstanding Gold or Silver might be extracted from them in any quantities; but that the King, or persons claiming royal Mines under his authority, should have the ore (other than tin ore in the counties of Devon or Cornwall), paying for the same a price stated in the latter of those Acts^x. The earliest instance in which I have found the claim to a Mine Royal to be enforced, occurs in the 47th year of Henry III., at which time a Writ was directed to the Sheriff of Devonshire, in which it was stated that the King had been given to understand that there were within his County *Aurifodinæ* & *Cuprifodinæ*, that is, I presume, Mines containing Gold together with

^u Unless the tribute which Æthelstan imposed upon the conquered Princes of Wales, and which consisted, amongst other things, of the annual payment of 200 Pounds of Gold and 300 Pounds of Silver, can be proved to be intended for that purpose. [Knyghton, Col. 2321.] Leake, p. 287, says, "Nor does Great Britain want Gold Mines, for such have been discovered at Crayford Moore in Scotland, in the sands of the river, twenty-two carats fine, and the like in England, at Brickhill-Hill, near Spilsbury in Lancashire." For this he refers to Malyne's *Lex Mercatoria*, where may be seen accounts of several Lead Mines in England, &c. which were rich in Silver.

^x Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. I. p. 294.

Copper; and he was commanded not to permit any one to occupy the same until the King should have provided that which the law required to be done^y.

His successor Edward I. received great help towards the maintenance of his wars, and other charges, from the Silver Mines which, in his days, were found in Devonshire. In the accounts of William de Wimondham, Warden of the Mint, it appears, that, between the 12th of August and the 31st of October, in the 22d year of his reign, there was tried and fined out, at Martin-stowe in that County, by times, so much of fine Silver as amounted to 370 Pounds weight.

In the next year, 521 Pounds and ten Shillings weight were fined at the same place, and also brought to London.

But the workmen of that country being either not sufficiently numerous, or not sufficiently expert, three hundred and thirty-seven Miners were, in the year 1296, brought from the Wapentake of the Peak in Derbyshire, who fined and cast into wedges, in the course of that year, 704 Pounds three Shillings and one Pennyweight^z. In the next year, 348 Miners were brought from the same place, and to them were added 25 from Wales, besides others of the County of Devon and other places^a.

William de Aulton, Clerk, Keeper of the King's Mines in Devonshire and Cornwall, was Accomptant of the issues and profits of the King's Mines there from March 4, 1298, to April 18, 1299, and yielded up his account both of Silver and Lead^b; which proves that the Silver was the produce of Lead Mines rich in that metal.

In the early part of this reign, the Mines in Ireland which afforded Silver were supposed to be sufficiently rich to merit the attention of government. The King, therefore, in a Writ directed to Robert de Offerd, Justiciary of Ireland, and the Bishop of Waterford, his Treasurer there, stated that he was certainly informed that Mines of Silver were found in that Country, of which considerable profit might be made, and commanded those

^y Claus. 47 H. III. m. 15.

^z From Sept. 30 to Nov. 6 in that year, there were received into the Mint, from the King's Mines, £.709. 10s. 4½d. [Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.]

^a Holinshed has omitted to state the amount of Silver which was fined by these Miners.

^b Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. II. p. 316. He says that Wimondham's Accounts were, in his time, remaining in the Exchequer.

persons to cause such Mines to be opened and worked, in any way that to their judgment should seem expedient^c. The Mint, however, did not depend solely upon these Mines for a supply of Metal. From an Account of the same William de Wymondham, it appears that foreign Bullion was purchased to a considerable amount^d.

During the reign of Edward II. Silver was still brought to the Mint from the Royal Mines, and that which was purchased was distinguished by the names of *Argentum Cismarinum*, *Transmarinum*, and *Billon*^e.

These terms continued to be used in the reign of Edward III., after which I have not met with them. In his 12th year he granted, and in his 15th year confirmed, by Statute, free liberty to all persons to dig within their own soil for Mines of Gold and Silver, and for hid treasure, under the inspection of Clerks to be appointed for that purpose, on condition that all the Silver so found should be carried to the Mint to be coined there, at their cost, and that one third of the money so struck should remain to the King, and two thirds to the owner of the soil; and that all the Gold should be brought to the Exchequer, at their expense, one moiety thereof to be retained for the King's use, and the other moiety to be returned to the said owner of the soil. But if they should neglect to dig for the said Mines, &c. then the King and his heirs to have power to do it, without hindrance from any one^f.

In the 3d year of Richard II. the same privilege was extended to Ireland, for six years, on condition of rendering to the King one ninth part of the metal. The remainder to be made into plate, &c. or to be brought to the Mint in Dublin, where the King's Seignorage and Custom for Coinage were to be deducted, and the value of the remainder given in his money. The Bullion not to be exported, except to England, without the King's special license, on pain of forfeiture^g.

But, notwithstanding the provision of the 12th year of Edward III. which appears to be so favourable to Mine-adventurers, it seems that the Crown

^c Pat. 4 E. I. m. 10.

^d Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^e Id.

^f Fines, 12 E. III. m. 17, and 15 E. III. m. 14. The Statute which is here referred to has never, as I believe, been printed in any edition of the Statutes. It is not in that of 1810. Prynne has given it in his *Traëtate on Aurum Reginae*, p. 128.

^g Rot. Parl. An. 3 R. II. m. 2, n. 43. Prynne on the 4th Part of Coke's Institute, p. 308.

could not at once recede from the ancient practice, for, in the next year, we find that the Sheriff of Somersetshire was commanded to repair in person to Melles in that County, and to dig and examine into a Mine there, which was reported to be rich in Silver^h. And, in order to provide a supply of fuel for the King's furnaces in the Counties of Devon and Cornwall, an Inquisition was ordered to value the woods belonging to certain persons in the neighbourhood of his Silver Mines there, and to sell them to his Warden of the said Mines at a reasonable rateⁱ.

In the 18th year of Edward III. is found the first entry of Gold, as brought into the Mint for the purposes of coinage, which remains upon record. It consisted either of foreign Coins, or of Bullion purchased for the Mint, or sent thither by Merchants to be coined^k; but I have not met with any instance where that metal is entered as the produce of the Royal Mines.

The Welsh Mines in Cardiganshire were discovered in the reign of James I. by Sir Hugh Middleton, and have ever since been worked with success; whereas all others in England have not answered the charges of working. Folkes says there was a good quantity of money coined in this reign, of the Silver refined from the lead of the Mines in the Principality of Wales^l. And it will be seen, on inspection of the Explanation of the Plates, that Silver from those Mines, and from others in the West of England, has been occasionally coined so late as the reign of king George I.

It was at an early period discovered that the working of Mines on the King's account was not advantageous to the Crown, and in consequence they were leased to various persons, with a reservation of certain portions of the precious metals which they contained to the use of the Crown, and sometimes also with an obligation to bring the whole produce to the Mint, in order to its being coined there.

As that reservation was unquestionably made for the purposes of coinage, I shall give a brief statement of the proportions which were at different times reserved.

^h Claus. 13 E. III. pt. 1. m. 9.

ⁱ Escaet. 13 E. III. No. 61.

^k Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

^l Folkes, p. 70. Leake, p. 287.

1354. The tenth part^m.
1358. The first year, a rent of 20 marks; afterward, the fifth part of the metalⁿ.
1369. All the Gold and Silver to be brought to the Mint in the Tower of London to make money, and the ninth part to be paid to the King for his Seignory^o.
1377. The thirtieth part of the profits of a Gold Mine which had been discovered in Devonshire, and declared to the King's Council, was granted to the discoverer for two years^p.
1378. The seventh part^q.
1379. The ninth part^r.
1382. The ninth part to the King, and the tenth to the Church of the parish in which the Mine was found^s.
1388. The seventh part^t.
1390. The ninth part to the King, the tenth part to Holy Church, and a thirteenth to the lord of the soil^u.
1397. The ninth part of the pure Gold and Silver^x.
1427. To Holy Church a tenth, to the King a fifteenth of the pure Gold and Silver, and to the lord of the soil a twentieth part of Gold and Silver^y.
1434. The same lease was renewed, but with the condition of paying to the King, only, the fifteenth part of the pure Gold and Silver^z.
1453. A tenth part of the pure Gold and Silver^z.
1456. Is the first instance of an annual rent, without any reservation of Bullion, which I have met with^b.
1461. The tenth boll of ore^c.

^m Cl. 28 E. III. dois.

^o Cl. 43 E. III. m. 9. dors.

^q Pat. 2 R. II. pt. 1. m. 46.

^s Fin. 5 R. II. & Cl. 3 R. II.

^u Pat. 13 R. II. pt. 3.

^y Pat. 5 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 7.

^a Pat. 31 H. VI. pt. 1. m. 6. These were Mines in Devonshire and Cornwall, and yet it will be seen in the Annals that, in 1454, the Commons represented that the Mines in these Counties were not worked.

^b Pat. 34 H. VI. m. 8.

ⁿ Fines, 32 E. III. m. 11.

^p Claus. 1. R. II. m. 32.

^r See p. 126.

^t Cl. 11 R. II. m. 44. dors.

^x Pat. 20 R. II. pt. 3. m. 23.

^z Pat. 11 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 12.

^c Pat. 2 E. IV. pt. 1. m. 6.

1467. One twelfth to the King, and one sixteenth to the lord of the soil^d.

1474. An eighth to the King, a ninth to the lord of the soil, and a tenth to the Minister of the parish^e.

1475. A fifteenth of the pure Gold and Silver^f.

1625. After the first two years, one tenth to the King. All the other Silver to be brought to the Mint, where the lessee was to receive for it such price in ready money as Silver of the same fineness should then be worth^g.

In order to facilitate the working of these Mines, the lessees were sometimes authorized to take a certain number of workmen wheresoever they should find them, within the County wherein the Mines were situated^h.

They had power also over their labourers, &c. to exercise justice in all pleas, except those of land, life, or limb; and if any offended so that they ought to be imprisoned, then the patentees or lessees were authorized to arrest and lodge them in the next gaol, there to be detained until they should be released by themⁱ.

As the claim of the Crown respecting Mines Royal was but ill defined, an attempt was made in the 15th year of Charles II. to pass a Statute for the purpose of ascertaining it more clearly^k; but, after the Bill was read a second time, and the amendments of the Committee to which it was referred were reported, it seems to have been dropped, as no further proceedings are to be found; and the claim remained in its unsettled state, until it was finally determined by the 1st and 5th of William and Mary, which have been already recited.

But the supply of the Mint with Bullion was in early times considered to be a circumstance of too much importance to be trusted to natural means alone; and the aid of Alchymy was therefore resorted to for that purpose. Thus the Gold, of which the Nobles of Edward III. were formed, is said to have been produced by Raymond Lully.

Ashmole, in his Notes upon Norton's Ordinall, and Hermes Bird, has given a very circumstantial account of the bringing of Lully into England by Cremer, Abbot of Westminster; of his agreeing to make the King rich by

^d Pat. 8 E. IV. pt. 3. m. 14.

^e Pat. 15 E. IV. pt. 1. m. 22.

^f Pat. 18 E. IV. pt. 2. m. 30.

^g Rymer, XVIII. 90.

^h Pat. 45 E. III. pt. 2. m. 31.

ⁱ Pat. 15 E. IV. pt. 1. m. 22.

^k Commons Journals, vol. VIII. pp. 451, 458, 483.

his art, in consequence of that Monarch's promise to enter into a war against the Turks; of his refusal to work any longer, when he found that Edward would not keep that promise; and of his being clapt up in the Tower in consequence.

The Gold, he says, is affirmed (by an unwritten verity) to have been made by Raymund Lully, in the Tower of London; and, besides the tradition, the inscription is some proof; for, upon the reverse is a cross fleury, with Liõneux, inscribed, "Jesus autem transiens per medium eorum ibat;" that is, "as Jesus passed invisible, and in most secret manner, by the midst of the Pharisees, so that Gold was made by invisible and secret art amidst the ignorant^l."

That Edward was, in some degree, a believer in the powers of Alchymy, and therefore not improbably the dupe of Lully, will, I think, appear from the following Record. The Patent Roll of his third year states, that the King had been given to understand that John le Rous and Master William de Dalby could make Silver by art of Alkemony; that they had heretofore made it, and still did make it; and that by such making of that metal they could greatly profit the Realm: he therefore commanded Thomas Cary to find them out, and to bring them before the King, with all the instruments, &c. belonging to the said art. If they would come willingly, they were to be brought safely and honourably; but, if not, they were to be seized, and brought before the King wherever he might be. All Sheriffs, &c. were commanded to assist the said Thomas Cary^m. This belief in the creation, or at least transmutation of metals, was in the reign of Henry IV. so firmly established, that we find in his fifth year a Statute which solemnly "ordained and established that none from henceforth shall use to multiply Gold or Silver, nor use the craft of multiplication; and if any the same do, that he incur the pain of felony in this caseⁿ."

In consequence of the restraint which this Statute imposed upon the operations of Alchymy, John Cobbe, in the 22d year of Henry VI. presented

^l Ashmole's *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, pp. 442, 467. Mr. Tyrwhitt has thought this tale worthy of a serious confutation, which may be seen in the fourth volume of his edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, p. 183.

^m Rymer, IV. 384.

ⁿ Statute 5 H. IV. chap. 4. [Statutes, folio, 1577.]

a Petition to the King, in which he stated, that he was desirous of operating upon certain materials, by Art Philosophical, viz. to *transubstantiate* the inferior metals, by the said Art, into perfect Gold and Silver, so as to endure every trial; but that certain persons had suspected this to be done by art unlawful, and therefore had power to hinder and disturb him in giving proof of it.

His Majesty, having considered the premises, and being willing to see the conclusion of the said operation, granted, of his special grace, license to the said John to practise the said Art in future, without molestation from any of his officers; provided always that it was not contrary to law^o. Soon after this, however, his Majesty's curiosity became too impatient to endure the restraint of Statutes, and he granted licenses of the same kind to various persons to carry on their operations, notwithstanding any Statute, Act, Ordinance, or provision to the contrary^p.

In his 35th year he appointed, by Letters Patent, Commissioners to inquire into the truth of this art, by the professors of which he had been promised wealth sufficient to pay all his debts in Gold and Silver, to the great advantage of the Kingdom. The Commissioners were not selected with any particular attention to their qualifications for such a scrutiny; for they consisted of Augustine and preaching Friars, of the Queen's Physician, the Master of St. Laurence Pontigny College, an Alderman of London, a Fishmonger, two Grocers, and two Mercers^q. Their Report does not appear; but, without doubt, it was favourable to the Art, as another license to prac-

^o Pat. 22 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 9.

^p Pat. 24 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 5 & m. 14. Rymer, XI. 240. Pat. 30 H. VI. pt. 2. m. 27. Pat. 34 H. VI. m. 6. This last Patent is given at length in Tovey's *Anglia Judaica*, p. 253, and is worth perusal. It speaks with the highest confidence not only of the transmutation of metals, but also of the Elixir by which all curable disorders would be healed; human life prolonged to its natural term; and man would be preserved in health, and natural strength both of body and mind, &c. &c. It gave license by authority of Parliament to John Faceby, and others, to make that most precious medicine called the Fifth Essence, and the Philosopher's Stone, and to practise the transmutation of metals into true Gold and Silver. [Pat. 34 H. VI. m. 7. Brit. Museum, III. 1. b.]

^q Pat. 35 H. VI. m. 6. By the advice of the King's Council, and by the authority of Parliament. [Prynne's *Aurum Regiæ*, p. 134.] A Commission of the same kind had previously been made in his 34th year to William Cantelo and others. [Pat. 34 H. VI. m. 7. Brit. Museum, III. 1. b.]

tise it is found in his 39th year. This differs from those formerly granted, in being for the term of two years only, whilst the others were unlimited^r.

Notwithstanding the disappointments which must have been perpetually experienced from the professions of those Alchymists, it is certain that a reliance on the powers of their Art continued as late as the 17th year of Edward IV. This appears from the following entry, which is preserved in a Leet Book of the Corporation of Coventry.

“Memo’. that the vj day of Januar, y^e yere afores^d [i. e. 17 E. IV. John Seman, Mayor], the forsaid May^r resceyved a pr^ve signet by y^e hande of a s^vnte of the Kyngs, the tenour wherof herafter ensueth :

By the Kyng.

Trusty and wele-beloved, we grete you wele, and late you wite that it hath ben shewed unto us that oure wele-beloved John Frensh, our s^vnt, comⁱnyng and com^only abydyng in our cite ther, entendeth be his lab^r to practise a true and a p^fitable conclusion in the cunnyng of Transmutac^on of metails, to oure pr^fyte and pleasure, and for to make a cler shewing of the same before certⁿ oure s^vnts and counsell’s by us therfor appointed, is required a certayn tyme to p^par his matⁱals; we not willing therfore oure seid s^vnt to be trobled in that he shall so werk or p^pair for oure pleasure and p^fite, woll and charge yewe that ye ne suffer hym in eny wyse by any p^sone or p^sones to be letted, troubled, or vexed of his seid labour and practise, to thentent that he at his goode lib^{te} may shewe unto us, and such as be by us therfor appointed, the cler effect of his seid conclusion. Yeven under oure signet, at our Palays of Westm^r, the xxix day of December.

To our trusty and welbeloved the Mair and his brethren of our cite of Coventre, and to the Recorder of the same, and to ev^y of thaim^s.”

I have met with only one instance in which the Statute of the 5th year of Henry IV., against the craft of Multiplication, was put in force. It occurs in the 7th of Edward VI. when one Eden confessed himself guilty of that

^r Pat. 39 H. VI. m. 23.

^s This extract from the Corporation Records was obligingly communicated by that very able Antiquary Mr. Sharp of Coventry. The publication of that gentleman’s valuable Collections for the History of his native City would be an accession of considerable interest to British Topography.

crime, viz. that he had practised to make the fifth Essence, and the Philosopher's Stone. He also accused one Whalley, then prisoner in the Tower, of having moved and procured him to practise that Art. As the offence was but felony, Eden the principal was included in the General Pardon, but Whalley as accessory to the Felony was excepted, as one of those who were then in the Tower^t.

In the sixth year of Charles I. David Ramseye had license to practise his new invention of separating metals, for fourteen years, paying to the King one third of the profit after the end of the first year; and also power to search for Mines Royal in Yorkshire and Somersetshire, and in those parts of Devonshire where there were no Tin works, for twenty-one years, paying the tenth of the Gold, Silver, Copper, and Lead, into the Exchequer, and delivering into the Mint every six months, at the price usually given, all the Gold and Silver which should be found in the said Mines^u.

The Statute, of the 5th year of Henry IV. against Multiplication, was repealed in the 1st year of William and Mary, because divers persons, who, by their study, industry, and learning, had arrived to great skill in extracting Gold and Silver from other Ores, did not dare to exercise their said skill within the Realm, for fear of falling under the penalty of the said Statute, and therefore practised it in foreign parts, to the great loss and detriment of the Realm.

This Act of Repeal provided, that all Gold and Silver so extracted should

^t Pettus's *Fodinæ Regales*, p. 44; from Dier's Reports, 88. We must not, however, ascribe all this to the blindness of unenlightened times; for we shall find, on inquiry, that a belief in the Transmutation, or, as it is more modestly stiled, the Maturation of Metals, held a place even in the enlarged mind of Bacon. In his *Sylva Sylvarum* [p. 73], he has given a serious receipt for the conduct of that operation. Is it possible that the great Father of experiment should have so far deceived himself, as to imagine that he had practised with success what he there pretended to teach? Mr. Boyle, likewise, professed his belief in the possibility of Transmutation; and, whilst he was warm with the hope of it, procured the repeal of the Statute 5 H. V. [Birch's *Life of Boyle*, p. 278.] And even in our times, Projection was publickly exhibited by a gentleman well skilled in Chemistry, whose deplorable end was attributed to the disgrace which naturally attached to so suspicious a performance. [See an Account of some Experiments on Mercury, Silver, and Gold, made at Guildford, in the Laboratory of James Price, M. D. F. R. S. 4to. Oxford, 1782.]

^u Rymer, XIX. 200.

be employed for no other use but for the increase of Monies; for which purpose they were to be brought to the Mint in the Tower of London, where the full and true value thereof would be paid according to the fineness; and they were not to be used, or disposed of, in any other place within their Majesties dominions^w.

From the Mint Accounts, which are still preserved in the Court of Exchequer, I have compiled the following Table of the quantities of Bullion received at various times into the Mint for the purposes of Coinage. It is necessarily incomplete; for the Accounts, being probably considered as of little value after the Quietuses were issued, have given place to papers of more importance, and have consequently been removed to distant rooms, wherever space could be found for them; and several of them are now, in course, not to be found. Still those which remain are too curious to be entirely omitted in this work.

REIGN.	MINT.	SILVER.			GOLD.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Henry III., for an uncertain period, ending in July 1222 - - - - }	Canterbury.	x	3898	0 4 *			
From July 1, 50 } to May 26, 53 }	London.	y	45617	2 7			

^w Statute 1 William and Mary, chap. 30.

^x In these Accounts the Shillings mean Ounces. See under the reign of Henry V., where sometimes one is used, and sometimes the other.

In the Assisa Panis, which is usually attributed to the 51st year of Henry III., and which refers to "older Ordinances made in the times of the King's Progenitors," the weights of Bread are expressed by Pounds, Shillings, Pennies, and Farthings.

^y This Roll, which is in the Tower, is imperfect at the end. It originally contained entries of Silver purchased from July 1, 50th year, to Christmas in the 55th.

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

	£.	s.	d.
* The profit of this is stated to be	£.97.	9s.	0d.
of which to the King - - -	60	18	3½
to the Archbishop - - -	36	10	10½
	£.97	9	2

These totals, as is frequently the case where sums are stated in Roman Numerals, do not agree.

SUPPLY OF BULLION.

135

REIGN.		MINT.	SILVER.			GOLD.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Edward I.								
19 and 20	- - - -	Canterbury.	877	14	8 $\frac{1}{4}$			
21	- - - -		748	16	2			
22	- - - -		257	18	8 $\frac{1}{2}$			
23	- - - -		16	5	4			
24	- - - -		19	18	7			
24	- - - -	London.	1772	19	3 *			
25	- - - -		6245	18	9			
No date	- - - -	Dublin.	6053	1	8			
Edward II.								
5 and 6	- - - -	London.	13203	15	8			
5 and 6	- - - -	Canterbury.	4770	7	10			
6 and 7	- - - -		6761	2	1			
6 and 7	- - - -	London.	7180	2	10			
7 and 8	- - - -		29978	17	8 †			
10	- - - -	Canterbury.	5144	7	7			
10 and 11	- - - -		6166	5	6			
10 and 11	- - - -		5415	12	5			
11 and 12	- - - -		20820	6	9			
12 and 13	- - - -		7951	12	0			
13 and 14	- - - -	London.	8052	2	10			
13 and 14	- - - -	Canterbury.	13010	0	9			
14 and 15	- - - -	London.	9384	6	5			
15 and 16	- - - -		1296	4	3			
15 and 16	- - - -	Canterbury.	3752	17	1			
16 and 17	- - - -	London.	999	2	11			
17 and 18	- - - -		1697	19	3			
18	- - - -		20647	0	4			
Edward III.								
1	- - - -	London.	124	2	1			
1 and 2	- - - -		148	0	11			
2 and 3	- - - -		83	6	6			
2 and 3	- - - -	Canterbury.	46	0	0			
3	- - - -	London.	633	18	3			
3	- - - -	Canterbury.	92	4	6			
3 and 4	- - - -	London.	476	19	8			
4	- - - -	No Money coined in either Mint.	0	0	0 †			
18	- - - -	London.	20647	0	4	2187	12	0 $\frac{1}{2}$ §

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

* Of this sum £.709. 10s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. are answered for the issues of the King's Mines.† N.B. this with the Alloy amounted to £.30695. 8s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

‡ For that year Magister non respondet.

§ In pure Gold £.2129. 18s. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. the whole of which was coined into Florins.

SUPPLY OF BULLION.

REIGN.	MINT.	SILVER.			GOLD.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Edward III. (continued.)							
22 - - -	London.	4461	16	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *	1834	17	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
23 - - -		1614	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	249	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ †
23 and 24 - - -		2073	7	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	557	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ † $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ †
24 - - -		4254	11	1 $\frac{1}{2}$			
25 - - -					3422	2	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ †
26 and 27 - - -					411	2	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
27 and 28 - - -		91250	14	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	8417	6	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
28 and 29 - - -					2453	11	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
28 and 29 - - -	York.	1892	5	9			
34 - - -	London.	1361	15	0 $\frac{1}{2}$			
34 and 35 - - -		1675	17	5	3422	2	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$
35 - - -		3550	5	6			
35 and 36 - - -		1265	10	9 $\frac{1}{2}$			
36 - - -		6412	11	1	4512	2	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
37 - - -	Calais.	1613	5	1	2869	19	2
Michaelmas 37 } to Michaelmas 38 }	London.	755	13	4	1381	8	6
38 - - -	Calais.	3659	4	11	1239	17	7
38 - - -	London.	1187	19	3			
40 and 41 - - -					747	1	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
41 and 42 - - -		1764	19	9	1704	17	7
43 and 44 - - -		1556	5	5	1535	19	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
44 and 45 - - -		640	13	3	1072	14	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
49 and 50 - - -		2431	14	5	376	6	6
Richard II.							
11 - - -	London.	63	13	1	192	0	5
11 and 12 - - -		140	14	4	918	11	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ §
12 and 13 - - -		142	16	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	905	15	10
13 and 14 - - -		1794	15	0	1626	15	3 **
19 and 20 - - -		169	7	9	536	14	3
20 and 21 - - -					605	5	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Henry IV.							
3 - - -	London.	129	2	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	298	12	10
4 - - -		145	19	5	153	13	6
4 and 5 - - -		361	9	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	313	16	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
6 - - -					277	7	5
14 and 15 - - -		3612	5	0	7329	7	0

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

* Another Account, of the same date and title, differs as to all the totals, and the amount is only £.4450. 7s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

† Pure Gold £.243. 2s. Od. All in Florins.

‡ Pure Gold £.549. 16s. 11d. All in Florins. No Money coined at Canterbury, either in Gold or Silver, during 23d and part of 24th years, according to an Order to that purpose in the King's Writ dated June 18, 23 E. III., that nothing should be coined after that day.

‡ Pure Gold £.3222. 14s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{5}$ d.

§ Pure Gold 23 Car. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Gr.

|| Pure Gold Ditto.

** Pure Gold Ditto.

SUPPLY OF BULLION.

137

REIGN.	MINT.	SILVER.			GOLD.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Henry V.							
Michaelmas 5 } to 30 March 7 }	- - - London.	2102	19	4	2864	5	4 *
March 30, 10 } to March 30, 3 } of Henry VI. }	- - -	6924	0	10	19746	11	0½
Henry VI.							
5 - - - -	- - - London.	598	8	15	752	2	12½
30 March 8 } to } Michaelmas 10 }	- - -	1570	5	4	636	15	0
13 - - - -	- - -	529	4	12½	300	0	1½
18 - - - -	- - -	529	0	7½	691	3	11¼
18 and 19 - - - -	- - -	2751	3	10	505	4	10
23 and 24 - - - -	- - -	207	3	0	162	0	3¾
25 and 26 - - - -	- - -	88	7	5	87	2	17½
St. John 26 } to 11 Octob. 28 }	- - -	651	2	15	207	11	2½
29 and 30 } Michaelmas to } Michaelmas }	- - -	10789	7	15	414	7	3¾
31 - - - -	- - -	3605	5	5	123	10	7½ †
32 to 34 - - - -	- - -	5469	10	0	149	6	8
Michaelmas 37 } to } Michaelmas 38 }	- - -	3103	2	0	48	8	5
Edward IV.							
29 September, 9 } to } Michaelmas 10 }	- - - London.	8065	6	0	2289	6	0
9 and 10 - - - -	- - - York.	1312	6	0	88	0	0
9 and 10 - - - -	- - - Bristol.	1041	3	0	142	3	0
10 and 11 - - - -	- - - York.	242	8	0	54	7	10
11 - - - -	- - - London.				7565	7	0
11 and 12 - - - -	- - - Bristol.	903	3	0	117	3	0
31 May, 11 } to 28 Sept. 15 }	- - - London.	36278	15	0			
Henry VII.							
1 and 2 - - - -	- - - London.	4103	0	0	472	2	0
3 and 4 - - - -	- - -	2651	9	10	403	7	10
4 - - - -	- - -	2724	0	10	238	3	0
10 and 11 - - - -	- - -	4920	10	0	1056	2	0
11 and 12 - - - -	- - -	2309	4	15	586	4	0

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

* In this Account Shillings and Ounces are used indifferently; thus, CCCXLII li. xjs. viij d. CXLVII li. i unc. x d.

† N. B. this Account is in £. s. d.

REIGN.	MINT.	SILVER.			GOLD.		
		lb.	unc.	d.	lb.	unc.	d.
Henry VII. (<i>continued.</i>)							
12 and 13 - - -	London.	4510	2	15	764	11	0
13 and 14 - - -		7706	2	0	868	2	0
14 and 16 - - -		20443	4	0	1787	1	0
Henry VIII.							
3 and 4 - - -	London.	5537	10	5	1196	8	15 $3\frac{1}{2}$ Plates*.
7 and 8 - - -		2279	9	5	96	4	5
8 and 9 - - -		689	10	0	1976	8	0
9 and 10 - - -		535	4	13	2048	11	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
10 and 11 - - -		192	2	8	2441	0	12

The above is the last Account which I have been able to find ; and I do not possess materials to bring the Table any lower ^z.

OF THE VARIOUS METHODS OF COINAGE.

The Metal thus brought to the Mint was assayed, reduced to Standard, and then formed into Money, by the instruments which at different periods have been invented for that purpose.

The Mode of Coinage in early times, as far as it can now be traced, was rude and inartificial; the sole expedient employed being to fix one Die firmly in a wooden block, and to hold the other in the hand as a Puncheon; when by striking the latter forcibly, and repeatedly, with an Hammer, the impression required was at length worked up.

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

* Qu. the value of a Plate? Three Plates and $\frac{1}{2}$ must be less than 15 dwts.

^z There is indeed an Account, in the Report of the Secret Committee of the Lords in 1797, of all the Gold imported into the Mint in the years 1761—1797, both inclusive; but as we possess an accurate Statement of the quantity which was coined in each of those years, I did not think it necessary to reprint the Account of the Ingots which were brought to the Mint during that time.

This method appears to have been nearly coëval with the first invention of Coined Money^a; and it is a very singular fact, that no improvement of any importance was made in it until the power of the Screw was applied to Coinage in the French Mint, about the middle of the 16th century^b.

The new invention was not, however, admitted into our Mint before the year 1561, when it was used, together with the old method of coining by the hammer, until the latter was wholly laid aside in the 14th year of Charles II. A. D. 1662. From that time to the present, only very trivial improvements have been made, and the machine continues to be worked, with nearly all its original imperfections uncorrected. It consists of a Screw, to which the upper Die is connected; this is worked by a Fly, and forces that Die which is attached to it with considerable effect upon the other Die, which is firmly fixed below.

The advantage of this machine (which is known by the name of The Mill and Screw) over the old mode of striking with an hammer, consists chiefly in the increase of force, which is so great as to raise the impression at one blow, by which a great waste of time is prevented.

Its radical defect is, that it is put in motion by the exertion of human strength; and as this must necessarily be unequal at different periods of its application, the Coins will be struck with unequal forces.

It is, perhaps, owing to this cause, that, notwithstanding the vast increase of power which has been gained, no addition has been made, since its introduction, to the relief of the impression on the Coins, but they still retain that insipid flatness, which must have been highly gratifying to the workman, who was obliged to raise the figure by the strength of his arm; but which at the same time affords a facility to counterfeiting, that has proved fatal to the integrity of our Coins.

^a It is probably as old as the first Coins which were stamped on both sides. The new Money in the 18th year of Edward I. was made in the following manner: First, it was cast from the melting-pot into long bars; these bars were cut with shears into square pieces, of exact weights; then with the tongs and hammer they were forged into a round shape; after which they were blanced, that is, made white and refulgent by nealing or boiling, and afterwards stamped or impressed with a hammer, to make them perfect Money. Leake, p. 76, quoting the Red Book.

^b Le Blanc, *Traité Historique de Monnoyes de France*, p. 268.

It has been expected, by some, that the errors, which have arisen from the imperfections of these two modes of working, will be banished from our Mints by the powerful machinery invented by Mr. Boulton in 1788.

His Coining-Mill, according to Dr. Darwin's poetical description of it, is moved by a medium whose power knows no limits but the imperfection of the materials on which it exerts itself. It possesses the peculiar convenience of concentrating all those operations of the Mint which require either considerable force, or a constant and regular motion: such as, rolling the Metal; cutting out the Blanks; shaking them in bags to wear down the edges; at the same time that it works any number of Stamping-Machines which may be necessary. In these it lays the Blanks upon the Die, perfectly concentric with it, and again displaces them, after they have received, at one blow, not only the impression upon each face, but also any kind of milling, *or legend*, upon the edge ^c.

Such are the supposed advantages of this improved machine, which, since the above account was written, has been admitted into the Royal Mint. Dr. Darwin's statement, however, must be received with some grains of allowance: for the machine is still imperfect from the nature of that mechanical power by which the upper Die is impressed upon the lower one; namely, that its force is not absolutely direct, but in some slight degree rotatory; and from the formation of the collar within which the Coins are stamped, which is such that it cannot be used for the purpose of placing a legend upon their edge. This latter imperfection, however, might easily be removed.

The edges of the hammered Money were left in a rude and unfinished state, which rendered them peculiarly liable to be diminished by clipping. After the Mill was introduced, the Coins began to assume a form nearly circular, which admitted of some addition to the impression, for the purpose of preserving the outward edge. This was first attempted by placing a graining so as to form a regular circle, on the outside of the Legend, quite to the edge of the Coin. The earliest specimens of Elizabeth's milled Money present instances of this invention.

^c Shaw's History of Staffordshire, vol. II. p. 118. See the account of the Mint at Soho.

Afterward a Legend was imprinted upon the edge of the larger pieces; but this, it is believed, did not take place until the year 1651, for the earliest instances of it, which are known, occur upon the Coins made by Blondeau and Ramage, for the Commonwealth, of that date.

This impression is given to the edge of the Coin by passing it between two Plates, one of which is fixed, and the other moveable, by a Pinion which works in teeth on the back edge of it. One half of the Legend is engraven on each of these Plates, so that when the Coin has been carried by the moveable Plate to the end of that which is fixed, it is then marked upon the whole of the edge.

This machine was invented by Monsieur Castaing, in 1685, and was introduced by him into the French Mint^d. Before this invention the letters were impressed upon the edge by including the Blanks in a collar which contained the legend, and was of the same diameter as the piece, but of less thickness. The metal, thus placed, being struck with the Die, expanded under it, and received the form of whatever was engraven on the inside of the collar, which opened with four joints in order to permit the Coin to be taken out.

As it is scarcely practicable to impress a legend upon the rim of the smaller Coins, a graining has been devised for the protection of their outer edge. This, which is generally known by the technical term Milling, was first used in 1663, the strokes at that time going at right angles across the edge. That mode continued until 1669, when diagonal strokes were introduced. But these, also, being found insufficient for the purpose, angular strokes were devised, in 1739, which added something to the difficulty of counterfeiting the milling; and the edge of the Coin was still further protected by placing the top of the letters as close as possible to it^e.

I have not been able to discover how long this method of milling was retained, but it probably did not answer the expectations which were formed of it, and was consequently soon withdrawn; at least it is not in present use, but both the right angled and the diagonal strokes appear upon the Coins of

^d Boizard, *Traité de Monnoyes*, tom. I. p. 142. He says that one person may, with ease, mark 20,000 pieces in one day.

^e Vallavine's *Observations on the current Coin*, p. 17.

his present Majesty ; some of which also are marked with lines considerably curved.

The position of the letters close to the edge of the Coin, which first appeared upon some of the Guineas of William and Mary, is still continued.

The whole operation of Milling is yet kept a profound secret in the Mint, all those who are intrusted being sworn not to discover it ; notwithstanding the manner in which the same operation is performed in several foreign Mints is there publicly shewn^f. It is probably executed with an instrument similar to that by which the letters are imprinted on the edge ; at least that tool may with ease be made to do it.

From the Money, when compleatly finished, two pieces are to be taken from every fifteen Pounds weight of Gold, and two, at least, from every sixty Pounds weight of Silver, one for the private Assay within the Mint, and the other for the publick Trial of the Pix ^g.

But as no human skill can be supposed capable of attaining to unerring correctness in the practice of any art, an allowance was wisely provided by our Ancestors, in early times, for those failures in the practical part of Coinage which, in their judgment, were considered as being inevitable. Accordingly the Master of the Mint was permitted to vary from the express conditions of his Indenture by certain small proportions of weight or fineness, or of both conjointly, in every Pound weight. This allowance is technically termed The Remedy ; and it has been increased or diminished at different times, as will appear from the following Table.

REMEDY.

A TABLE of the REMEDIES.

REIGN.	GOLD.	SILVER.	
Edward I. 28		2 Pennyweights	Snelling.
Edward III. 18	$\frac{1}{8}$ Carat		Indenture for the Florins.
	$\frac{1}{11}$ Carat		Indenture for the Nobles.
— 19	$\frac{1}{8}$ Carat		Indenture.
— 20, 23	$\frac{1}{3}$ Carat		Snelling.
— 27	$\frac{1}{8}$ Carat		Indenture.
— 30	$\frac{1}{6}$ Carat		Indenture.

^f Folkes's Tables, p. 105.

^g Pollett's MS.

A TABLE of the REMEDIES (*continued*).

REIGN.	GOLD.	SILVER.	
Richard II. 18	$\frac{1}{4}$ Carat	2 Pennyweights	Indenture.
Henry IV. - 3	$\frac{1}{12}$ Carat		Snelling.
----- 4			Snelling.
----- 13	$\frac{1}{8}$ Carat		Snelling.
Henry V. - 9			Snelling.
----- 10			Indenture.
Henry VI. - 4			Indenture.
----- 6			Indenture.
----- 24			Snelling.
----- 49			Indenture.
Edward IV. 4			Indenture.
----- 5			Indenture.
----- 7			Snelling.
----- 8			Indenture.
----- 22			Indenture.
Henry VII. 19			Indenture.
Henry VIII. 18			Indenture.
----- 22	$\frac{1}{6}$ Carat		Snelling.
----- 34	$\frac{1}{6}$ Carat		Indenture.
----- 36	$\frac{1}{4}$ Carat	3 Pennyweights	Indenture for the Gold, Snelling for the Silver.
----- 37	$\frac{1}{6}$ Carat		Indenture and Snelling as before.
Edward VI. 1	$\frac{1}{4}$ Carat		Indenture.
----- 3	$\frac{1}{6}$ Carat		Indenture.
----- 4	$\frac{1}{8}$ Carat		Indenture and Snelling as above.
----- 6	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1\frac{1}{2} \text{ Grains} \\ 2 \text{ Grains} \end{array} \right.$	2 Pennyweights	Indenture.
Elizabeth - 1	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{8} \text{ Carat} \\ \frac{1}{6} \text{ Carat} \end{array} \right.$		Indenture and Snelling.
----- 19			
----- 25	$\frac{1}{8}$ Carat		Indenture.
----- 26			
----- 27	$\frac{1}{6}$ Carat		Snelling.
----- 43	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{8} \text{ Carat} \\ \frac{1}{6} \text{ Carat} \end{array} \right.$		Indenture.
James I. - 2	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{8} \text{ Carat} \\ \frac{1}{6} \text{ Carat} \end{array} \right.$		Indenture and Snelling.
----- 10	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{8} \\ \frac{1}{6} \\ \frac{1}{8} \end{array} \right\}$ Carat		Snelling.
----- 17	$\frac{1}{8}$ Carat		Snelling.
Charles I. - 2	$\frac{1}{6}$ Carat		Snelling.
Charles II. 13			Snelling.
----- 17			Snelling.
----- 18			Snelling.

This Table is copied from the Indentures, and from the Tables given by Snelling, in his View of the Gold and Silver Coins.

OF THE TRIAL OF THE PIX.

The wisdom of our Ancestors did not consider the private Assay within the Mint, which sanctioned the delivery of the Coins to the owner of the Bullion, as a sufficient security for the integrity of the Coins, but required them to be submitted to a public Trial by a Jury, before the Master could receive his discharge; and this Trial was repeated at such short intervals as to form a sufficient check upon improper issues of the money^h. This final examination is technically called the Trial of the Pix, from the Box in which the Coins, which have been selected for that purpose, are contained; and where they are secured by three locks, the keys of which are respectively in the custody of the Warden, Master, and Comptroller of the Mint.

It does not appear that *the antients* had any such publick Trialⁱ; and the earliest notice of the Pix, which I have met with in any modern foreign Mint, is in the reign of Philip V. of France, in the fourteenth century^k; but whether the passage in which it occurs related to a publick examination cannot now be determined.

The date of the invention of this mode of Trial I am not able to trace, but its introduction into our Courts is probably of high antiquity. The first appearance of a publick Trial upon Record is dated on the 24th of February, in the 32d year of Henry III. when the Mayor and Citizens of London were commanded to chuse twelve of the more discreet and lawful citizens of London, with whom they were to associate twelve skilful Goldsmiths of the same place; so that in the whole there might be twenty-three persons of

^h To have formed a compleat check, this publick Trial should have taken place before the delivery of the money to the owner of the Bullion. This, however, might not have been absolutely necessary in former times, when the coinage of each period of three months was of but inconsiderable amount.

ⁱ Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 8.

^k Du Cange, sub voce Assaia; where by mistake he calls him Philip VI. [See under Moneta, col. 980.] The circumstance there referred to is not noticed by Le Blanc, in his *Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France*. It is a Trial of the Prelatical and Baronial, not the Royal Coins.

sufficient skill^l. These twenty-four persons were to go before the Barons of the Exchequer, and, having been sworn, were to examine, together with the Barons, as well the old as the new money of the Realm, and to see that it was made of good Silver, and according to law, and for the King's advantage (saving his allowed and antient rent); and so to conduct themselves in the premises, that they might be able to warrant the said money as lawful, and, if necessary, to answer every where legally for the same^m. This, however, it must be observed, was not precisely a Trial of the Pix.

As we are entirely ignorant of the peculiar circumstances that called for this publick examination of the Coins, which were then actually in circulation, it is impossible to form any idea of its intention, or of the advantages which might be expected to result from it. It should seem that, if the report were unfavourable, the effect must be a general suspicion of that kind of money, whether new or old, whose deficiency it recorded. And by what possible means could that money be withdrawn from circulation?

The first regular publick Trial of the Pix took place in the 9th or 10th year of Edward I. when the King commanded, by Writ, the Barons of the Exchequer to take with them Gregory de Rokesleⁿ, and straightway, before they retired from the Exchequer, to open the Boxes of the Assay of London and Canterbury, and to make the Assay *in such manner as the King's Council were wont to do*, and to take an account thereof; so that they might be able to certify the King touching the same, whenever he should please^o.

^l "Ita quod in universo xxiiii sint discreti," are the words of the Record. Mr. North thinks the appointment of Assayers in the 6th year of H. III. proves the existence of this Trial at that time [Answer to Clarke, p. 14]; but it is possible that they were Assayers only within the Mint.

^m Claus. 32 H. III. m. 13. dors. North's Remarks on Clarke's Conjectures. The same Writ to Norwich, Oxford, Winchester, Lincoln, and Northampton.

ⁿ He was Warden of the Mint. See the List of Officers. In the 8th year of Edward I. Fache, the Assayer of the Mint, is stated to have one key of the Pix containing the money for the Assay. [Lib. Rub. Scaccarii, folio 247.]

^o Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer, vol. I. p. 291. It should seem that the Master had not authority to coin money until the Pix was delivered to him; for, in the 14th year of Edward I., the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer were commanded to deliver the Pixes of London and Canterbury to John de Caturco and Gerald Mauhan, in order to coin money, and to administer to them the oath requisite upon that occasion. Madox, vol. II. p. 90.

The exact form of the Trial is not here prescribed, but it is fully laid down in an Indenture of the 18th of Edward III., in this manner: "So soon as the moneys are coyned and compleate, the Warden to receave yt as the Master receaveth yt from the Monyers, and putt yt in one Chest shut with two keys. And before the moneys bee paid to the Marchant, at the request of the said Master, the Warden shall make tryall of yt, and if yt shall not bee so good as yt is undertaken, yt shalbee retorned to the said Master to bee remolten at his owne proper costs, and being afterwarde approved for good, the Warden to take out of every C pound w^{eit} ij^s Starlinge, and of every five pound w^{eit} of Gold one peece, which peecs shall be kepte in one Chest with two keys, and sealed with two seales, th' one to remayne with the King's Deputie, and th' other with the Master. The said Box to be opened once every three monthes before the Councell of the Kinge, the Warden, and the Master, and the said moneys to be assaid before them, and being found good and covenable, the said Master to have Letters Pattents for his discharge; and beinge found otherwyse, the Master to pay the Kinge or his Deputy that which shall apperteyne; and all the doinges and knowledgments shalbee kepte in the said Chest. And the foresaid Master shall never bee held nor challenged by any body, nor by the authority of the Kinge, always excepte th' assays of the money shall be found defective^p."

It appears from this extract, that the Trial was then to be made regularly every three months^q; but in the reign immediately preceding it was not so; for, in the 6th year of Edward II., an Assay was made at Westminster before the Barons of the Exchequer of all the Pixes during the whole time that John de Pontoyse and Lapine Roger were Masters of the Mints of London and Canterbury, and Roger de Frowyk Exchanger of the same^r.

In like manner Assays occur in the early part of the reign of King Henry VI. for periods of various extent. In his third year, for example, was a Trial of the Silver monies which had been coined at Calais between July 20, in the 10th year of Henry V. and Jan. 30, in the 2d year of

^p Indentures. Lansdown MSS. No. 745.

^q The Indenture of his 18th year expressly provided, that the money should be publicly assayed, in the presence of the King's Council, before it was delivered to the Merchant. Lansdown MSS. 745.

^r Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.

Henry VI. In his 7th year, the monies which had been coined in the Tower of London and Vill of Calais, between Sept. 1, in his 4th year, and May 31, in his 6th year, were assayed. These Assays, with various others, are contained in an unclassified bundle in the Tower; and from all of them it appears that, unless some alteration was made at the latter part of his reign, the Assays were in his time accustomed to be held at uncertain periods; and that his successor Edward IV. first restored the more regular mode of assaying every three months. In the 8th year of that Monarch, it was provided that the Warden, the Chaungeoure, the Assaioure, and the Countroller, should at all times oversee the monies of Gold and Silver, and, after they had been assayed and proved for good, afore any deliverance should be made of the whole sum, take from every ten pound weight of Gold, by weight, the value of a Noble or more, and of every hundred pounds of silver, by weight, two shillings or more, for the Assaies at Westminster, which were to be made every three months^s. A practice nearly similar prevailed in the reign of Elizabeth, as appears from "A brief Note of those Things which are to be done by the Warden of the Mint," drawn up by Sir Richard Martyn, then Warden; in which he gives the following account of the proceedings at that time, after the monies were coined and compleated: "Then," he says, "the Warden and Master shall putt them in one Cheaste, shoult with twoe keayes, wherof the one shall remaine with the Warden, and th' other with the Master, untill proffe be maide of the seid monies, and paiement ys made unto the merchaunt, which proffe shalbe made before the deliveraunce of enie monies, in the precencs of the Warden and the Master, by the Quene's Assayer. The same Assay to be taken as well of the fynnes as of the weight, by such quantitie, and after such sorte as maie be agreed uppone by the seid Warden and Assay-master, without remelting of the monies^t."

"And after the Assay of the Gold and Silver for good, before enie deliveraunce be maide of the holle somme, a portion of it, which remaneth to the Quene, shalbe put in a boxe, whereof the Assay shalbe maede, from time to time, before such of the Councell as the Quene shall appoyntte, viz. of euerie vij lb. weight of gold one peace at the lesst of euerie seuerall coyne

^s Indenture. Archæologia, vol. XV. p. 174.

^t Any other method of assaying must have been extremely imperfect.

of Golde, and after that ratte of all the monies of Gould; and of every Journie of Silver contayning xxx lb. wt. tooe peaces at the least of euerie seuerall coyne of Silver, and so after that ratte of all the Silver.

“ And when the seid portons of Gould and Siluer be taken and put in a boxe for to make the Assaies as aforeseide, they shalbe ensealid with the seale of the seid Warden and Master, and the boxe shalbe shutt with ij keies, the one shalbe towards the Warden, the other to the Master, which box shall remayne in the chest aforeseid.

“ And uppon reasonable warning therof given, it shalbe opnid once in three monnethes before some of the Quene’s Counsell assined in the precencs of the seid Warden and Master, and ther shalbe maid Assaies as well of the finnes as of the waight of the seid monies of Gold and Silver by enie meannes in the seid boxe^u. ”

In the Answer of the Moniers to the Objections of Peter Blondeau, it is stated that this Trial *formerly*^w took place once every year; but at the time they wrote [viz. in the year 1651], it was when the State pleased^x. In the reign of George II. it was called for when two or three millions had been coined^y.

The practice of more modern times has been to call for a Trial of the Pix upon the appointment of a new Master of the Mint, in order that the one who has retired may receive his quietus.

From the Record of the 9th or 10th year of Edward I. already quoted, and which is the most ancient hitherto discovered relating to this Trial, it appears that, prior to the above date, it had usually been made before the King’s Council; but, by the authority of that Writ, it was then to be held in the Court of Exchequer, in the presence of the Barons. It was afterward taken from their cognizance, and came again under the inspection of the Lords of the Council in the Star Chamber, where it is found to have been in the year 1595 (as appears from a Verdict of that date)^z, and where it continued until

^u Harl. MSS. No. 698, folio 15.

^w I am unable to say how far back this *formerly* of the Moniers was intended to go.

^x Answer of the Corporation of the Moniers in the Mint to two false and scandalous Libels, p. 25.

^y Pollett’s MSS.

^z Mint Roll in the Exchequer.

1699, when it again became subject to the Court of Exchequer^a, under which it has remained to the present time.

As the authority under which these Trials were held occasionally varied, so did likewise, in consequence, the persons who sat as Judges in the Court. Thus, as we have seen above, they were first the Members of the King's Council, then the Barons of the Exchequer, and again the Members of the Privy Council, as Judges of the Star Chamber, where sometimes the King himself presided; as did James I. at an Assay which was made upon the 9th of May 1611^b.

In 1643, a Committee of Lords and Commons was appointed, by order of Parliament, for the purpose of making this Trial^c.

In 1644, it was ordered that the Commissioners of the Great Seal, who were Members of the House of Commons, and the Committee of the Revenue, should join as a Committee with the Earl of Kent and the Earl of Bolingbroke, for taking the examination and Trial of the Pix in the Tower of London, in the usual place near the Star Chamber^d.

On the 4th of November, in the following year, the Lords sent to the Commons an order that a Trial of the Pix should be made on the 10th of that month in the usual place. This was agreed to, and the same persons appointed as were in 1644^e.

In the next year, the Lords sent down a similar order for the concurrence of the Commons; to which they agreed, and the Trial was ordered, by the Lords and Commons, to be held at the usual place, before the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and the Committee of Lords and Commons for his Majesty's Revenue, or any five or more of them^f.

At one period (in 1649), the Court was held before the Lord President of the Council of State, the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and others of the Council of State, and Committee of Revenues, by virtue of an Act of Parliament which was passed in the month of November in that year, to try the

^a Pollett's MS Notes on Conduit's Observations on the Trial of the Pix.

^b See Annals of the Coinage, and Pollett's MS. Henry Prince of Wales was likewise present.

^c Pollett's MS.

^d Commons' Journals, vol. III. p. 561.

^e Id. vol. IV. p. 332.

^f Id. vol. V. pp. 69, 73.

monies coined from the 15th day of February 1646^g. At another time (in 1657), this Trial was made by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, the Justices of the several Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer, or some of them, under the authority of a Warrant signed by the Protector Cromwell^h; and the Court is now composed of such Members of the Privy Council as are expressly summoned for that purpose; the Lord High Chancellor, or, in his absence, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, presiding.

The manner in which this Trial was formerly conducted in the Court of Exchequer, appears to have been by an Assay made in the presence of the Court, and to have been determined without the intervention of a Jury. At least such was the mode in the 12th year of Edward II.ⁱ, and in the 11th

^g Folkes's Table of English Silver Coins, p. 100, note. The coins then tried are all said to have been marked with a sceptre, and were therefore all coined before the King's death. This was consequently that same Trial of the Pix which Whitlocke says was ordered to be made at the charge of Sir Robert Harley, when he was put out of his place; and Dr. Guerdain's Pix was therefore not opened until the year 1657.

^h This Trial, which took place on the 3d of December, was of the monies coined from the 9th of November 1649, to that time, all of which were marked with the Sun, according to the Indenture with Dr. Guerdain, whereby it appears that this Trial was of monies of the Commonwealth only. The Warrant was as follows:

“ Oliver P.

“ Whereas, amongst other weighty affairs of the Commonwealth, the care of assaying and trying of the monies thereof by the standard of England, according to the antient custom of the Realm, is not the least. We judging it necessary that the trial and assay of the said money be forthwith made, do therefore hereby signify such our will and pleasure to be; commanding you forthwith to cause a trial and assay to be made of the Pix, now being in the Mint within the Tower of London, by a Jury of Goldsmiths of our said City of London, of integrity and experience, to be impannelled and sworn on a day certain, to be by you in that behalf appointed, in the place accustomed within our palace of Westminster: and that the Lords Commissioners of our Treasury, the Justices of the several Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer, or some of them, be then there present, and counselling and assisting you in the due execution of this our service.

“ Given at Whitehall this 9th day of November 1657.

“ To our right trusty and well beloved Nath. Fiennes, and John Lisle, Lords Commissioners of our Great Seal of England.”

[Folkes's Table, p. 99, note *, from the books of the Mint.]

ⁱ Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 291.

of Henry VI.; in which last instance the money was assayed by the King's Assay Master^k.

In the 18th year of Edward III. it should seem that the newly-appointed Guardians of the Mint were to make the Assay^l.

Not only the Pixes of the subordinate Mints in England were assayed in the Exchequer, but it is found that those of Ireland were sometimes transferred to the English Exchequer for that purpose.

In the 30th year of Edward I. the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland transmitted to England, under the Seal of that Court, a Pix, containing £.4. 3s. 1d. in Pennies, 13 pence in Halfpennies, and 19 pence in Ferlings, for the Assay. The Pix was opened in the presence of William Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Treasurer, John de Drokenford, Keeper of the Wardrobe, William de Carleton, Baron of the Exchequer of England, John de Kirkeby, Remembrancer, and John de Sandale, Warden of the Mint, at London, who were deputed by the King to make the Assay. That being done, it was found that all the money agreed with the Standard of England, and therefore the Pix was returned to Alexander Norman de Luca, the King's Moneyer in Ireland; and the Barons were commanded to deliver without delay, to him or his attorney, another Pix then in their custody, together with the money contained therein, for his benefit^m.

As I have not been able to discover any very antient ceremonial, by which the forms of this Trial were regulated, I shall first give the earliest I have found, which is of the age of Elizabeth, but professes to be the order of older times; and then proceed to detail the modern practice of summoning the Court and the Jury, and the manner in which the business is conducted, according to a Trial which took place on the 3d of July in the year 1799.

"The Order of rating thassays of the Mynts in the Realme of Ingland, by the Q. Matie most honorable Counsell, in the Starre Chamber of old tyme.

"First, the L. Chansell' or L. Keiper of the Great Seall for the tyme beinge, and the Tresurer of England, and other of the Counsell, have used

^k Folkes, p. 60.

^l See the Annals, and Notices of Trials of the Pix under the year 1344.

^m Cl. 30 E. I. m. 6. It does not appear that any Trial was to be made of the second Pix here mentioned.

to cause to be sommoned the Tresurer and all other Officers of the Mynt, and allso the Master and Wardons of the Goldsmys of London, and xij other of the most wysest and discrete men of that Company, to apear before them the said Co'nsel in the Starre Chamber, at a sarten daye by them to be apoynted; and the said Tresurer and other Officers of the sayd Mynts, to bring with them, at that tyme and place, all ther Pixes, and ther severall Indenturs of Coynag, by and for the holle tyme the said Assaye shall be taken. In which Pixes ought to be, for every monethe they have used Coynage and no Assaye taken, one bag of lether, and the moneth written thereupon, and in the same certaine pec's of ev'ry jorny that was coyned the same moneth, which bage is wont to be called Sinthia.

“Item, on the same daye of appearance there ought to be attendant uppon the sayd Co'nsell the L. Treasurer his Clarke, the Chamberlain's Depute of the receipt of the Q. Exchequer, bringing with them the Co'nter panes of thindenturs of the Coynage, the Standerds, and the Troye weights. The Q. Remembrancer of the said Court of the said Exchequer, or his Deputy, allso to attend with the Records of the olde Assais, and to wright that apertaineth, and to take ther verdit, and to make a record therof accordynglye.

“Item, the Co'nsell being assembled in the midle chamber, next the Mynt furnace in the said Stare Chamber, the said Tresurer and the other Officers ought to bring in the said Pixe or Pixes locked with their sev'all keys, and the same shall open with ther severall keys before the said Co'nsell, and then every bage, called Sinthia, for every moneth to be opened, and of so many pec's found in the said Sinthia as wold make a pound we^{it} of Silver or Gold Troye, to be weighed by Troye wights, and after to be numbred, to trye yf yt hold out in nomber, according to the Standerd and Indenture; and after that all the holle mony in every of the said baggs called Sinthia to be laid on one heape, and thereof taking so many pound we^{ts} as shall pleas the Co'nsell to have put to the fyre to trye the Assaie. That done, the Wardens and Goldsmiths to be sworn to trye the said monye, and to take the Assaye accordyngly; the tenore of whose othe hereafter ensueth; that is to saye: Ye shall well and trewly, after your knolege and descrecions, make thassais of theis monys of Gold and Silver, and trewly report yf the said monys be in wight and fines accordyng to theis the King's Standerds of his Tresury, and allso yf the same monys be sufficient in allaie, &c. according to the covenant

comprised in the Indentur therof mad betwyne the King's grace and the Mr. of his Mints, so help y^e Godde.

“And that done, one of the said severall pond w^{its} of Mony put in severall fier potts to be delivered to the Formane of the Jurie to be molten and tryed by the Assaye, wherby yt may be knowen whether the said Pound w^{its} containe so many oz and peney w^{eits} in puer and good Syllver as by the Standerd and Indenture is apoynted or not; and, as then yt shall be found by the said Jurye, to be syngnifid unto the Coⁿsell, whos verdit with the number of all the other coyned by any suche Indenters, within the tyme of the said Assaye, to be delivered from the said Coⁿsell to the said Remembrancer, to record all ther doings accordingly as apertayneth.

“Item, the lyke Assaye to be mad of the Gold, mutat' mutand' ⁿ.”

Such was the form of holding this Trial in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and it was evidently derived from earlier times, as in the form of the Oath the Standard is called the King's, and not the Queen's.

The modern practice is, for the Master of the Mint to present a Memorial praying for a Trial of the Pix. Upon this the Chancellor of the Exchequer moves his Majesty in Council, who commands the Trial to be holden, and the Members of the Privy Council are accordingly summoned to meet at a certain day and hour [eleven o'clock in the forenoon] at the House lately inhabited by the Usher within the Receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer at Westminster^o. A Precept is likewise directed, by the Lord High Chancellor, to the W^ardens of the Goldsmiths' Company, requiring them to nominate, and set down, the names of a competent number of sufficient and able Freemen of their Company^p, skilful to judge of, and to present the defaults of the Coins, if any should be found, to be of the Jury, to attend at

ⁿ Harl. MSS. No 698. folio 169. This Order was drawn up by Sir Richard Martyn, Warden of the Mint.

^o This House is now allotted to the Office of Deputy Clerk of the Pells in the Exchequer. It was inhabited by the Usher in 1799.

^p The earliest notice that has occurred in which the judgment of professional Artists alone was required to sanction, as a Jury, the decision of the Court, is dated in the 37th of Elizabeth, when a Trial was held in the Star Chamber. [Mint Roll in the Exchequer.] In the 32d year of Henry III. there were to be 12 Goldsmiths in a Jury of 24 men. See above, under that year.

the same time and place. This number is usually twenty-five, of which the Assay-Master of the Company is always one.

When the Court is formed, the Clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company returns the Precept, together with the List of Names; the Jury is called over, and twelve persons are sworn^q.

The President then gives his Charge, which used formerly to be general, like the Oath, to examine by fire, by water, by touch, or by weight, or by all, or by some of them, in the most just manner, whether the Monies were made according to the Indenture, and Standard Trial Pieces, and within the Remedies: but in 1734 the Lord High Chancellor Talbot directed the Jury to express precisely how much the Money was within the Remedies^r; and the practice which he thus enjoined is still continued. The other parts of the Charge necessarily vary according to the ability of the President, and his knowledge of the subject.

When it is concluded, the Pix is delivered to the Jury, and the Court is commonly adjourned to the House of the President, where the Verdict is afterward delivered in writing.

The Jury then retires to the Court-room of the Duchy of Lancaster, whither the Pix is removed, together with the weights of the Exchequer and Mint^s, and where the Scales which are used upon this occasion are suspended, the beam of which is so delicate that it will turn with six grains, when loaded with the whole of those weights, to the amount of 48 lb. 8 oz. in each scale^t.

The Jury being seated, the Indenture, or the Warrant, under which the Master has acted, is read. Then the Pix is opened, and the Money which

^q The number of the Jurors has, occasionally, varied very considerably. No less than nineteen names appear to the Verdict of the 37th of Elizabeth [Mint Roll in the Exchequer]; and in 1651 the Moneyers speak of a Jury of twenty-four men. [Answer to Blondeau, p. 27.]

^r Conduitt's Remarks on the Trial of the Pix. Pollett's MSS. He says this was done at the instigation of one Banks, the Clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company.

^s In the year 1799 these weights were compared together, and found to agree. - There are no Grains nor Pennyweights among the Exchequer weights. They are therefore provided by the Mint or the Jury. [Conduitt. Pollett's MS.]

^t On seeing the accuracy of the beam which was used in the reign of Charles I., Attorney-general Noy exclaimed, "I should be loath that all my actions should be weighed in these scales." [Lloyd's State Worthies, vol. II. p. 208.]

had been taken out of each Delivery^u, and enclosed in a separate paper parcel, under the seals of the Warden, Master, and Comptroller of the Mint, is given into the hands of the Foreman, who reads aloud the Indorsement, and compares it with the Account which lies before him. He then delivers the parcel to one of the Jury, who opens it, and examines whether its contents agree with the indorsement.

From the Minutes which I took at a Trial of the Pix in the year 1799 it appears that it then contained,

GOLD.

Guineas	- - - - -	7590,
Half Guineas	- - - - -	1085,
Thirds of Guineas, or Pieces of Seven Shillings	-	1073;

making by Tale £.8914. 13s. 6d. being the Pieces taken from ninety-three Deliveries, from the 3d of December 1794 to the 27th of March 1799, which Deliveries amounted in weight to 146,220 lb.

The Silver Coins in the Pix were only one Groat, one Quarter Shilling, one Half Groat, and one Penny; making by Tale ten Pence. They were taken from one Delivery of 94 lb. 8 oz. 10 dwt. on the 16th of December 1795.

When all the parcels of Gold were opened, and found to be right, then the Monies contained in them were mixed together in wooden bowls, and afterwards weighed in five parts.

	lb.	oz.	dwt.	gr.
The first weighed - - - - -	42	8	0	12
The second - - - - -	42	8	0	12
The third - - - - -	42	8	0	12
The fourth - - - - -	42	8	0	12
The fifth - - - - -	20	1	6	0
Making together - - - - -	190	9	8	0

^u By this term is to be understood the Monies which have been coined within a certain period; and the pieces are thus set apart from the gross sum for trial.

From every Journey, as it is technically styled, of Gold or Silver, two pieces, at the least, of each sort of Money, are taken at hazard, one for the private Assay, the other for the publick Trial. A Journey of Gold is fifteen Pounds weight; a Journey of Silver sixty Pounds.

By calculation, at the rate of £.46. 14s. 6d. to the Pound Troy, which is the proportion required by the Indenture, they ought to have weighed 190 lb. 9 oz. 9 dwt. 15 gr.; so that they were deficient one Pennyweight fifteen Grains. But the Remedy on 190 lb. 9 oz. 9 dwt. 15 gr. is 1 lb. 3 oz. 18 dwt. 0 gr.; they were therefore within the Remedy by 1 lb. 3 oz. 16 dwt. 9 gr.^w

The Jury then took from the said Monies, so mingled together, 34 Guineas, 13 Half Guineas, and 12 Seven Shillings Pieces, for the Assay by fire. The above Coins were all the different sorts contained in the Pix. By Tale they amounted to £.46. 14s. 6d., and they were in weight exactly one Pound; which is the quantity taken for that purpose, particular attention being paid that some of every sort of Coin shall be selected.

The indented Standard Trial Pieces of Gold and Silver^x, of the dates specified in the Indenture, were then produced by the proper Officer, and a

^w Verdict returned by the Jury.

^x The Trial Pieces are in the custody of the Auditor and Chamberlains of the Exchequer, who produce them in obedience to a Warrant which is directed to them by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. If the Master has reason to suspect that the Trial Pieces, which are specified in the Indenture, are inaccurate, he has a right to demand that they may be compared with the indented Standard Trial Pieces, which were made in the seventeenth year of Edward IV. To these pieces, whose corresponding parts are kept in the Exchequer and in the Tower, the following Certificate is annexed, which will shew with how much solemnity these Standards were prepared, and their purity attested:

“The first day of July, the xvij. yere of the reigne of Kyng Edward the Fourth, Robert Hill, William Wodeward, John Kyrkeby, and Miles Ades, were sworn upon the holy Evangeliste in the Sterre Chamber, before the Chaunceler of England, Tresourer, and Pryve Seale, and many other noble Lords of the Kyng's Counceill sp^uall and temp^all, to make this Standard of xxij. carrats iij. greynes and an halfe of p^fite fyne Gold, and half a greyne of Allay, accordyng to the old Standard, as it appereth in the Record in the Kyng's Chauncery and Eschequer of Kyng Edward the iij^{de} and Kyng Richard the Secunde, Henry the iiijth, the vth, and the vjth, Kyngs of England. The which Robert Hill, William Wodeward, John Kyrkeby, and Miles Ades, have certified that this Standard is truly made as is aforsaid.”

The Certificate which is annexed to the Silver agrees with the above, except that it is stated to be of “xj. uncs and ij. penyweight of p^fite fyne Sylver, and xvij^d weight of Allay.”

I know not whether these were the first Trial Pieces which were ever made; but it will be seen in the Notices of this Trial, under the year 1349, that the Nobles were tried by comparing them with Florins of Florence. See in the Annals, under the year 1649, an account of the making two Standard Pieces, one of Gold and the other of Silver, by order of the Parliament.

sufficient quantity cut off from each, and compared with the Pound weight of Gold Coin, and the aforesaid several pieces of Silver Coin, by the usual methods of Assay.

When that operation was finished, the Jury returned their Verdict, that the Gold Coins were in weight and in allay sufficient according to the terms of the Indenture; as were also the Silver Coins in allay; but the quantity of them was too small to allow their agreement in weight to be ascertained^y.

I cannot dismiss this account of the Trial of the Pix without observing that, according to the mode by which it is now conducted, it is little better than an idle ceremony.

In the first place the number of pieces selected for the Assay may not be equal to the number of Deliveries; by which it will happen that the Coins of some Deliveries will not be subjected to any trial.

In the instance which has been recorded above, there were ninety-three Deliveries, but the pieces selected were no more than fifty-nine: so that, supposing each piece to have been taken from a different Delivery, there must have been thirty-four from which no specimens were brought to the Assay.

It is true that this method of taking a certain number of pieces, from the whole sum set apart for the Assay, has been for ages the practice of the Mint; but in former times the Trials were so frequent that each Delivery had, at least, its chance for examination.

This circumstance affords a very weighty objection against the present mode of conducting this Trial; but there is another impropriety attending it, which is infinitely more important.

The original intent of this examination was, doubtless, to check, by its frequent recurrence^z, all temptation to the issue of Coins inferior to the Standard; but the modern practice affords but little security in that respect, on account of the long intervals which are allowed to take place between the Trials; and the large sums which are coined during those periods.

^y See the Verdict in the Appendix, where Notices of various Trials are given.

^z The necessity for this frequent recurrence seems to have been well understood by the Government in the reign of James II., when, in the Act for a free Coinage in Scotland, it was ordered that an Assay should be made of every Journal distinctly once every year in the month of December. Scots Acts, 1st Parl. James VII. 2d Sess. Chap. XXIV.

Thus the Trial in 1799 was an Assay of the Coins minted during a period of somewhat more than four years, amounting in weight to 146,220 lb. or about seven millions of money. Nearly the whole of this sum must have been in circulation before it was ascertained, by publick trial, that it was agreeable to the Standard. Had it proved to be deficient, the Master of the Mint would have been liable to punishment; but the Publick must have borne all the inconveniences attending the circulation of that base Money, which could not have been recalled without great trouble and expense, and which would have ceased to be a legal tender from the moment of its detection.

Thus has this Trial, which is of immense importance for preserving the integrity of the Money, shrunk by degrees into almost an empty show: of consequence only to the Master of the Mint, who cannot obtain his *Quietus* until the Coins have been submitted to it, but perfectly nugatory with respect to the Publick, as it no longer operates as a *frequent* check upon the private Assays of the Mint. For, supposing any improper combination should be formed by those Officers in whose presence alone that Assay is made (which, however improbable, the events of former times have proved not to be impossible ^a), several millions of base Coins might be issued before the Publick could be aware of the deception; which, when it should be discovered, would fix a suspicion upon all the Money then in circulation, and bring on mischief incalculable.

It appears then to be absolutely necessary that this Trial should be restored to its pristine form; and that the private Assays should be confirmed, as soon as possible, by a publick Trial ^b.

^a See in the reign of Edward VI. the frauds which were practised by Sir William Sharington in the Mint at Bristol.

^b Previous to the Re-coinage of the Gold Coin in 1774 experiments were made of the fineness of the Gold Coin issued in the reigns of our several Princes from Charles II. to the present time, by melting Guineas of each reign into Ingots of 15 lbs. each; and from the contrary ends of each Ingot Assays were made, by which it appeared that in former reigns the Gold Coins were worse than Standard in the following proportions:

Charles II.	26	Grains Troy worse than Standard	- -	9s.	10 $\frac{2}{7}$ d.	per cent.
James II.	30	- - - - -	- -	11s.	4 $\frac{4}{7}$ d.	per cent.
William	13	- - - - -	- -	4s.	11 $\frac{1}{7}$ d.	per cent.
Anne	7	- - - - -	- -	2s.	7 $\frac{3}{7}$ d.	per cent.
George I.	6	- - - - -	- -	2s.	3 $\frac{3}{7}$ d.	per cent.
George II.	3	- - - - -	- -	1s.	1 $\frac{7}{7}$ d.	per cent.
George III.		Standard.	[Lord Liverpool's Letter to the King, p. 182, note.]			

OF THE LAWS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE MONEY.

The Money, when compleated and issued for currency, has ever been guarded with extreme jealousy. Thus, by the Anglo-Saxon laws, he who counterfeited the Coins was to lose the hand by which the crime was committed^c. To this punishment, already sufficiently severe, the cruel policy of the Anglo-Norman Kings added loss of sight and emasculation^d.

The author of that Commentary on the Laws of England which is known by the name of Fleta, thus enumerates the different species of falsification and counterfeiting the Coins, which were contrary to, and punishable by, these Laws at the time when he wrote, which is determined by Selden to have been in the reign of Edward I.^e

He says: "*Crimen falsi dicitur, quum quis falsam fabricaverit monetam; vel de non reprobam reprobam fecerit, sicut Tonsores Monetæ, hoc quidem crimen ultimum inducit supplicium.*"

"*Sunt etiam fabricatores falsæ Monetæ sine Cuneo; & sunt Monetarii Regis, qui ultra Assisam licitam Argenti Laccum imponunt, quidam autem debitum Pondus Libræ non apponunt, & quidam falsam Monetam fabricant in toto, & quidam sunt Monetæ Tonsores; qui omnes agentes & consentientes tractari & suspendi debent, & Fœminæ concremari; & ab initio in majori Excommunicatione sunt involuti.*"^f

It appears from the punishment which is here denounced against this crime that it was treason by the Common Law; but it was not declared to be so by any Statute until that of the 25th of Edward III. Statute the 5th, chap. 2^g, by which counterfeiting the King's Coin, and bringing into the

^c Vide Leges Ang. Sax. pp. 59 and 134.

^d See Annals of Coinage, in the year 1105.

^e Dissertatio ad Fletam, vol. III. col. 1114.

^f Fleta, as quoted by Mr. North in his Remarks on some Conjectures, p. 31.

^g Sir Matthew Hale says, that, before this Statute, Clergy was allowed in this and other Treasons; but it was now taken away in all cases of Treason whatsoever. [Pleas of the Crown, Part II. p. 331.]

Realm counterfeit Money to the likeness of the King's Coin, &c. were made Treason.

I shall give Sir Edward Coke's Commentary upon this Statute, which contains a full statement of the Law as it stood in his time.

The words of the Statute are: "Et si ho'me contreface les g^{ant} ou Prive Sealx le Roi, ou sa Monoie, et si ho'me apport faus Monoie en ceste Roialme contrefaite a la Monoie Denglet're, sicome la Monoie appelle { Lucynburgh, Lusseburgh, ou autre semblable a la dite Monoie Denglet're, sachant la Monoie estre faus, p^r marchander, ou paiement faire en deceit n're dit Seign^r le Roi & son poeple et fait a entendre qen les cases suisnomez doit estre ajugge Treson [q' sistent] a n're Seign^r le Roi et a sa Roial Majeste; et de tiele man'e de Treson la forfait're des eschetes app'tient a n're Seign^r le Roi, si bien des l'res & ten'z tenuz des aut's, come de lui meismes^h."

That is: "And if a man counterfeit the King's Great or Privy Seal, or his Money; and if a man bring false Money into this Realm, counterfeit to the Money of England, as the Money called Lushburgh, or other, like to the said Money of England, knowing the Money to be false, to merchandise or make payment in deceit of our said Lord the King, and of his people; And it is to be understood, that in the cases above rehearsed, [that] ought to be judged Treason, which extends to our Lord the King and his Royal Majesty: And of such Treason, the forfeiture of the Escheats pertaineth to our Sovereign Lord, as well of the Lands and Tenements holden of other, as of himselfⁱ."

On this Statute Sir Edward Coke has left the following observations:

"This crime was Treason by the Common Law, as it appeareth by all the ancient Authors referred to below^k; and therefore the opinion in 3 Henry VII. is holden for no Law, that it was but Felony before this Act.

"The forging of the King's Coin is High Treason, without utterance of it; for by this Act the counterfeiting is made High Treason.

^h Stat. 25 E. III. cap. 5.

ⁱ Both this translation, and also the preceding copy of the text, are taken from the edition of the Statutes published in 1810 by his Majesty's command.

^k Bract. l. 3. fol. 118. Brit. fol. 10, &c. Fleta, l. 1. ca. 21. Mirror, ca. 1. § 6, de fausonerie. 29 Ass. p. 49. Glanvill, lib. 14, cap. 7. See Statute 27 E. I. cap. 3.

“Si ipse qui facit Monetam autoritate Regis, &c. illam facit minus in pondere, vel alliata, viz. Alcumino vel alio falso metallo contra ordinationem, &c.¹

“This is holden to be High Treason, and by that book taken for a counterfeiting of the King's Money within the purview of this Statute. And here-with agreeth Britton, who saith, ‘Des fauceres, q'ount nostre Monye counterfeit ou pluis de allaye mise in nostre Monye, q' mister ne serroit solonq' le forme & usage de nostre Realme^m.

“‘Ordeine fuit q' nul Roy de cest Realme ne puit changer sa Money, ne impairer, ne amender, ne autre Monye faire q' de Ore & Argent, sans lassent de tous les countes.’

“It was ordained that no King of this Realm might not change his Money, nor impair nor amend the same, nor other Money make than of Gold or Silver, without assent of Parliamentⁿ.

“Clipping, washing, and filing of the Money of this Realm was no counterfeiting of it within this Act. And therefore, being a like case, it was declared by Parliament, 3 Henry V. cap. 6, to be High Treason; but that Act being repealed by 1 Mary, the Statute 5 Elizabeth, cap. 11, hath declared clipping, washing, rounding, or filing, *for wicked lucre and gain*, &c. to be High Treason. And by Statute 18 Elizabeth, cap. 1, it is declared, that if any person, *for wicked lucre or gain's sake*, shall by any art, ways, or means whatsoever, impair, diminish, falsify, scale or lighten the King's Money, &c. it is High Treason; for being a like case, it was to be declared by Parliament.

“Forging or counterfeiting of foreign Money, which is not current within the Realm, is Misprision of Treason, and the offender shall forfeit as for concealment of High Treason^o.”

Upon the words SA MONEY, he remarks “that the crime of Treason ex-

¹ 3 H. VII. 10. a. b.

^m See inter Leges Athelstani, ca. 14. Canuti, ca. 61. Britton. cap. 5, fo. 10. b. See the Mirror, ca. 1, § 6; De la Mony falsifie acc' with 3 H. VII. and ca. 5, § 1; and Fleta, ca. 22, acc'.

ⁿ Mirr. ca. 1, § 3, inter Artic. perviels Royes ordeinus. Rot. Par. 17 E. III. No. 15. 45 E. III. ca. 13. 9 H. V. ca. 11. Stat. 11. Artic. super Chartas, cap. 20.

^o Stat. 14 Eliz. cap. 3.

tendeth only to the King's Money coined within this Realm; and therefore after this Statute, if a man had counterfeited the Money of another Kingdom, though it were current within this Realm, it was no Treason, until it was so declared by Parliament in 1 Mary, cap. 6, and in 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 11; and the said Acts of 5 and 18 Elizabeth do extend to foreign Coin current within this Realm^p."

"And it is holden, that, at the making of this Statute, 25 Edward III. there was no Money current within this Realm but the King's own Coin. See the Statute called Statutum de Moneta Magnum, and Statutum de Moneta Parvum^q.

"And it is to be known, that if any do counterfeit the King's Coin, contrary to this Statute of 25 Edward III. he shall have punishment of his body, but as in case of Petit Treason, that is, to be drawn and hanged until he be dead; but the forfeiture of his lands is as in other cases of High Treason, for this Statute is but a declaration of the Common Law; and the reason of his corporal punishment is, for that in this case he was only drawn and hanged at the Common Law, but a woman in that case was to be burnt^r.

"The Abbot of Missenden, in the County of Buckingham, for counterfeiting and resection of the King's Money, was adjudged to be drawn and hanged, and not quartered^s.

"The want of observation of the said distinction hath made some to err in their judgment. Nota, this Act of 25 Edward III. maketh no expression of the judgment, therefore such judgment as was at the Common Law, either in case of High Treason or Petit Treason, must be given.

"But if one be attainted for diminishing the King's Money, upon any of the Statutes made in Queen Mary's or Queen Elizabeth's time, because it is High Treason newly made, the offender shall have judgment as in case of High Treason.

^p Stat. 14 Eliz. cap. 3, as stated above, makes the forging foreign Coin not current within the Realm Misprision of Treason.

^q Vet. Mag. Carta, Part 2, fol. 38, 39, 40.

^r Fleta, lib. 1, cap. 22, who wrote before this Statute, which is but a Law declaratory, as it appeareth before. 23 Ass. p. 2. Dier. 6 Eliz. Term. Tr. MS. pro tonsura Monete trabe & pend. Tr. 24 H. VIII. in Justice Spilman's Reports, accord.

^s Mich. 31 E. III. coram Rege. Rot. 55. Buck. within six years after making our Statute.

“ SI HOME PORT FAUX MONEY EN CEST ROIALME, COUNTERFEIT AU MONEY DANGLITERRE, & SACHANT LE MONEY ESTRE FAUX, &c.

“ By this branch, six things are to be observed :

“ First, that the bringing in of counterfeit Money, and not the counterfeiting, is expressed in this word [APPORT.]

“ Secondly, that it must be brought from a foreign nation, and not from Ireland, or other place belonging to, or being a member of, the Crown of England ; and so it hath been resolved^t, so wary are Judges to expound this Statute concerning Treason, and that in most benign sense. For, albeit Ireland be a distinct kingdom, and out of the Realm of England to some purposes, as to protection and fines levied, &c.^u, yet to some intent it is accounted as a member of, or belonging to, the Crown of this Realm. And therefore a Writ of Error is maintainable here in the King's Bench of a Judgment given in the King's Bench in Ireland, so as the Judges did construe this Statute not to extend to false Money brought out of Ireland.

“ Thirdly, it must be to the similitude of the Money of England.

“ Fourthly, that the bringer of it into this Realm must know it to be counterfeit.

“ Fifthly, uttering of false money in England, though he know it to be false and counterfeit to the likeness of the Coin of England, is no Treason within this Statute, unless he brought it from a foreign nation ; for the words be, “ SI HOME APPORT FAUX MONEY EN CEST REALME^w.” But if Money, false or clipped, be found in the hands of any that is suspicious, he may be imprisoned until he hath found his warrant, per Statutum de Moneta magnum. Vet. Mag. Cart. fol. 38, 2 parte.

“ Lastly, he must merchandize therewith, or make payment thereof, expressed in these words, PUR MERCHANTIZER, OU PAIEMENT FAIRE IN DECEIPT NOSTRE SEIGNIOR LE ROY, ET SON PEOPLE^x.

“ By Statute 8 and 9 William III. c. 26, made perpetual by 7 Ann, c. 25, whoever, without proper authority, shall knowingly make or mend, or assist in so doing, or shall buy, sell, conceal, or hide, or knowingly have in his possession, any implements of Coinage specified in the Act, or other tools

^t 7 H. VII. 10.

^w 3 H. VII. 10.

VOL. I.

^u Lib. 7. Calvin's Case.

^x Coke's 3d Institute, cap. 1. Of High Treason.

or instruments proper only for the Coinage of Money, or shall convey the same out of the King's Mint, he, together with his counsellors, procurers, aiders, and abettors, shall be guilty of High Treason; which is by much the severest branch of the Coinage Law. The Statute goes on further, and enacts, that to mark any Coin on the edges with letters, or otherwise, in imitation of those used in the Mint, or to colour, gild, or case over, any Coin resembling the current Coin, or even round blanks of base metal, shall be construed High Treason. And by Statute 15 and 16 George II. c. 28, if any person colours or alters any Shilling or Sixpence, either lawful or counterfeit, to make them respectively resemble a Guinea or Half Guinea, or any Halfpenny or Farthing, to make them respectively resemble a Shilling or Sixpence; this is also High Treason^y."

Other offences against the Money are only Felony, such as, for instance, is the crime of making, coining, buying, or bringing in, and putting in payment, &c. any Galley, Halfpence, Suskyn, or Dotkyn^z.

"The reason of this law was, for that those Monies were base, and not of the Allay of Sterling, which was (amongst others) the cause of making the general law of 9 Henry V. cap. 6, Stat. 2.

"It is also Felony to pay, or receive for payment, any Money called Blanks^a.

"For the better understanding of this Statute, it is to be known that these Blanks were white Money coined by King Henry V. in France, after his victory at Agincourt, and league with France, whose style then was, *Rex Angliæ, Regens & Hæres Franciæ*.

"And they were called Blanks or Whites in respect of the colour, because at the same time he coined also a Salus in Gold. The Salus, being of the value of twenty-two Shillings, was of the Alloy of Sterling; but the Blanks, which were much more common, being each of them valued at eight pence, were not of the Alloy of Sterling, and therefore they only were decried by the said Act of 2 Henry VI.

"For either of these offences of Felony the offender may have his Clergy^b."

^y Blackstone's Commentaries, Book IV. chap. 6.

^z 3 H. V. cap. 1.

^a 2 H. VI. cap. 9.

^b Coke, 3 Institute, cap. 30. Of Felony by bringing in, payment or receipt of certain Money.

It is also Felony to transport Silver, or to import false or evil money.

“*Defendue fuit que nul Argent serra transport hors del Realm*^c.

“This was the antient law of England, long before the Conquest.

“At the Parliament holden anno 17 Edward III. as well the transportation of Silver, as the importation of false or evil Money, is enacted by authority of that Parliament to be Felony. And also if the Searchers, mentioned in the Act, be assenting to the bringing in of false Money, or willingly suffer Silver or Money to be transported, it is also made Felony. The offenders may have the benefit of their Clergy^d.”

The following minor offences against the Money, and the several Statutes relating to them, which have been made since the time of Sir Edward Coke, are thus enumerated by Sir William Blackstone, in his Commentaries on the Laws of England :

“By Statute 6 and 7 William III. c. 17, if any person buys or sells, or knowingly has in his custody, any clippings or filings of the Coin, he shall forfeit the same and £.500; one moiety to the King, and the other to the informer, and be branded in the cheek with the letter R.

“By Statute 8 and 9 William III. c. 26, if any person shall blanch or whiten Copper for sale (which makes it resemble Silver); or buy or sell, or offer to sale, any malleable composition, which shall be heavier than Silver, and look, touch, and wear like Gold, but be beneath the Standard; or if any person shall receive or pay any counterfeit or diminished milled Money of this Kingdom, not being cut in pieces (an operation which is expressly directed to be performed when any such Money shall be produced in evidence, and which any person, to whom any Gold or Silver Money is tendered, is empowered, by Statutes 9 and 10 William III. c. 21, 13 George III. c. 71, and 14 George III. c. 70, to perform at his own hazard, and the Officers of the Exchequer and Receivers General of the Taxes are particularly required to perform), at a less rate than it shall import to be of (which demonstrates a consciousness of its baseness and a fraudulent design); all such persons shall be guilty of Felony.”

^c *Mirror*, c. 1, § 3. Inter les Articles de viels Roys ordeins.

^d Coke, 3d Institute, cap. 31. Of Felony for transportation of Silver, or importation of false or evil Money, &c.

“ But these precautions not being found sufficient to prevent the uttering of false or diminished Money, which was only a Misdemeanor at Common Law, it is enacted by Statute 15 and 16 G. II. c. 28. that if any person shall utter or tender in payment any counterfeit Coin, knowing it so to be, he shall, for the first offence, be imprisoned six months, and find sureties for his good behaviour for six months more: for the second offence, shall be imprisoned two years, and find sureties for two years longer: and for the third offence, shall be guilty of Felony without benefit of Clergy. Also if a person knowingly tenders in payment any counterfeit Money, and at the same time has more in his custody; or shall, within ten days after, knowingly tender other false Money; he shall be deemed a common utterer of counterfeit Money, and shall for the first offence be imprisoned one year, and find sureties for his good behaviour for two years longer; and for the second be guilty of Felony without benefit of Clergy.

“ The same Statute also enacted, that, if any person counterfeited the Copper Coin, he should suffer two years imprisonment, and find sureties for two years more.

“ By Statute 11 G. III. c. 40. persons counterfeiting Copper Halfpence or Farthings, with their abettors; or buying, selling, receiving, or putting off any counterfeit Copper Money (not being cut in pieces or melted down) at a less value than it imports to be, shall be guilty of single Felony. And by a temporary Statute (14 G. III. c. 42.) if any quantity of Money, exceeding the sum of five Pounds, being or purporting to be the Silver Coin of this Realm, but below the Standard of the Mint in weight or fineness, shall be imported into Great Britain or Ireland, the same shall be forfeited in equal moieties to the Crown and Prosecutor^e.”

By Statute 37 G. III. c. 126. the provisions of the Statute 15 G. II. relating to the Copper Money of the Realm commonly called an Halfpenny and a Farthing, were extended to all other Copper Monies of the Realm to be hereafter coined and issued by his Majesty's authority.

By the same Statute the counterfeiting of any foreign Gold or Silver Coin, or the bringing such into the Realm, with the intent of passing it, was made Felony.

^e Blackstone's Commentaries, Book IV. chap. 7.

The uttering, or tendering in payment, any such counterfeit Money, knowing the same to be counterfeit, was punishable in the same manner as it was by the Act 15 G. II.

And if any person should have more than five pieces of such counterfeit Money in his custody, without lawful excuse, he should forfeit the same, and likewise a sum not exceeding five Pounds, nor less than forty Shillings, for every such piece.

And Justices were empowered to search suspected places for such counterfeit Money, and to seize the same, together with the tools and materials used for making the same.

By Statute 43 G. III. c. 139. the counterfeiting any foreign Coin, either of Copper or of any other metal of less value than Silver, or the passing the same, was made a Misdemeanor, and the offender to be imprisoned for any time not exceeding one year for the first offence; and for the second to be transported for seven years. And it was enacted, that if any person should have more than five such counterfeited pieces in his possession, he should forfeit not more than forty Shillings, nor less than ten Shillings, for every such piece.

Power was given, by this Statute, to search and seize, as under the Act of the 37th G. III.

The offenders against these Statutes are excluded from all General Pardons, except in one instance, which occurs in the 13th year of Henry IV.^f; I know not whether by design or otherwise.

These Statutes, however, severe as many of them are, have ever proved to be inadequate to the protection of the Coins^g, and therefore subordinate means have always been resorted to for the preservation of their integrity.

^f Cl. 13 H. IV. m. 32. dors.

^g The censures of the Church seem to have been equally disregarded. As early as the year 1123, Counterfeiters of the Money, and also the Circulators of base Coin, were declared, by the Council of Lateran, to be accursed; oppressors of the poor, disturbers of the State, and excommunicated. These denunciations were repeated in other Councils; and by that of Tours, in 1583, those persons who had received false Money, or that which might be suspected as such, were forbidden to circulate it, although they were not concerned in the falsification of it, and were even ignorant of the person by whom it was counterfeited. J. Cabassutii, *Notitia Ecclesiastica*, pp. 413, 659.

We have seen, before, that the Trial of the Pix, in its original purity, was sufficient for their defence from fraudulent practices before they were issued from the Mint; and, accordingly, our Ancestors ventured to receive Money into the King's Exchequer as if it were of full weight and fineness, and considered the Coins to be, as they were intended to be, equal in weight and in tale. Such receipts were entered in this manner—"Denarii, &c. &c. ad numerum^h." But it could not long escape notice that, although the Coins might issue from the Mint in perfect purity, yet they soon afterward became obnoxious to the depredations of unprincipled men, who not only impaired the legal Money, by various modes of rendering it deficient in weight, but also fraudulently forced into currency counterfeit Coins of base Alloy.

The provisions by which the Receipt of the Exchequer was guarded against the fraud of deficiency of weight were these—*SOLUTIO AD SCALAM*ⁱ, and *AD PENSUM*. Though these terms are synonymous, yet the proceedings under each mode were totally different.

The Payment *ad Scalam* seems to have been originally intended to save the trouble of counting the Money; a purpose which would be compleatly answered by it, provided the Coins were undiminished^k. But it must soon have been discovered, that even the regular wear of the Coins, in the common course of currency, would, in a short time after they were issued from the Mint, render this mode of payment inaccurate.

^h See Domesday Book, *passim*.

ⁱ Sir Matthew Hale has given a very singular explanation of this term, which he thought to mean a Measure; and that in time this measuring of Money was turned into a certain allowance, to avoid trouble. [1 P. C. 205.] But if the Money were not measured, it must be either weighed or counted, so that it is difficult to say what trouble would be saved by this alteration. Of all the modes of payment, that by measuring must of necessity be the most unequal, and I believe was never resorted to as a general practice. *Scala* certainly was used for a Dish in the barbarous Latin of the middle ages; but no instance can, I presume, be found in which that term was applied in that sense to any mode of payment. Sir Matthew Hale has not produced any such. His interpretation of this word raises a suspicion that the Treatise on Sheriffs' Accounts, which is usually attributed to him, was not his work, as *ad Scalam* is there rightly explained, at p. 17.

^k This practice is still used in the Bank of England. I have seen 5000 new Guineas received there, by counting the first thousand, and then weighing the other four successively against it.

An attempt was made to compensate this error by a general payment of Six Pence in addition to every Pound in Tale; but the impropriety of applying one general principle to particular cases, infinitely varying, must soon have been experienced^l, and, it is probable, occasioned the introduction of that mode of payment which was distinguished by the name of *ad Pensum*. This was totally different from the former, for the whole deficiency of weight, whatever its amount might be, was to be made good.

Entries of this kind occur in every column of Domesday Book, in various forms: as *Lib. ad pensum*, *ad pondus*, *ad peis*, *pensatas*, *cum pensione*, *cum pondere*^m; and these are frequently coupled with a term expressive of a further proof of the Money, which had even then become necessary, from a corruption of its Alloy.

This proof was obtained by actually melting down a certain portion of the sum paid in, and reducing it to the due fineness. The process was called *Combustio*, and was sometimes compounded for at the rate of an addition of one twentieth partⁿ; but yet this was nevertheless distinguished by the same name as if it had been assayed, and was said to be *dealbated* or *blanched*.

It is obvious, however, that in many cases the payment of one twentieth part would not bear any exact proportion to the baseness of the Coins, and that, consequently, the Officers of the Exchequer must, at times, have demanded compensations more nearly adequate to the circumstances of the Money^o. In order to ascertain the true proportion between Money Blank, and by Tale, the Combustion was sometimes repeated more than once for the same sum. Thus in the 14th H. III. the Sheriffs of London paid at the Exchequer £.214. 6s. 3d. part of the Ferm of that City. The Money was right by weight, but being brought to the Examen by fire, it lacked upon the first Assay *xiiijd. per Pound*, and upon the second Assay *xijd.* The

^l I have not been able to discover when the Payment *ad Scalum* commenced. It does not occur in Domesday Book; and the earliest instance produced by Madox is of the reign of Henry I., though he speaks of it as having been used in the most antient times next after the Norman Conquest. [History of the Exchequer, vol. I. p. 274.] He has traced it no lower than the 33d year of Edward I. [Id. p. 277]; nor have I met with it in later times.

^m See a Collection of the different forms in which payments were entered in Domesday Book, in the Appendix.

ⁿ Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 275.

^o Id. The Money was sometimes entered as if weighed in Bags, but it was still liable to examination by Combustion. [Id. p. 287.]

Sheriffs challenged both Assays, and desired a third. But the Treasurer and Barons not being willing to proceed to a third Assay without further advice, the Ferm was entered at *vijd. per Pound Blank*, as if the third Assay had taken place, reserving the King's right to Combustion; so that if on a third Combustion it proved to be more deficient, a greater allowance should be made, according to the Laws and Custom of the Exchequer^p. I believe, that no instance can be produced of the Combustion of Gold Coins^q.

Such were the means devised to protect the Revenues of the Crown from being defrauded by light or base Money; and they seem to have been well calculated for that purpose, as the payments were large, and proper Officers were constantly attending to perform the different operations.

But it is evident that such an examination of Money could not obtain a place in the common transactions between man and man; for very few indeed would be competent to perform the operation of Assaying; nor, if all had been so qualified, could the time have been spared from the more necessary transactions of business. The Trial of Money, therefore, by Assay, must have been chiefly, if not altogether, confined to payments made to the Officers of the Revenue.

The other mode of Trial, by weighing each individual Coin, was in use at a very early period; and weights for that purpose were issued from the Mints in the 6th year of John^r, and probably before that time.

It should seem, however, that these legal weights were discontinued in succeeding reigns; for, otherwise, the deception, by which a Monk, of St. Augustine's in Canterbury, contrived to defraud those who made payments to that Abbey, of whose rents he was the Receiver, could not have been practised. This happened in the year 1335, and was effected by taking advantage of the unequal manner in which the Coins were then formed; for he selected the heaviest of them, against which he weighed all the Money that was paid to him. By this apparently fair, but really fraudulent transaction, he gained sometimes five Shillings, and never less than three Shillings and four Pence, in every twenty Shillings^s.

^p Madox, *Hist. Exch.* p. 283, note (o).

^q Madox gives some entries of Combustions of that Metal [*Id. ibid.*]; but they are of Goldsmith's work, not of Money.

^r Pat. 6 Johan'. m. 7. dors. See *Annals of the Coinage*.

^s Chron. W. Thorn. Col. 2068. See *Annals of the Coinage*.

I do not find that the discovery of this fraud, for which the Abbot and Convent were severely fined, occasioned the issuing of weights, legally stamped, from the Mint, in that reign or in many of the succeeding ones. But at later periods frequent Proclamations occur, requiring all persons to provide themselves with such weights (the price of which is sometimes fixed by the Proclamation), and to weigh with them all the Gold Coins that should be tendered to them.

The first instance of the kind, which I have discovered, is of the 30th year of Elizabeth. Such Proclamations are likewise found of the 17th James I. and the 8th and 10th of Charles I.^t And in the 30th of Elizabeth the Mint provided not only the weights but balances and cases also.

The last instance is in the year 1774, when the state of the Gold Coins was such as to make it necessary to consider them as little better than Bullion, with respect to weight, and to order that none should be current which were deficient beyond a certain allowance. By the Statute which enacted this, the Officers of the Mint were authorized to make weights for the Guinea and the Shilling^u, and the parts thereof, and no other weights were allowed to be used. These weights were to be stamped by an Officer appointed for that special purpose^w; who in the following year was allowed to take a certain fee for the same^x.

OF THE QUANTITY OF BULLION COINED.

Some Account of the Quantity of Bullion which was brought into the Mint, for the purpose of Coinage, has already been given. I shall now state, as fully as my imperfect Collections will enable me, the Amount of the Bullion actually coined at different periods, prior to the Act for the encouraging of Coinage, in the 18th year of Charles II. After that time the Account will be found more regular and unbroken.

^t See these at large in the Annals of the Coinage.

^u This is the only instance since the 6th of John of weights being issued for the Silver Coins.

^w Stat. 14 G. III. Ch. 92. See Annals of the Coinage.

^x Stat. 15 G. III. Ch. 30. See Annals of the Coinage.

REIGN.	MINT.	GOLD.		SILVER.		AUTHORITIES.
		£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	
Henry III.	6 — Canterbury.			3998	0 4	Mint Account in the Exchequer.
Edward I.						
9 —	London.			{ 27770	0 0	in Pennies. } Mint Account. in Halfpennies. } in Farthings. }
19 —	Canterbury.			{ 1260	0 0	
20 —				{ 1680	0 0	
21 —				{ 272	13 4	Id.
				{ 752	11 9	Id.
				{ 167	17 6	Id.
Sept. 30 to Nov. 6, 24 —	London.			{ 380	0 0	in Pennies. } in Farthings. }
December 12, - 25 } to				{ 40	0 0	
25 September, - 26 }				{ 5410	0 0	Pennies. } Halfpennies. }
				{ 110	0 0	
				{ 760	0 0	Farthings.
Edward II.						
October 20, - - 5 }	London.			{ 3210	0 0	Pennies. } Farthings. }
to Michaelmas - 6 }				{ 390	0 0	
Michaelmas - - 6 }				{ 7032	11 3	Pennies. } Half pennies. }
to Michaelmas - 7 }				{ 20	0 0	
Michaelmas - - 7 }				{ 290	0 0	Farthings. } Pennies. }
to Michaelmas - 8 }				{ 30245	8 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	
From Sept. 30, - 8 —				{ 450	0 0	Farthings. } Pennies. }
				{ 3955	14 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	
				{ 140	0 0	Farthings. } Pennies. }
				{ 792	14 3	
16 —				{ 10	0 0	Halfpennies. } Farthings. }
				{ 220	0 0	
Edward III.						
Feb. 3 to Mi- } chaelmas next }	London.			{ 124	2 1	Pennies. } Farthings. }
				{ 125	9 4	

REIGN.	MINT.	GOLD. £. s. d.	SILVER. £. s. d.	AUTHORITIES.
Edward III. (<i>continued.</i>)				
1 and 2	London.		148 0 11	Pennies. } Mint Account.
2 and 3	—		150 0 11	Farthings. }
	Canterbury.		83 6 6	Pennies. } Id.
	—		85 6 5	Farthings. }
	London.		48 4 1	Id.
3	—		387 0 0	Pennies. }
	Canterbury.		16 11 0	Halfpennies }
	London.		232 17 0	Farthings. }
	—		92 4 6	Id.
3 and 4	—	2129 18 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	476 19 8	Id.
18	—		209 19 0	Id.
Michaelmas - - 22	—	1795 13 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	1436 17 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	Id.
to	—		2875 19 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	Pennies. }
May 17 - - 23	—		148 18 3	Halfpennies }
	—	3181 13 8	53861 12 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Farthings. }
27	—		1892 5 9	Id.
28	York.	2969 19 2	1613 5 1	Id.
37	Calais.	624 11 0	982 7 6	Id.
38	—	741 0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$		Id.
40	London.			Id.
Richard II.				
Michaelmas - - 12	London.	1824 7 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	283 10 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	Id.
to Michaelmas - 13	—			
Michaelmas - - 13	—	1626 15 3	1794 15 0	Id.
to Michaelmas - 14	—			
Michaelmas - - 19	—	536 13 3	149 7 9	Id.
to Michaelmas - 20	—			
Henry IV.				
3	London.	299 12 10	129 2 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	Id.
4	—	97 13 3	185 5 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Id.

REIGN.	MINT.	GOLD.	SILVER.	AUTHORITIES.
Henry V. 10 to 3 Henry VI. —	London.	£. s. d. 19746 11 0½	£. s. d. 6924 0 10 —	Mint Accounts.
Henry VI. February 25, - - 2 } to January 31, - - 6 } January 24, - - 2 } to December 24, 6 }	Calais. —	2834 dj. 9 7 lb. oz. dwt. 5963 7 11¾	lb. oz. dwt. 67745 4 10 —	Bundle in the Tower, unclassified. Ditto.
July 28, - - 3 } to July 27, - - 9 } February 20, - - 6 } to August 3, - - 9 } May 20, - - 6 } to August 2, - - 9 } October 12, - - 10 } to October 13, - - 11 }	London. Calais. — — — — London.	361 3 10	4919 9 10 — 89660 9 0 —	Pat. pt. 1. m. 11. Bundle in the Tower, unclassified. Ditto.
October 16, - - 10 } to October 22, - 11 }	— —	lb. oz. s. d. 663 4 15 7	lb. oz. s. d. 1466 9 10 10 (sic.)	Ditto. Ditto.
11 —	Calais.	lb. oz. 505 3½	lb. oz. dwt. 26182 10 dj. —	Ditto.
18 and 19 —	London.	lb. oz. dwt. 162 0 3 87 11 17½ 207 11 2½	2751 3 10 — 207 3 0 — 88 7 5 — 651 2 15 —	Mint Accounts. Id. Id. Id.
Michaelmas - - 23 } to Michaelmas - 24 } 25 - 24 June, - - 26 } to 11 October, - 28 }	— — — —			

REIGN.	MINT.	GOLD.		SILVER.		AUTHORITIES.
		lb.	oz. dwt.	lb.	oz. dwt.	
Henry VI. (<i>continued</i>)						
Michaelmas - - 29 }	London.	416	4 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	9980	5 17	Mint Accounts.
to Fest. Pasch. - 30 }						
1 April, - - - 31 }		123	10 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3605	5 5	Id.
to 21 April, - - 32 }		149	6 10	5469	10 0	Id.
21 April, - - - 32 }						
to 28 March, - 34 }		49	5 5	3103	2 0	Id.
Michaelmas - - 37 }						
to Michaelmas - 38 }						
Edward IV.						
9 -	London.	2289	6 0	8065	6 0	} Id.
	York.	88	0 0	1312	6 0	
	Bristol.	142	3 0	1041	3 0	} Id.
10 -	York.	53	6 10	242	8 0	
31 May, - - - 11 }	London.	7565	7 0	36278	15 0	Id.
to 28 September, 15 }						
May 31, - - - 11 }	Bristol.	117	3 0	903	3 0	Id.
to July 23, - - 12 }						
Henry VII.						
1 -	London.	472	2 0	4103	0 0	Id.
3 -		403	7 10	2651	9 10	Id.
4 -		238	3 0	2794	0 0	Id.
10 -		1056	2 0	4920	10 0	Id.
11 -		586	4 0	2309	4 15	Id.
12 -		764	11 0	4510	2 15	Id.
13 -		868	2 0	7706	2 0	Id.
Michaelmas - - 14 }						
to Michaelmas - 16 }		1787	1 0	23953	4 0	Harl. MSS. No 698. p. 67.
Michaelmas - - 16 }						
to Michaelmas - 18 }		2224	5 0	20871	5 5	Id. p. 69.

REIGN.	MINT.	GOLD.	SILVER.	AUTHORITIES.
Henry VIII.				
3 and 4 -	London.	lb. oz. dwt. 3½ Plates y	lb. oz. dwt. 5537 10 5	Mint Accounts.
Michaelmas - - 7 }	—	2279 0 15	96 4 5	Id.
to Michaelmas - 8 }	—	lb. oz. gr. 4957 1 3½	lb. oz. dwt. 26678 5 d.	
19 -	—	1231 0 0	40480 5 0	
20 -	—	533 2 0	28237 2 0	
21 -	—	394 5 0½	20292 3 0	
22 -	—	320 3 0	15765 2 0	
23 -	—	lb. oz. dwt. 141 6 0	lb. oz. dwt. 22053 0 0	
July 1, - - - 34 }	—	213 3 0 z	2408 0 0	
to March 31, - 35 }	—			
Michaelmas - - 35 }	—			
to March 31, - 36 }	—			
Philip and Mary.				
1 and 2 -	—		{ 6510 0 0	Folkes, p. 48, note.
	—		Base for Ireland.	
Elizabeth.				
	—	Fine Gold.	£. s. d. 4718579 2 8½	Folkes, pp. 65, 66.
	—	440552 8 9¾	Base for Ireland,	
	—	Crown Gold.	118222 9 4½	Simon's Irish Coins, p. 43.
	—	354585 19 7		
James I.				
	—	Angel Gold.	1641004 13 3	Folkes, p. 71.
	—	32093 17 9		
	—	Crown Gold.	Irish Sterling.	
	—	3634296 1 2	166273 11 0	Simon, p. 45.

y I cannot discover the precise value of the Plates which appear in this Account; but three Plates and an half are evidently less than one quarter of an ounce.

z Of this total 31 lb. 6 oz. were of fine Gold, and 181 lb. 9 oz. of 22 Carats fine.

REIGN.	MINT.	GOLD.	SILVER.	AUTHORITIES.
Charles I. - - - -	London.	£. s. d. Crown Gold. 3307019 0 0 Fine. 12658 5 0	£. s. d. 8776544 10 3	} Snelling, Gold, p. 37; Silver, p. 55.
Commonwealth - - -	—	154511 14 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	1000000 0 0	Snelling as above.
Charles II. - - - -	—	Crown Gold. 4177253 19 5	3722180 2 8 1q.	Folkes, p. 111.
James II. - - - -	—	2113638 18 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	518316 9 5 1q. Base Money for Ireland, 1596799 0 0	Folkes, p. 114. } Simon, p. 63.
William III. and Mary -	—	443338 15 6	79026 9 4 $\frac{3}{4}$	} Folkes, p. 129.
William - - - -	—	2975550 16 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	7014047 16 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	
Anne - - - -	—	2484531 8 4	207094 18 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ For Scotland, 411117 10 9	Folkes, p. 131. Id. p. 154.
George I. - - - -	—	8492876 3 6	233045 12 0	Folkes, p. 132.
George II. - - - -	—	11662216 0 0	304360 0 0	{ Chalmers's Estimate of the comparative Strength of Great Britain, p. 234.

QUANTITY COINED.

REIGN.	MINT.	GOLD.	SILVER.	AUTHORITIES.
		£.	£.	
George III. - 1760	London.	111299	—	All the Entries in this Reign are copied from Mr. Chalmers's accurate Table at the end of his "Considerations on Commerce," &c.
1761	—	550888	31	
1762	—	553691	3162	
1763	—	513041	2629	
1764	—	883102	15	
1765	—	538272	19	
1766	—	820725	298	
1767	—	1271808	—	
1768	—	844554	—	
1769	—	626582	—	
1770	—	623779	68	
1771	—	637796	—	
1772	—	843853	335	
1773	—	1317645	—	
1774	—	4685624	—	
1775	—	4901219	—	
1776	—	5006350	315	
1777	—	3680995	—	
1778	—	350438	—	
1779	—	1696117	254	
1780	—	—	—	
1781	—	876795	62	
1782	—	698074	—	
1783	—	227084	—	
1784	—	822126	203	
1785	—	2488106	—	
1786	—	1107382	—	
1787	—	2849057	55459	
1788	—	3664174	—	
1789	—	1530711	—	
1790	—	2660522	—	
1791	—	2456567	—	
1792	—	1171863	274	
1793	—	2747430	—	
1794	—	2558895	—	
1795	—	493416	295	
1796	—	464680	—	
1797	—	2000297	—	
1798*	—	2967505	* In this year the Silver Coinage was suspended.	
1799	—	449962		
1800	—	189937		
1801	—	450240		
1802	—	437019		
1803	—	596445		
1804	—	718397		
1805	—	54616		
1806	—	405106		
1807	—	—		
1808	—	371744		
1809	—	298946		
Total	66214774	63419	

Total of Gold and Silver. . . . £.66,278,193.

OF THE PROFITS ARISING FROM THE COINAGE.

The Profits of the Mint once formed no inconsiderable part of the Revenues of the Crown; and they arose from various sources: from the SEIGNORAGE, the MONEYAGE, the SHERE, and the difference between the Tower Pound and the Troy Weight^a.

The SEIGNORAGE was a certain deduction from all the Bullion which was coined; and it may be divided into two parts; *viz.* that which was taken to defray the expenses of Coinage, and that which was claimed by the Sovereign by virtue of his prerogative.

The former of these is, probably, almost as antient as the invention of Coined Money, for it would soon be discovered that the Sovereign, after he had turned his Bullion into Coins, for the convenience of his Subjects, was no richer than before; and consequently the mere charge of Coinage would, at an early period, be laid upon them.

It is not, however, probable that the deduction remained fixed at so moderate a point for any length of time, but that, shortly after its first establishment, it was considered as a productive source of Revenue. The precise time when the increased deduction took place in our Mints is not known. In the earliest Mint Account which I have met with, namely, one of the 6th year of Henry III., the profit upon the Coinage of Silver was six Pence in the Pound.

This appears from the entries, under that year, of Bullion coined in the Mint at Canterbury, when the profit upon £.3898. 0s. 4d. is stated to be £97. 9s., which is exactly six Pence in the Pound. Of that sum the King had £.60. 18s. 3½d. and the Archbishop £.36. 10s. 10½d.^b The whole sum of £.97. 9s. 0d. is stated to be the amount of *Exitus lucri*; that is, I presume, the clear profit after all the expenses were deducted. And this

^a These were all avowed profits; but sometimes small deviations from the Indentures were authorized by the Sovereign, which covertly increased the Revenue arising from the Mint. See instances in the reign of Elizabeth, in her 21st and 23d years, in the Annals of Coinage.

^b Mint Account in the Exchequer. These totals do not precisely agree, as is frequently the case in sums stated in Roman Numerals.

will nearly agree with the Seignorage which was taken in the 28th year of Edward I., amounting to one Shilling and two Pence Halfpenny upon every Pound. Out of which the Master had five Pence Halfpenny for all expenses, and there remained nine Pence clear Profit to the King.

As this latter date is about 78 years subsequent to the former, it is not improbable that the Seignorage had been raised, in that time, in the proportion of nine to six.

It must be confessed, however, that no very certain conclusions can be drawn from the amount of this deduction at any one time, as its rate seems to have been ever unsettled, and to have depended upon the caprice, the avarice, or the necessities of the Sovereign. This will be evident from the following Tables, which are drawn out from a Volume of Extracts from the Indentures (once in the Lansdown Library, but now forming a part of the MS treasures in the British Museum), from Mint Accounts in the Exchequer, from Snelling's Tables, and from other authentic documents.

SEIGNORAGE for the COINAGE of GOLD; and the ALLOWANCE out of it
to the MASTER.

REIGN.	Pound Weight coined into			Seignorage.			To the Master for coining.			To the Merchant.			AUTHORITIES..
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
Edward III. - 18 -	15	0	0	1	3	6	0	3	6	13	16	6	Indenture c.
	13	3	4	0	8	4	0	3	4	12	15	0	Indenture d.
19 -	13	3	4	0	7	0	0	2	0	12	16	4	Snelling.
20 } 23 }	14	0	0	0	11	8	0	1	8	13	8	4	Snelling.
27 -	15	0	0	0	9	3	0	2	0	14	10	9	Indenture.
30 -	15	0	0	0	6	8	0	1	2	14	13	4	Indenture.
Richard II. - 18 -	15	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	6	14	15	0	Indenture.
Henry IV. - 3 -	15	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	6	14	15	0	Snelling.
13 -	16	13	4	0	5	0	0	1	6	16	8	4	Snelling.
Henry V. - 9 -	16	13	4	0	5	0	0	1	6	16	8	4	Snelling.
Henry VI. ^e - 4 } 6 }	16	13	4	0	5	10	0	2	4	16	7	6	Indentures.
24 -	16	13	4	0	5	0	0	1	6	16	8	4	Snelling.
49 -	22	10	0	0	13	0	0	2	6	21	17	0	Indenture.

^c For the Coinage of the Florins.

^d For the Coinage of the Nobles.

^e The Lansdown MS. adds, in this year, 10d. to the Master for his waste in workmanship, which makes the total differ from that given by Snelling.

REIGN.	Pound Weight coined into	Seignorage.	To the Master for coining.	To the Merchant.	AUTHORITIES.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Edward IV. - 4	20 16 8	2 10 0	0 2 4	18 6 8	Indenture.
5	22 12 4	1 3 2	0 2 4	21 9 2	{ Indenture in the Chap- ter House, Westminst. ^f
8	22 10 0	0 14 6	0 2 6	21 15 6	{ Indenture, Archæolo- gia, vol. XV. p. 166.
9	The Master to receive by Weight, and deliver by Weight, taking for Coinage of every Pound Tower of Gold £ 1. Os. 10d.				{ Pat. 9 E. IV. pt. 1. m. 10.
22	22 10 0	0 7 6	0 2 6	22 2 6	Indenture.
Henry VII. - 3	22 10 0	0 7 6	0 2 6	22 2 6	Indenture.
4	22 10 0	0 2 6	0 1 10	22 7 6	{ Mint Accounts in the Exchequer.
16	22 10 0	0 7 6	0 2 6	22 2 6	Indenture
Henry VIII. - 1	22 10 0	0 2 6	0 1 10	22 7 6	{ Indenture. Mint Accounts.
3	22 10 0	0 2 6	0 1 10	22 7 6	
7	27 0 0	0 2 9	0 2 1	26 17 3 ^g	{ Snelling.
18	25 2 6	0 3 0	0 2 4	24 19 6 ^h	
22	28 16 0	1 4 0	0 3 4	27 12 0	Indenture.
34	30 0 0	2 10 0		27 10 0	Indenture.
36	30 0 0	5 2 0		24 18 0	Snelling.
Edward VI. - 37	30 0 0	1 10 0		28 10 0	Indenture.
1	34 0 0	1 0 0		33 0 0	Indenture.
3	28 16 0	0 2 9		28 13 3	Indenture.
4	36 0 0	0 2 9		35 17 3 ⁱ	Indenture.
6	33 0 0	0 3 0		32 17 0 ^k	Indenture.
Elizabeth - 1	36 0 0	0 5 0		35 15 0	Indenture.
3	33 0 0	0 4 0		32 16 0	Indenture.
19	36 0 0	0 4 0	0 1 6	35 16 0	Indenture.
25	36 0 0	0 6 0	0 4 9	35 14 0	Indentures.
26	33 0 0	0 7 0	0 5 9	32 13 0	Snelling.
27	The same.				Indenture.
35	36 10 0	0 10 0	0 4 9	36 0 0	{ Indenture.
43	33 10 0	0 10 0	0 5 9	33 0 0	
James I. - 2	40 10 0	1 10 0	0 6 5	39 0 0	Snelling.
3	37 4 0	1 10 0	0 6 5	35 14 0	Indenture.
10	40 10 0	1 10 0	0 6 0	39 0 0	Indenture.
	44 10 0	2 5 0	0 6 0	42 5 0	{ Snelling.
	40 18 4 ³ / ₄	2 5 0	0 6 5	38 13 4 ³ / ₄	
	44 10 0	1 11 6	0 6 0	42 18 6	
	40 18 4 ³ / ₄	1 6 4 ³ / ₄	0 6 5	39 12 0	

^f If the Merchant chose to receive his Money immediately at the King's Exchange, then the King was to have of every lb. weight Tower 22s. 11d. by number. [Indenture as above.] The Indenture of his eighth year states the Seignorage from the time of the new Coins, that is, from his fifth year, to have been xxs. xd. Archæologia, vol. XV. p. 165.

^g Fine Gold. In a Mint Account preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster, the Seignorage, from the 18th to 23d year, both inclusive, is stated at 2s. 6d.

^h Crown Gold.

ⁱ Fine Gold.

^k Crown Gold. All the double entries which follow are likewise for Fine and Crown Gold.

SEIGNORAGE.

REIGN.	Pound Weight coined into	Seignorage.	To the Master for coining.	To the Merchant.	AUTHORITIES.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
James I. (continued).					
1 17 -	44 10 0	1 1 0	0 6 0	43 9 0	Snelling.
Charles I. - 2 -	The same.				
	41 0 0	1 1 5	0 6 5	39 18 7	Snelling.
Commonwealth, {		0 15 0	0 2 5		Answer of the Mo-
1650 - - {			to the		neyers to Blondeau,
			Moneyers.		p. 22.
Charles II. - 13 } 17 }	44 10 0			44 10 0	Snelling.
George I. - 4 -	The current value of the Guinea was fixed at 21s., at which it still remains; the Pound of Gold therefore is now coined into £.46. 14s. 6d.				

SEIGNORAGE for the COINAGE of SILVER.

Edward I. ^m - 8 -		0 1 0	0 0 7		Lib. Rub. Scaccarii, fol. 247.
28 -	1 0 3	0 1 2½	0 0 5½	0 19 0½	Snelling.
Edward III. - 1					
Billon		0 1 4			Mint Accounts in the
Silver		0 0 11½			Exchequer.
18 -		0 1 3	0 0 9		Indentures.
	1 2 2	0 1 2	0 0 8	1 1 0 ^o	Indentures.
19 } 20 }	1 2 6	0 1 2	0 0 6¾		Indentures.
		by Weight.	by Number.		
23 -	1 2 6	0 1 3¾	0 0 6¾	the rest.	Snelling.
27 -	1 5 0	0 0 10	0 0 6	the rest.	Snelling.
30 -	1 5 0	0 0 9¼	0 0 6½	1 4 0½	
				in Number	
				for every	
				0 19 2¾	Indenture p.
				Tower Weigt.	
Richard II. - 18 -	1 5 0	0 0 8	0 0 7	1 4 2	
		in Weight.	in Number.	in Number	
				for every	
				0 19 4	Indenture q.
				Tower Weigt.	

¹ In this year notice was given by Proclamation that the King had ordered the profit of his Coinage to be reduced, for one year, from £.1. 6s. 4d. for every Pound weight of Gold, together with some profit from shearing at the Mint, to fifteen Shillings only, including the gain by shearing. [Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.]

^m Of the Farthings, which were to be made by virtue of the Indenture, every Pound was to contain twenty-four, and three Shillings for the Assay beyond the number appointed for Sterlings, on account of the extra trouble and charge of Coinage; on which consideration also the Master was to be allowed ten Pence half Penny, for all expenses, upon every Pound. The King to have twelve Pennies at the least. Lib. Rub. Scaccarii, folio 247.

ⁿ The Indenture does not give the number of Pennies into which the Pound was then coined. By this Indenture the Florins were coined.

^o The Indenture for the Nobles. Snelling has affixed to this entry the date of 19 E. III.

^p Snelling makes this Seignorage 11½d.; of which he gives to the Master 6¾d.

^q Here Snelling makes the Seignorage 10d. and the Master's allowance 7d.

REIGN.	Pound Weight coined into	Seignorage.	To the Master for Coinage.	To the Merchant.	AUTHORITIES.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Henry IV. - 4 -	1 5 0	0 0 10	0 0 7	1 4 2	Snelling.
Henry V. - 9 -	1 10 0	0 1 0	0 0 9	1 9 0	Snelling.
10 -	The same.				Indenture.
Henry VI. - 6 -	1 10 0	0 2 0	0 0 10	1 8 0	Indenture.
23 } to Michaelmas	1 10 0	0 1 0	0 0 9	1 9 0	Mint Account.
24 -	1 10 0	0 2 0	0 0 10	1 8 0	Snelling.
32 } 33 }	1 10 0	0 1 0	0 0 9	1 9 0	Mint Accounts.
49 -	1 17 6	0 2 0	0 1 2	1 15 6	Indenture.
Edward IV. - 4 -	1 17 6	0 4 6	0 1 2	1 13 0	Indenture.
5 -	The same.				Indenture.
7 -	1 17 6	0 3 2	0 1 2	1 14 2	Snelling.
8 -	1 17 6	0 2 8	0 1 2	1 14 10	Indenture.
11 }					
15 }		0 1 6	0 1 0		Mint Accounts.
22 -	1 17 6	0 1 6	0 1 0	1 16 0	Indenture r.
Henry VII. - 3 -		0 1 6			Mint Accounts.
4 -					
from 31 March to Michaelmas }		0 1 0	0 0 10		Mint Accounts.
from Michaelmas to February 28 }		0 1 6			
10 }					
11 }					
12 }		0 1 0			Mint Accounts.
13 }					
19 -	1 17 6	0 1 0	0 0 10	1 16 6	Indenture.
Henry VIII. - 1 }					Indenture.
3 }		0 1 0	0 0 10		Mint Accounts.
18 -	2 5 0	0 1 0	0 0 10	2 4 0	Snelling s.
34 -	2 8 0	0 8 0	0 2 4	2 0 0	Indenture t.
36 -	4 16 0	2 0 0		2 16 0	Indenture.
37 -		1 19 0			Indenture.
Edward VI. - 1 -	7 4 0	4 4 0		3 0 0	Indenture.
3 -	7 4 0	4 0 0		3 4 0	Indenture.
5 -	14 8 0	8 8 0		6 0 0	Indenture u.
6 -	3 0 0	0 1 0		2 19 0	Indenture.
Philip and Mary	The same.				Indenture.
Elizabeth - 1 -	3 0 0	0 1 6		2 18 6	Indenture.
19 -	3 0 0	0 1 6	0 0 8	2 18 6	Indenture w.
25 -	3 0 0	0 1 10	0 1 2	2 18 2	Indenture.
43 -	3 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 4	3 0 0	Indenture.

r Snelling's Table makes the Seignorage 3s. 2d. and gives to the Master 1s. 2d.

s In a Mint Account of the 18th to the 23d year inclusive, which is preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster, the Seignorage is stated at eleven pence.

t The Pound, according to Snelling, was coined into £.2. 16s. 0d.

u Snelling places this in the 4th year of E. VI.

w Snelling dates the diminution of the Master's allowance in the 14th year of Elizabeth.
[Note to his Table of Seignorage.]

REIGN.	Pound Weight coined into	Seignorage.	To the Master for Coinage.	To the Merchant.	AUTHORITIES.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
James I. - - 2 -	3 2 0	0 2 6	0 1 4	2 19 6	Indenture.
Charles I. - - 2 -	3 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 2	3 0 0	Snelling.
Charles II. - - -	3 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 6	3 0 0	Snelling.
18 -	3 2 0			3 2 0	Snelling.

As this source of Revenue depended entirely on the will of the Sovereigns, it is no wonder that it should be regulated not so much by their justice as by their caprice or necessities; and that the Money should be renewed, that is, called in and re-coined, whenever an increase of Revenue was wanted.

The grievances arising from these frequent renewals of the Money were so great as to extort from their Subjects a regular Tax, to be paid every three years, on condition that the practice should be abolished.

This Tax, which was called *MONEYAGE*, appears to have been brought into this Kingdom from Normandy (where it prevailed more than in other parts of France)^x, probably by William I.; for it was unknown here in the reign of Edward the Confessor, as is expressly declared in the Law of Henry I., by which the imposition was entirely abolished. The payment of it is enumerated amongst those evil customs by which the Realm of England had been oppressed^y.

But though the triennial Tax no longer existed, the Seignorage still remained, and, as may be seen in the foregoing Tables, was at times applied to extort Money from the People, and thus to increase the Revenue of the Crown.

It was gathered in this manner: after the Bullion was coined, and assayed, then the Seignorage was deducted, and what remained was returned to him who brought the Bullion to the Mint.

^x See Ducange, *Monetarium*, Col. 1009.

^y *Leges Ang. Sax.* p. 234. The Flemings-alleged against Maximilian King of the Romans (amongst other charges) "that he put high Almaynes in offices and great authority, which without their assent would have chaunged and inhaunced their Coyne to their great prẽjudice and detriment." [*Grafton's Chronicle*, 5 Henry VH.] The word *chaunged*, above, is equivalent to the term *vertebatur*, or *renovatur*, in Domesday. *Quando Moneta vertebatur — Cum Moneta renovatur.* A certain sum was then paid by the Moneyers.

This was continued until the reign of Charles II., when the King took upon himself to bear one half of the expense of Coinage of the Silver Money, out of his Revenue^z; and in his 18th year an Act was passed, by which it was ordained, for the Encouragement of Coinage, that whoever should bring Sterling Silver, or Crown or Standard Gold, to the Mint, should receive an equal weight of the current Coins^a.

It was, doubtless, expected, that this measure would produce a never-failing supply of Bullion for the Mint; but experience has shewn, what the framers of the Act seem not to have been aware of, that when the Coinage is left to the care of individuals, they will consult their interest alone, and will bring to the Mint that Metal only which will afford the greatest profit upon being turned into Money; or will altogether withhold Bullion of every kind, when it is more advantageous to sell the Metal unworked.

The remaining sources of Revenue from the Mint, though far less abundant than those which have been enumerated above, were not, however, at times, thought unworthy of the notice of our Monarchs.

The Profit of the SHERE, or (as it might with equal propriety have been called) of the REMEDY, arose from the advantage which was taken of that allowance for the imperfection of the Workmen's skill.

“ It does not appear that our Princes made any considerable advantage of this until Queen Elizabeth, in her 14th year, allowed Lonison the Master only eight Pence, instead of 14 Pence, or 14 Pence Farthing, in every Pound, to bear all expenses; which obliged him to avail himself of the Remedy,

^z This is stated in the Preamble to the Statute 18 C. II. chap. 5; but the time at which his Majesty began to do this is not specified.

^a Stat. 18 C. II. chap. 5.

The profits of the Seignorage were so much considered by our Monarchs as a certain branch of their Revenue, that they were occasionally granted, in whole or in part, either to Corporate Bodies for their advantage, or for defraying certain charges expressed in the Grant itself. They were sometimes granted to individuals by way of Pension. And when the right of Seignorage was extinguished in this Kingdom, by the Act above-mentioned; there was a Pension, payable out of the profits derived from it, granted, under the Great Seal, for 21 years, to Dame Barbara Villiers, of two Pence by Tale out of every Pound weight of Silver Coins made at the English Mint: which the Legislature, out of a principle of justice, ordered to be continued out of the Coinage Duties imposed by that Act. [See Section 12.] Lord Liverpool's Letter to the King, p. 104.

amounting to six Pence Farthing in the Pound, as appears by the Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine into this affair^b. After which the Queen empowered him, by Commission dated Dec. 31 in her 21st year, to coin Silver at 11 oz. 1 dwt. in fineness, and sixty Shillings and three Pence in the Pound weight, which were delivered by Tale^c (as had been suggested to her Majesty by the said Commissioners), taking thus half the Remedy, which amounted to about six Pence Farthing as before. Other Commissions to the said purpose were granted in her 23d and 24th years; but in her 25th year the Subject was charged 22 Pence, which is four Pence more, and the Queen had but eight Pence, which is two Pence less than before, which together made up the six Pence that had been squeezed out of these Remedies. Towards the latter end of her reign, and in the first seventeen years of James I., the Money was again paid out by Tale^d, and therefore the profit of the Shere came to the Sovereign, which was before the Merchant's^e."

This profit, upon the Gold Coins, was recognized by James I. in a Proclamation of his 17th year, when he reduced the Seignorage^f.

According to Violet's representation, in the year 1653, the profit of the Shere amounted usually to eight Shillings, and sometimes to ten Shillings in £.100 by Tale^g.

At the great Re-coinage of Silver in the reign of William III. the Money was shorn at something more than £.3. 2s. 3d. *per* Pound^h, and made current at £.3. 2s. 0d.; thus allowing three Pence *per* Pound for the profit of the Shere, or rather more than eight Shillings in every hundred Pounds.

^b Stow's Survey by Strype, vol. II. p. 100.

^c Folkes, p. 55.

It seems, however, that Lonison took a still further advantage, and shered the Silver at sixty Shillings five Pence, or six Pence, and the Gold at £.36. 3s. 0d. and often at £.36. 3s. 6d. whilst he paid to the Queen's subjects only sixty Shillings, or £.36. 0s. 0d., by Tale; by which means the subject paid eleven Shillings, instead of four Shillings, for Gold, and two Shillings and six Pence instead of one Shilling and six Pence for Silver. [Petition from the Warden and other Officers of the Mint to the Lords of the Privy Council, Commissioners appointed for hearing of Mint Causes, 1575. [Harl. MSS. No 698. p. 97.]

^d Folkes, p. 137.

^e Snelling's Silver Coinage, p. 52, note.

^f Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

^g Narrative of some remarkable Proceedings concerning the Ships Samson, &c. p. 91.

^h Snelling's Silver Coinage, p. 53.

In the present mode of conducting the Coinage, very nearly the whole advantage of the Shere is given to him who brings Bullion to the Mint; for the Coins are, by the increased skill and attention of the Moneyers, formed greatly within the Remedies allowed. Thus it will appear, from a reference to the Account of the Trial of the Pix in 1799, that when the Remedy allowed has been 1 lb. 3 oz. 18 dwt. 0 gr., the actual deficiency has amounted to no more than 1 dwt. 15 gr. If the whole advantage of the Shere had been taken, it would have produced from the Coinage of about five years, which was then tried, nearly fourscore thousand Pounds.

That profit of the Shere, which arose from the Seignorage being taken by weight, and not by number, is also commonly stated in the Mint Accounts. It is sometimes called simply *Incrementum*; but is more frequently described as being derived from Coins which had been received by weight, and exchanged by number. In this, as in the other instances, it is reckoned at the rate of three Pence in the Pound, excepting in the case of the smaller Coins, where its rate was increased, and for the Farthings was raised to six Pence in the Pound ⁱ.

The last remaining source of Revenue from the Mint is thus stated in a MS. relating to Mint Affairs which is preserved in the Collection of the Society of Antiquaries:—"There is a weight which hath been used in England from the beginning, in the King's Mints, till of late years, and derived from the Troy weights; for by the Troy weight of twelve Ounces the Merchant bought his Gold and Silver abroad, and by the same delivered it into

ⁱ The entries are in this form: "Et de xiijs. ijd. q^a. de increm'to denarior' p'dci exit' rec' p' pond' & liber p' num'u' videli't de qualibet lib. ijd. et de xxs. de increm'to ferlingor' rec' de mag'ro monete p' pond' & cambit' p' num' p' idem temp' libra excrescente p' vid." [Mint Account in the Exchequer, 24 E. I.]

In the reign of Richard II. this *Incrementum* seems to have arisen to five Shillings in the Pound, as appears from the following entry: "Et de xlvjs. ijd. de incr'o p'uen' de p'dcis ixli. ixs. q^a. de exit' d'ci arg' monetat' unde r'. sup^a videli't de qual't libra vs. st'ling num'ro." [Mint Account, 12 and 13 R. II.]

But in a later instance the rate of *Incrementum* was little more than four Pence Halfpenny in the Pound: "Et de xlijs. vjd. de incr'o p'uen' de p'dcis cxijs. xjd. q^a. de exit' d'ci Argent' monetag'." [Mint Account, 19 and 20 R. II.]

The cause of difference between the two entries I am unable to explain; but I have given them for my Readers to form their judgment upon them.

the King's Mint, receiving in counterpoize by Tower weight, which was the Prince's prerogative, who gained thereby $\frac{3}{4}$ of an Ounce in the exchange of each Pound weight converted into Money, beside the gain of coining, which did rise to a great Revenue; making for every 30 lb. Troy, being a Journey of Coined Money, 32 lb. Tower ^k."

This was continued until the use of the Tower Pound, in the Mint, was forbidden by Proclamation in the 18th year of Henry VIII.¹

If the amount of these several profits could be ascertained, they would probably be found to have constituted no unimportant part of the Revenue of our early Monarchs; but this cannot now be done, as we do not possess an unbroken Series of Mint Accounts for any one Reign. It is impossible also, for the same reason, to state, with any precision, the aggregate sum to which the expenses of workmanship arose.

But though we are unable to make out a regular account of profit and loss, for periods so distant, that such account must be chiefly matter of curiosity, we are fortunately not so much in the dark respecting the times which have just passed over us, but are furnished with documents concerning them, from which conclusions of the highest importance may be drawn.

We know that the Coinage Act, which was originally passed in the 18th year of Charles II., and was made perpetual by the 25th Chapter of a Statute in the 9th year of his present Majesty, has deprived the State of all possibility of profit from the Mint; whilst, on the other hand, we possess, from undoubted authority, accounts of the expenses of working the same, commencing with the beginning of the year 1777, and continued to the close of the year 1803, under the following heads:

	£.	s.	d.
Charge of Coining - - - - -	273439	15	6
Amount of Salaries - - - - -	110233	14	4
Contingencies and Incidents - - -	59585	3	7
Buildings and Repairs - - - - -	45183	5	4
Total	488441	18	9 ^m

^k MS. in the Antiquaries' Library relating to Mint Affairs. The first page is signed by Sir Robert Cotton. See also Malynes, *Lex Mercatoria*, Part II. chap. 8.

¹ See *Annals of the Coinage*.

^m Lord Liverpool's Letter to the King, p. 156, note.

This sum gives an average of more than £.18000 for each year, which exceeds the allowance for the expenses of Coinage (as it was settled by Statute 1 George I. Stat. 2. Chap. 43, and by Statute 27 George III. Chap. 13, § 64) by at least £.3000 *per annum*.

OF THE DEPRECIATION OF THE VALUE OF MONEY.

Every article which passes in exchange between man and man is liable to alterations in its value, chiefly from these two circumstances combined — the quantity to be disposed of, and the demand for it. Even Money itself, which is usually denominated the measure of the value of all other things, is itself subject to variations, not only from the above-mentioned circumstances, in common with all other articles, but also from some which are peculiar to itself, and which derive their origin from the incorrect principles upon which Money is constructed. In consequence of these principles it is considered in a two-fold light — as a medium of exchange between the Subjects of that Prince from whose Mint it issues, and as an article of commerce with the rest of the world; the latter of these in defiance of the Laws of almost every Nation, which absolutely forbid the exportation of Coins.

In the first state its value is regulated by the quantity, and the demand; but in the second it depends, likewise, upon the price which the metal it is formed of bears in the Market.

From the variations in the price of Bullion has arisen the necessity of reducing, from time to time, the actual weight and value of the Coins; but their further depreciation, as to their effect in exchange for other commodities, has been influenced in a great measure by the increased quantity in circulation, which has reduced their value, in like manner as the same circumstance will reduce the value of any other article of exchange. That this is really the case, is amply to be proved from the progressive reduction of the interest of Money. From the 5th Chapter of the Statute 3 Henry VII. it should seem, that, by an evasive process, twenty *per cent.* were sometimes paid. But it was not until the 37th year of Henry VIII. that the legal rate of interest was determined by Statute, when it was ordained that not more

than ten *per cent.* should be takenⁿ; and after several reductions, at various times, it was brought down to five *per cent.* in the 12th year of Queen Anne^o: at which its legal rate has remained stationary until this present time.

Its actual rate, however, has been perpetually, and necessarily, varying, through every period, since it first received a legal sanction.

During a War, when the necessities of Government create a powerful competition in the Money Market, it cannot be procured at the interest which the Law has prescribed; and even Government itself is obliged to exceed the established rate, either by an actual increase, or by a profit which the Lender expects to make from the transfer of part of the securities given to him.

When a few years of Peace have brought back a portion of that wealth which the War had carried out of the Kingdom, then the value of Money begins to decrease, and it may be borrowed at less interest than five *per cent.*, because the competition in the Market is then on the contrary side to what it was before, and there exists a greater eagerness to dispose of Money than to borrow it.

From this, which is the natural course of things, we may learn how ineffectual, and consequently how impolitick, it is, to attempt to fix, by legal restraints, that which will ever be a matter of bargain, and consequently ever in a state of fluctuation.

Another cause of the depreciation of Money is the product of modern times, and is derived from an increased quantity of a substitute for actual Coins. This has produced effects highly to be deplored, for it has given an apparent increase to the Money in circulation, whilst in reality it has added nothing valuable to it. This it has done by enabling the Money to act in a double capacity, once in its real form where the actual Coins are circulated, and again in the form of a Promissory Note, whose value is, in fact, founded upon those very Coins. When this bubble bursts, which it must whenever it is blown too large, or any sudden and extensive check is given to individual credit, the widely-spreading evil, which is now denied by some, will be as severely felt as was the mischievous imposition of the South Sea Scheme.

ⁿ Statute 37 H. VIII. chap. 9.

^o Statute 12 Anne, Stat. 2. chap. 16.

The political reasons by which Government is guided in permitting individuals to form Money of Paper, which has no intrinsic worth, whilst it punishes with death the striking it in real Gold and Silver, has never yet been detailed to the Publick, and therefore I presume not to conjecture what its nature may be. All I dare to contend for is this, that a Coinage which costs a man nothing will probably be carried to a greater extent than that wherein materials more costly are employed. As a check upon ruinous issues of the former kind, the publick safety seems to require that private Bankers should return to Parliament regular Statements of their Notes which are in currency, similar to that which is periodically made out by the Bank of England. From this some judgment might be formed of the proportion which their issues bear to their means of responsibility.

The progress of the Depreciation of Money from the Norman Conquest to about the latter end of the 18th Century may be seen in the accurate Table annexed, which is borrowed from Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn's Memoir on a Standard for Weight and Measure P.

This Depreciation passes almost unnoticed in a commercial country, because it lays no check upon trade, which has the means of counteracting it, and probably of profiting by it, in its own power; but a large and useful portion of the community, which subsists on pensions, annuities, interest of money, or prescriptive payments, is the innocent and unhappy victim of it.

OF THE SCARCITY OF MONEY.

The want of a sufficient quantity of Coins for the internal commerce of a Nation may arise from various causes. The Annals of the Coinage of this Kingdom, in ancient times, will furnish instances where it has been occasioned by an actual deficiency of issues from the Mint; but the chief cause will be found in the undervaluing of the Coins, which, in the present as well as in former times, has made it profitable to reduce them into Bullion. To the effects of this strange policy, and the co-operation of unfavourable exchanges, the disappearance of the Coins after they have been put in currency is, I believe, principally to be imputed.

P Philosophical Transactions for 1798, Part I.

OF THE INTRODUCTION OF FOREIGN COINS.

The motives for the adoption and legitimation of Foreign Money, in this Kingdom, were sometimes an incapacity to keep up, from the produce of our own Mints, a constant supply of circulating medium; and at others, probably, a wish to accommodate the Merchants, who, when the balance of trade was in favour of this Country, brought a considerable quantity of Foreign Specie into it. Other reasons will be found to have co-operated with these, at different times.

In the Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman periods the want of native Gold Coins occasioned the circulation of Bezants.

Our Conquests in France introduced the Coins of that Nation.

The Union of the Two Crowns of England and Scotland, under James I., produced a great influx of Scottish Money.

For a long time the balance of trade with Portugal was so much in favour of this Country, that immense quantities of the Coins of that Kingdom were annually brought over. These were permitted to be current, and were circulated all over England, but more especially in the Western Counties, where, about the beginning of the 18th century, very little of any other Gold Money was to be found.

Since these were withdrawn, which happened shortly after the middle of the same century, no Foreign Money has been current, except small quantities of French Silver, which were surreptitiously brought in at the latter end of that century, on account of the deficiency of legal Coins.

I shall now close this Introductory Discourse, and proceed to the Annals of the Coinage, some parts of which it is calculated to explain.

A Table exhibiting the Prices of various Necessaries of Life, together with that of Day Labour, in Sterling Money, and also in Decimals, at different Periods, from the Conquest to the present Time, derived from respectable Authorities, with the Depreciation of the Value of Money inferred therefrom. To which is added, the Mean Appreciation of Money, according to a Series of Intervals of 50 Years, for the first 600 Years, and, during the present Century, at shorter Periods, deduced by Interpolation.

THE PRICES OF VARIOUS ARTICLES AT DIFFERENT TIMES																									Mean Appre- ciation by Interpolation	
Year of our Lord	Wheat per Bushel	MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.															Depreciation of Money according to the Price of									
		Cattle in Husbandry					Poultry					Hides per lb.	Tanned per lb.	Salt per bushel	Wool per lb.	Linnen per lb.	Flax per lb.	Yarn per lb.	Thread per lb.	Wheat per bushel	Flour per bushel	Wheat per bushel	Flour per bushel			
		Horse	Ox	Cow	Sheep	Pig	Geese	Hens	Cocks	Ducks	Swans													Goats		Bees
d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
1050	0 2½	1 12 6	0 2 6	0 6 0	0 1 3	0 2 0																				
1150	0 4½	0 12 5	0 4 8½		0 1 8	0 3 11		0 3																		
1250	1 2½	1 11 0	1 0 7	0 12 0	0 1 7		1 0	0 3 0 4½																		
1350	1 10½	0 18 4	1 4 6	0 12 8	0 2 7	0 2 6	0 5	0 2 0 3½																		
1450	1 5		1 15 8	0 15 6	11 4 11½		0 5 1	0 6½																		
1550	1 10½	8 8 0	1 16 7	0 16 0	0 4 3½	0 5 6	1 0	0 8½	1 0	5	2	0 1½	1	110		1 0½	0 4	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1600	4 0½																									
1645	4 11																									
1650	5 6																									
1675	4 6	5 10 0	3 6 0	8 17 0	0 11 0	0 14 0	3 0	1 3	1 3	4½	2	0 8	2½	820		1 3½	0 7½	240	250	166	185	210				
1700	4 9½																									
1740	4 4½																									
1740	3 8	10 0 0	8 0 0	7 7 0	1 6 0	1 15 0	3 6	1 6	9	3½	1 0	3	341	454		3 0 0 10		167	434	266	250	257				
1760	3 0½	14 0 0	8 10 0	7 0 0	1 7 0	1 15 0	5 0	1 10	10	5½	1 2	3	311	492		4 4 0 11		803	492	400	375	342				
1780	4 5½																									
1795	7 10	19 0 0	16 8 0	16 8 0	1 15 0	5 8 0	3 0	1 6	1 6	11½	5	1 9½	2½	700		5 3 1 5½		605	752	513	456	531				

* The small figures denote the price in denarii, whereas those for the year 1450 may be taken for the integer, viz. 110.

Besides most of the old Chronicles and Histories, the following Books were consulted, in constructing the above Table, viz. Bishop FLESTON's *Chronicon Perpetuum*, 14 and 2d edit. *Labour Geometrical*, in 1429. The Sketch of the Establishments of this Kingdom, temp. Ed III. at copy by J. HALL, 1791. Collection of Ordinances and Regulations of the Royal Household, in three Reges, from Edward III. to King William and Queen Mary, Lond. 1790, 4to. The 11th volume of the *Archæologia*. An Enquiry into the Prices of Wheat and other Provisions in England, from the Year 1000 to 1105, by Mr. COMPTON, Ed. Lond. by J. LONDON, 1764. Dr. SMITH'S *Wealth of Nations*. See JAMES SMITH'S *Political Economy*, and Dr. HENRY'S *History*.

ANNALS

OF THE

COINAGE OF BRITAIN, &c.

THE Inhabitants of Britain, who, by their insular situation, were nearly separated from the rest of mankind, seem to have made less progress toward civilization than their neighbours on the Continent, when Cæsar landed upon their coast, about the 699th year of Rome, or 55 years before the Christian æra. He describes them as a people then just emerging from barbarism, and no further acquainted with Commerce than to have discovered that it could not be conducted by simple barter alone^a. This the Eastern Britons probably learned from the Gaulish Merchants, who carried on a slight degree of traffick with them; whilst those of the Western parts derived it from the Phœnicians, then the great traders of the world, with whom an intercourse had for some centuries subsisted, for the purchase of Tin, at that time supposed to be the peculiar product of Britain, or the British Isles. It is, however, difficult to ascertain, from Cæsar's account, whether the Britons had proceeded so far as actually to coin Money, or whether they were not contented with rude pieces of brass, and iron rings or plates, regulated to

^a Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. V.

a certain weight. The more precious metals, if his statement be correct, did not circulate amongst them ^b.

Were his accuracy, and extent of information, entirely to be depended upon, no other evidence would be necessary to prove, that the Coins which are usually attributed to the early British Kings belong to some other nation, for they occur in Gold and Silver, as well as in the inferior metals to which his description, provided it should be taken to intend actual Money, absolutely confines them. I know not indeed on what ground the authority of Cæsar, as to this point, can be impeached. It was his interest rather to magnify than to diminish the value and importance of his conquest; and the reasons which are assigned by Suetonius for his invasion of Britain, and his character for rapacity after plunder^c, forbid the possibility of a suspicion that he should have neglected to make sufficient inquiries on a subject so interesting as the wealth of its inhabitants. Nor is it possible that he should have penetrated to any considerable distance from the coast, without discovering, either in the plundered habitations, or about the persons of those slain in battle, some traces of a Coinage of the more precious metals^d.

Had he stated the nature of the tribute which he imposed upon Cassivellan, the question respecting British Money would have been decided, for without doubt it consisted of the best things which the land afforded. But he has described it only in general terms^e; which authorize a suspicion that it was of a kind too mean to be particularized.

If we proceed to examine the Coins themselves, they furnish no proofs to justify their appropriation to any Country. The far greater part of them is

^b Id. *ibid.* In the first edition of the Commentaries, printed at Rome in 1469, folio, the passage stands thus: "Utuntur tamen ære, ut nummo aureo, aut annulis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummis." In subsequent editions it is very much corrupted.

^c "Britanniam petisse spe margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem, interdum sua manu exegisse pondus." Suetonius, lib. I. cap. 47.

"In Gallia fana, templaque Deum donis referta expilavit; urbes diruit, sæpius ob prædam quam ob delictum." Id. cap. 54.

^d As the people of Kent were, according to his character of them*, the most civilized inhabitants of the Island, it is probable that if money were to be found amongst the Britons, it would have been discovered in their possession.

^e Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. V.

* Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. V.

without any legend ; and on the rest are to be found only initial letters, or at most single syllables, which by the ingenuity of Antiquaries have been compelled to express any meaning they have thought fit to adopt^f. As many of these letters are applicable to the names of Gaulish Princes which are mentioned by Cæsar or Tacitus, it is possible that the Coins which bear them might have been brought into Britain from Gaul. This opinion has, however, been strongly combated by Borlase, who says that “no Coins exactly similar to those found in Britain have ever been discovered, in any number, in any other Country ;” and, more expressly, he declares that “not one ever appears to have been dug up in Gaul^g.” If this assertion be admitted in its fullest extent, but little doubt can remain that these Coins are correctly appropriated to Britain, where they are so frequently found in considerable numbers. The words of Cæsar, however, forbid me to admit that they were in existence when he landed on this Island, and therefore, if they be British, their origin must be referred to some period subsequent to his second invasion, and prior to Cunobeline’s improvement of his Coins, in imitation of the Roman Money. This it is true will give but a short space for their formation ; but the supposition appears to me more plausible than any which may be formed in direct opposition to Cæsar’s account. Specimens of this Money, in various metals, will be found in the Plates^h.

The earliest Coin which can, with the least appearance of probability, be attributed to any particular British Monarch, bears upon it the letters SEGO, possibly for Segonaxⁱ. He was one of the four petty Kentish Monarchs who, by the command of Cassivellan, attacked Cæsar’s camp upon his second

^f See Dr. Stukeley’s twenty-three Plates ; where he has pressed into the British service Coins of almost every nation upon earth. It is true that these Plates were not published by Dr. Stukeley himself ; but he had frequently spoken of them, and of British Coins in general, in such a manner as to prove his intention of publishing them, and consequently to justify his executor, so far as Dr. Stukeley’s reputation as a Numismatist was concerned, in giving them to the world. See *Palæographia Sacra*, p. 66 ; and Letter to Macpherson on his publication of *Fingal*, pp. 8, 11.

^g History of Cornwall, 2d edit. pp. 269, 271.

^h See Plates 1, 2, 3, and 4. It may be observed that Cunobeline’s earliest Coins bear no slight resemblance to some of the specimens in these Plates.

ⁱ British Coins, Plate IV.

invasion of Britain. They were defeated, and Cassivellan immediately submitted to the Conqueror^k.

The probability that this Coin is British is somewhat strengthened by the word TASCIO which appears upon it, for the first time, but is afterward repeatedly found upon the Money of a succeeding Monarch, of whose Coins a considerable number has been preserved.

On entering upon his reign, we are able to attain to a greater certainty of appropriation than the preceding Coin afforded. The name of Cunobeline written at length can leave but little hesitation as to what name is intended by the abbreviations CVN, CVNO, and CVNOBELI; and the union of some of those abbreviations with CAMV and CAMVL, the leading letters of Camulodunum [Colchester], the capital of Cunobeline's Kingdom^l, forms a coincidence not easily to be accounted for, if we refuse to receive the Coins as the production of that Monarch's Mints.

Of Cunobeline little more is known than that he reigned over the Cautechlani, the Trinobantes, and the Dobuni, and that his dominions extended from the coasts of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, across the Island Westward, to the banks of the Severn. He is supposed to have reigned during the times of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, and to have been brought up by the former of these Emperors^m.

As no author has afforded any information respecting the state of the arts under his government, our ideas must be derived from his Coins, which are the only specimens that have been preserved to these times. The types of the greater part are apparently formed upon the model of the Roman Money, and their resemblance to it adds considerable weight to the account which Jeffrey of Monmouth has given of the friendship which subsisted between Cunobeline and the Romansⁿ. On some of these Coins the name of the Monarch is given with a Latin termination; and the devices which are impressed upon others are evident imitations of the Coins of Augustus Cæsar.

^k Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. V.

^l It is expressly called so by Dio Cassius.

^m Jeffrey of Monmouth's British History, Book IV. chap. xi. Suetonius, in the Life of Caligula.

ⁿ Jeffrey of Monmouth, as above.

All the letters are plainly Roman^o. But it is in outward appearance alone that they agree with the Roman Money of that period in which Cunobeline is generally supposed to have reigned, for in weight they are widely different^p. The cause of this variation from the prototype in so important a point cannot now be ascertained ; but it seems to justify a suspicion that the weights were regulated in conformity with other British Money then current ; and in confirmation of this suspicion, it may be observed, that some of the Coins which bear the united names of Cunobeline and Camulodunum, resemble in type those which are usually attributed to earlier British Kings.

On many of the Coins with the name of Cunobeline a word appears that has occasioned much controversy, but without any elucidation of its meaning, which still remains involved in impenetrable obscurity. It is commonly written TASCIO, but sometimes TASCIA. By some Antiquaries it has been supposed to signify Tribute, and that the Money so stamped was intended for the particular purpose of paying the impositions which the Romans had laid upon the Britons^q. Though this opinion bear the sanction of great names, yet it cannot be admitted without further proof than the uncertain supposed derivation from Tag ; whether that British term be considered as equivalent to *taxatio*, or as designating the dignity of chief or prince by whom the tribute was to be paid ; for, I believe, no other instance can be produced of a Coinage expressly formed for one peculiar kind of payment only ; and that Coinage also of workmanship so rude, as not to be calculated for currency amongst the people to whom it was to be paid. That Tascio has not the meaning of King, or Chief, appears probable, from its being found on the Reverse of a Coin of Cunobeline, who is styled *Cunobelinus Rex* on the Obverse^r.

Mr. Wise inclined to think that it meant the name of either a people or a city ; and fancied that his conjecture was confirmed by discovering in

^o Plates of British Coins, IV. and V. See an Alphabet formed from the legends of Gaulish Coins in Bouterouë, p. 157.

^p See Explanations of the above Plates.

^q CAMDEN, on the authority of Dr. Powell. Gough's *Britannia*, vol. I. p. lxxv. BAXTER, Glossary in voce. CARTE, *Hist. of England*, vol. I. p. 98. PETTINGAL, *Dissertation on the Tascia*.

^r See Plate V. No. 19.

Pliny, Lib. 3, "TASCODVNITARI CONONIENSIS, *Galliæ Narbonensis Populum;*" or, as Harduin read the words from MSS. TASCODVNI TARVCVNO-NIENSES^s.

According to the interpretation of other learned men, TASCIO is the name of the Moneyer. To this explanation, though it is doubtless much more plausible than the former, there are objections which cannot easily be obviated. In the first place it will be difficult to prove that TASCIO or TASCIA is a Roman or British name; and in the next place, the custom of placing the Moneyer's name upon the Coins is of modern origin when compared with the date of this Money; it is also a circumstance not readily to be accounted for, that no other Moneyer occurs, although nearly forty varieties of Cunobeline's Coins have been discovered.

If however a Moneyer be intended by this word, it is clear that he had no connection with the Mint at Camulodunum, as it is not to be found on the various Coins whereon the name of that place is impressed; but appears either alone, or joined with VA. VAN. VANI. VANIT. or NOVA, which I know not how to explain, or with VER, which is with great probability supposed to mean Verulam; for VERLAMIO is found, at length, on Coins of similar workmanship; and the importance of this city, the capital of Cunobeline's original dominions, would in all probability entitle it to the privilege of a Mint.

In consequence of the connexion between the names of Cunobeline and TASCIO, those Coins which bear the latter name, without the former, are usually attributed to that Monarch; and the propriety of this appropriation is in some measure confirmed by the similarity in style of the Coins themselves.

If the Money which bears the name of Verulam be rightly given to Cunobeline, it should seem that he had two Mints established in his dominions; one at that place, now St. Alban's in Hertfordshire, and the other at Camulodunum, now Colchester in Essex^t.

^s Num. Antiq. in Scriniis Bodleianis reconditorum Catalogus, p. 226.

^t The opinion of a late eminent Antiquary on this subject must not be concealed, although it attempts to annihilate, at one blow, all British Coinage whatsoever. He says, "it is easy to demonstrate that the Coins of Cunobelin, on which the advocates for the existence of British Money build their principal proofs, together with all the rest of the British series exhibited and speciously explained by Camden, Thoresby, and Walker, are either pieces of Saxon Mint-

It is probable that the British Coinage closed with the Money of this Monarch; for in a very few years after his decease the second subjection of Britain took place, under Claudius; and was so compleat and severe, that the country became rather a Roman than a British Island. Among other circumstances which prove the entire subjugation of the Britons, the edict which ordained that all Money current amongst them should bear the imperial stamp, is peculiarly conclusive. This fact is related by Gildas^u, and is warranted by the usual practice of the Romans^w.

That this prohibition was followed up by the establishment of Roman Mints in Britain is highly probable, although no satisfactory evidence can be brought forward to prove the fact. That which is usually adduced is nothing more than initial letters upon the Coins, which are equally applicable to many other places within the Roman Empire, where Mints were undoubtedly situated^x. The Coins of Carausius and Allectus, the seat of whose Empire was in Britain, have a strong claim to be considered as the production of British Mints, but by no means a decided one, for the dominions of both those Emperors extended to the Continent, and one of them at least was

age in England, or were imported by the Saxons from Germany, or by the Romans from their conquered provinces. To suppose that some of them were Northern, and that they found their way into England, after Rome had been sacked in the great Gothick migration, would open a new and ample field of rational hypothesis." Warton's Specimen of a History of Oxfordshire, 2d edition, p. 63.

Had the learned author been at all conversant with Saxon Coinage, he would never have hazarded so untenable a position, as that the Money which bears the name of Cunobeline could be referred to the workmanship of that people.

The whole extract, which is in every part unsupported by any thing like proof, exhibits a striking example of the ease with which the firmest mind may be warped by a preconceived hypothesis. Warton borrowed this idea from his friend Wise, who derived it from Salmon's Survey of England. [Num. antiq. Scrin. Bodleianis recond. Catalogus, p. 228.] That, however, which was only conjecture with Wise and Salmon, became absolute proof to the mind of Warton.

^u De excidio Britannix, cap. 5.

^w It is observable that those Britons who retired into Wales never struck Money during their state of independence upon the Monarchs of England; neither was any Money ever coined specially for them after they were conquered by Edward I.

^x Fabian Philips says that Julius Cæsar coined leather money in Britain, but quotes no authority for the strange assertion. See Archæologia, vol. XIII. pp. 187, 188.

acknowledged as partner in the general Empire, and had in consequence correspondence and connection with the places where Mints had been long established. The Coins themselves furnish no evidence to determine the question; though, from single letters or syllables upon them, the existence of various Mints in Britain during the reign of Carausius has been fancifully determined^y.

The Romans, having kept possession of their Conquests in Britain nearly 400 years, totally deserted that Island about the middle of the 5th century. Soon after their departure, the Britons, who had been previously weakened by their tyranny and oppression, and were now left totally defenceless by the withdrawing of the Legions, were compelled to solicit the aid of the Saxons, to protect them against the inroads of their powerful neighbours. The required assistance was readily granted; but the Saxons, having in the cha-

^y Dr. Stukeley (who, to adopt Dr. Johnson's expression, "bent a keen eye on vacancy") hesitates not to point out the particular places where many of the Coins of Carausius were minted, and likewise to determine the precise days on which most of them were struck. According to him the Mints were these :

c. Cataractonium; the Thornburgh Mint at Cateric. In another place this Mint is removed to Cirencester, from the evidence of the same Coin. *Palæographia Britannica*, No. III. p. 21.

CLA. Clausentum; Southampton.

IM. Isurium Monetarium; Aldborough, Yorkshire.

ML. Monetarium Londinense; London.

M. Menapia; St. David's.

R. Rutupium; Richborough.

S. Sorbioduni; Old Sarum. *Medallic History of Carausius*, Book I. p. 27S.

But though no evidence exists of the working of legitimate Roman Mints in Britain, there is, however, sufficient proof that counterfeiters of their Money carried on their operations here. Several hundred moulds for casting Roman Coins were discovered at Edington, in Somersetshire, in the year 1801, in consequence of a disclosure of them at some former period, which is recorded in Mr. Gough's *Camden*, vol. I. p. 71. That these were the tools of counterfeiters is evident from this circumstance, that moulds for the Coins of different Emperors, &c. were found together, namely, for Severus, Julia his wife, Caracalla, Geta, Macrinus, Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, Maximin, Maximus, Plautilla, Julia Paula, and Julia Mammæa; for the casting of these at the same time could only take place in the hands of illegal coiners. One Coin, which was principally of tin, was found in the moulds, and a lump of the same metal was also dug up with them. Other moulds for the same purpose have been discovered at Ryton in Shropshire, and at Lingivel in Yorkshire. See *Archæologia*, vol. XIII. p. 99.

racter of allies, once got footing in the kingdom, soon settled themselves too firmly to be removed, and by degrees brought the whole country under their subjection. The conquered were then compelled to adopt the laws and customs, and, in a great measure, the language of their conquerors, and were at length so intimately mingled with them as to form one people, under the common denomination of Anglo-Saxons.

They were not however at first under the government of a sole Monarch, but seven (as they are more usually numbered, though in fact they were eight^z) distinct kingdoms were formed, at different periods, as the commanders of the invading armies were able to establish their authority; and of various extent in proportion to their power.

Until these petty dominions were entirely subdued, the Roman Money probably continued to circulate in them; but, when their respective Sovereigns were quietly settled on their thrones, they established Mints, which appear to have been regulated by laws brought with them from the Continent. This conclusion is formed from their dissimilarity to those by which the Roman Mints were governed, and which alone were then in force on this Island. It has, however, been doubted whether the Saxons possessed, at their arrival in Britain, any knowledge of the art of coinage; and the account which Tacitus gave of that people, at the latter end of the first century, has been strangely insisted on as descriptive of their manners, after a lapse of nearly four hundred years^a. In truth, the state of the arts amongst them at that period, and during the following century, is involved in almost impenetrable obscurity. History is totally silent, and scarcely any relics are to be found; but those few which do remain are fortunately such as will elucidate the subject of our enquiry. Sceattæ are known of the early Kings of Kent, some of which must have been struck within the sixth century; and there are others so similar to them in type as to justify their appropriation to the same people, but which, from their symbols, were evidently

^z They are thus enumerated by Rudborne: Kent; South Saxons; East Saxons; East Angles; West Saxons; Mercia; Northumberland, divided into two kingdoms; Deira; and Bernicia. Hist. Major Wintoniensis, p. 187.

^a Pegge's Assemblage of Coins fabricated by Archbishops of Canterbury, p. 42.

coined before their conversion to Christianity^b, and were, therefore, probably brought with them from the Continent.

Those who deny that the Saxons possessed any knowledge of the art of coinage before they landed in Britain, will find it extremely difficult to point out the source from whence they derived it after their arrival; for the Anglo Saxon Money bears not, either in form, type, or weight, the least resemblance to those Coins which at that time were the current specie of the Island^c. This must necessarily have been composed of Roman Money with, possibly, a small intermixture of the British, neither of which could have been the prototype of the Saxon. That the barbarous workmanship of the British Coins should not have excited their imitation is not surprising; but that they should have continued their own rude mode of coining, in preference to the beautiful specimens of Roman art which were constantly before their eyes, must be ascribed to a rooted detestation of that people, whose oppression they had experienced, and whose manners and customs they therefore abhorred to follow.

No records of the internal constitution of the Heptarchic Mints have hitherto been discovered, for their laws are entirely silent upon the subject, and all the information which can be collected from the Coins which remain is merely this, that the Money was of equal weight and, probably, fineness with the later Anglo-Saxon Pennies; and that the Moneyers stamped their names upon it; but that the custom of adding the place of mintage was of very rare occurrence, and almost solely confined to the ecclesiastical Coins of Canterbury^d. When the Heptarchy was dissolved, and its different king-

^b See Plates of Sceattæ, where several will be found without the distinguishing mark of Christianity. It is also wanting on the Sceatta of Ethilbert I. King of Kent, in whose reign the conversion of the Saxons from Paganism, by St. Augustine, commenced. See Plate III.

^c Amongst the almost innumerable various types which are found upon the Anglo-Saxon Money, there are only two known which can with any possibility be derived from the Romans. These are, a Sceatta, unappropriated [Plate I. No. 25], and a Penny of Ethilbert II. [Plate III.], both of which bear on the reverse an uncouth representation of the Wolf, with Romulus and Remus.

^d See Plate III. Beldred, No. 1; the earliest instance of the name of a Mint on an Heptarchic Coin.

doms were united in one sovereignty, it appears that the Mints were regulated by laws framed in the Wittenagemote, or great Council of the Nation, although the Moneyers are expressly said to be the King's^e. Besides the Royal Mints, there were others in which the privilege of coining was exercised by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, as well under the Heptarchic Kings as under the sole Monarchy^f.

The weight which was used in these Mints differed from that which was applied to commercial purposes^g, and was probably brought with them from the Continent, as it varied considerably from the Roman, which it exceeded in power, and was nearly similar to that which is still used in Germany for the regulation of Money, and which has long been known in that country by the name of the Cologne Pound^h. It has been conjectured that the Saxons derived this weight, and its application to Money, from the Greeks, in consequence of their mercantile intercourse with that people; and the conjecture has been supported by the following arguments. First, the near resemblance of the Grecian and Anglo-Saxon weights and measures, both of length and capacity. Secondly, the forming the greater weights and estimates upon the same combinations of the Pound. This is instanced in the nummulary Talent, which was in common use by the Greeks, and according to which the Anglo-Saxons rated their greater fines, that is, by multiples of 60 Pounds. The Talent was also common to both people as a weight, and continues to be so used in the Mint to this day; for the journey of Silver, or the quantity which is weighed off at one time, is sixty pounds, and the

^e Leges Æthelstani. Wilkins, Leges Anglo-Saxonicae, p. 59.

^f See a more enlarged account of the Ecclesiastical Mints, in the Introduction to the Account of the several Mints which have at various times existed in Britain, and in its dependencies.

^g That Pound consisted of fifteen ounces. See Bromton, Col. 899.

^h The old Tower, or Saxon Ounce, as taken from the Accounts in our Exchequer, A. D. 1527. — — — — — Troy Grains. Dec. 450. —
The present Colonia Ounce — — — — — 451. 38
The Strasburg Ounce, from Standards made 1238 — — — — — 451. 38
The old Saxon or Tower Ounce, from the Chamber of Accounts at Paris, about Edward the III'd's time, after 1327 — — — — — 451. 76

Clarke's Connexion, p. 24.

From a passage in Matthew Paris it appears, that in 1249 the German Money was somewhat lighter than the English. P. 665.

journey of gold one fourth of that weight. Thirdly, the common way of reckoning Money among the Saxons, by Pounds, Shillings, and Pence, which resembles the Greek *Minæ*, *Drachmæ*, and *Oboli*.

And, lastly, their mode of stating fractions, or parts of quantities, which is exactly similar to the Greek idiom. For *þriððe halfe hund*, and *feopðe healfe hund*, two hundred and fifty, and three hundred and fifty, are exactly equivalent to *πέμτον ἡμιτάλαντον*, and *ἑξῆδομον ἡμιτάλαντον*, four Talents and a half, and six Talents and a half, one half part of each individual number or sum being deducted in all the instancesⁱ.

But, notwithstanding the resemblances here traced, it by no means follows that the Saxons must necessarily have been imitators of the Greeks. For it is scarcely credible that they should have borrowed so much from them, without having borrowed something more; and it might with reason be expected that some at least of their nummery terms should be referable to the Greek language. As this is clearly not the case^k, it is to be suspected that both the Greeks and Saxons derived their ideas of Money from one common source; that is, either immediately or mediately from Egypt, the grand reservoir from which science overspread the earth. The precise weight of the Saxon Money Pound cannot now be ascertained by positive evidence, because the Coins (the only authorities remaining from whence it might have been deduced) are of such rude and unequal workmanship, that no certain conclusions can be drawn from them to that point. Presumptive evidence, however, is not wanting to shew that it was the same as that which was so long known in our Mints by the name of the Pound Tower^l.

When William the Conqueror ratified the laws of Edward the Confessor, he declared that the weights and measures which had been established by his predecessors should still continue to be used^m. That the Mints were regulated

ⁱ Clarke's *Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins*, p. 28, &c.

^k Mr. Clarke, at p. 36, gives a short specimen of the affinity between the Greek and the Saxon languages, in which not a single instance of any term relating to Money occurs, and, in the only word which is connected with the subject of our inquiry, considerable etymological enthusiasm will be necessary to trace a resemblance between the Greek *ἄχθος* and the Saxon *piht*.

^l Mr. Folkes first made this important discovery. See *Table of English Silver Coins*, p. 3, note *.

^m Wilkins's *Leges Anglo-Saxonicae*, p. 228.

according to this declaration, not only during his reign, but also in those of his successors, until the 28th of Edward I. may be inferred from the Coins of that period, which have this agreement with the Saxon Pennies, that they are of the same standard of fineness, and that the heaviest of them are equal to, but never exceed, the weight of the largest of those Coins, whilst the smallest do not fall short of the lightest which have been hitherto discovered.

The Saxon Pound was also, like the Pound Tower, divided into twelve ounces ⁿ.

If this supposition of the identity of the Saxon Pound and the Pound Tower be just, then the weight of the former will be equal to 5400 Troy grains, being three quarters of an ounce lighter than the Pound of that denomination; for that is declared to be the proportion of the Pounds Tower and Troy in a Proclamation of the 18th of Henry VIII. With this Estimate, the size of both the Saxon and early Norman Pennies agree, as nearly as could be expected from the rude workmanship of those times; for, according to it, each Penny should weigh $22\frac{1}{2}$ Troy grains, which many of them actually do, and very few indeed of them exceed. That some of them fall short of this weight may be accounted for, with great probability, partly from the inaccuracy of the workmen, and partly from the necessities of the Monarch by whose command they were struck.

Before we proceed to enumerate the Coins which were formed as proportions of this Pound, it will be necessary to clear the way by determining whether the Saxons coined any Gold. As this question has been a good deal agitated, and still remains unsettled, it may be proper to enter into it at some length. The chief arguments on the affirmative are to be found in the works of Mr. Clarke^o and Dr. Pegge^p.

The former begins by stating, that "the laws of all nations, *in their first settlements at least*, estimate all their sums of Money either by such num-

ⁿ This appears from a Treatise de Computo, which has been ascribed to Bede*. It says, *Libra, sive As, est duodecim unciarum.* Clarke's Connexion, p. 14.

^o Clarke's Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins, 4to. London, 1767.

^p Pegge's Series of Dissertations on some Anglo-Saxon Remains, 4to. London, 1756.

* As this Treatise was written in the year 980 [See Smith's edition of Bede, p. 214], it could not be the composition of Bede, who died before the middle of the 8th century.

mulary weights, or such Coins, as were then certainly in use among them. Making payments, or fixing penalties, in such denominations of Money as were not then in being, was a thing utterly unknown: these are the effects of time, when, by revolutions in the state, or distress in the finances, the government is obliged to take new measures, and alter their Coins. The Salic laws estimate every single fine in such Coins as were then actually current in France, as appears by the several sorts of them now remaining^q.”

Without the qualifying words which I have given in Italicks, this argument is inadmissible, and with them, it is totally inapplicable to the case as it is made out by Mr. Clarke; for the earliest instance which he has produced with a date is in the year 876, more than four centuries after the arrival of the Saxons in Britain; a period sufficiently long for all the effects of time, which he speaks of, to have taken place. Mr. Clarke thus proceeds: “Purchases of estates were made, and legacies bequeathed, in Mancuses, by weight. Can it be believed that mere ideal Money was ever ordered to be paid by weight^r?” He afterwards says, that “paying Money by weight is a sufficient proof that it was no nominal estimate^s.”

This argument, if pursued to its utmost extent, will prove more than its author intended to assert; for what then will be the *Solidi ad Pondus*, and the *Libræ ad Pondus*, of Domesday Book? If they are to be considered as actual Coins because they were paid by weight, we shall be reduced to the absurdity of admitting that the Penny, the Shilling, and the Pound, were of equal weight, for they are so stated to be in that Record. We there find, *Denar' qui sunt xx^{ti} in ora^t*; *Sol. de xx^{ti} in ora^u*; *Lib. de xx^{ti} in ora^w*; all of which appear to bear the same proportion to the ounce. But this appearance is occasioned by the brief and, in consequence, obscure manner of statement. When they are written at length, they appear thus, without any possibility of their being misunderstood: *Solid. de den' xx^{ti} in ora^x*; or *Lib. de denar' qui sunt xx^{ti} in ora^y*. Weight, therefore, is no proof that the Money to which it is annexed was an actual Coin, but only that it was a

^q Clarke's Connexion, p. 272.

^r Connexion, p. 273.

^t Domesday Book, vol. I. folio 1.

^w Id. folio 34.

^s Id. p. 291, note [t].

^u Id. fol. 11, b.

^x Id. folio 2, b.

^y Id. fol. 1.

determinate quantity of known Coins. Nor, if it should be admitted as such proof, would it go the length which Mr. Clarke's object requires, which is to prove that the Mancus was a Saxon Coin.

But, says he, "as specific legacies were left in Mancuses, is it not evident that they were English Coins? During the long and frequent currency of Portugal Gold in this Kingdom, I never heard that any legacies were left in Moidores, or six and thirty shilling pieces ^z."

These two cases are, however, by no means parallel ones. During the time that the Portugal Money circulated in this kingdom, there existed likewise a lawful Gold Coin, or, more properly speaking, a denomination of Coin which would appear in all legal acts. I say denomination of Coin, because I believe a legacy in Guineas instead of Pounds is of almost as rare occurrence as one in Portugal Money. But, supposing that a bequest of Moidores should be found, would it any more amount to a proof that they were English Coins, than a legacy in Pounds proves them to be actual Coins?

Mr. Clarke proceeds thus: "Gold was sufficiently plentiful amongst the Saxons^a, and had been coined in almost all the Gothic settlements ever since the subversion of the Roman Government. Therefore our Monarchs, now grown more considerable, and ranking higher in Europe, must have followed their example^b."

This MUST^c is a round assertion, but no proof. The Author states that Gold had been coined in *almost all* the Gothic Settlements, consequently *not in all*; and the same reasons, whatever they were, which prevented coining in some of the Gothic Settlements, might also have prevented coining by the Saxons.

"Where the Drachmæ were the Goldsmiths' weights, they were likewise the common Coins. The weight and value of many Saxon ornaments, &c. of Gold were almost always estimated in Mancuses. Is not the fact almost as evident in this case, that, where the Mancuses were the usual Goldsmiths' weights, they had certainly such Coins? The Coins of any other country

^z Connexion, p. 275.

^a Id. p. 276.

^b Id. p. 278.

^c I know not when this lofty term took place of the more modest *possibly* and *probably*, which seem to be the proper language of conjecture.

would never have been, for very obvious reasons, the standard of the Saxon weights^d."

Yet Mr. Clarke, at the page referred to below^e, acknowledges that the Mancus was originally an adopted Coin. Will his argument prove that it was ever naturalized by the Saxons? The tenor of his reasoning in this case also, as in a former one, will lead him to prove too much; for it is as applicable to the Pound as to the Mancus.

"There was certainly no more difficulty in coining a Mancus than a Penny. Towards the middle of the ninth century, our Artists in England were not much inferior to the best in Europe^f."

To infer, from what man can do, what he has actually done, is surely most inconclusive. The Coins of the Anglo-Norman Kings might, by this mode of arguing, be proved not to have been struck by them; because their Seals are of workmanship infinitely superior to them, and consequently their Coins MUST have been more highly finished.

"Legal fines were estimated, and cattle were valued, in Mancuses. In such instances, which more immediately concerned almost the lowest rank of inhabitants, to make the laws speak the language of another country, and adjust their fines and petty controversies by the value of such Coins as were never uttered from their own Mints, must have been a very unaccountable absurdity^g."

Absurd as this practice may seem to be, yet it has continued even to our times, for fines are at this day estimated by Marks and Pounds. Those persons whom Mr. Clarke has represented as being more immediately interested in the above estimates and valuation were, probably, of all the inhabitants, the least concerned in them; for a fine of any number of Mancuses, each of which was then the price of an ox, was not likely to affect almost the lowest ranks of mankind.

"Archbishop Ælfric, specifying the several sorts of Money in England, says five Pennies make a Shilling, and thirty Pennies a Manes. The Archbishop, as appears by the broken remains of the former paragraph, had observed that the Romans had a great variety of names for their Coins, but the

^d Connexion, p. 276.

^e Id. p. 280.

^f Id. p. 278.

^g Id. p. 282.

English had usually only three. The Romans applied all their nummular language to such real Coins as were struck within that Empire; and must not the English appellations be understood in the same manner? Is there any other way of making tolerable sense of this passage, but by admitting that the Mancus was an English Coin? To take it in any other view, makes the paragraph contradict itself; for a Pound is certainly as much money of account as a Mancus or Shilling. If the Archbishop had not confined his observations to his own country, he would have enlarged his catalogue by the Byzantine Aurei, and the Frank Sols^b."

I see not how any conclusion can be drawn from Ælfric's statement, which is so imperfect, that its intention cannot even be guessed. It stands entirely unconnected with the passage that precedes it, and is itself the concluding paragraph, so that no assistance can be derived from the context. Even if Mr. Clarke's idea of the purport of that which is wanting in the fragment were to be allowed, yet it is evident the Archbishop's enumeration does not contain all the Coins which were then current, for the Halfpenny, the Farthing, and the Styca are omittedⁱ. An omission for which it will be impossible satisfactorily to account, if it be previously taken for granted that a distinct and correct list of all the Coins then struck by the Saxons was intended. The same incongruous mixture of the names of real Coins, and of Money of account (which is by Mr. Clarke deemed so absurd) still has a place in common speech; for should we not now say that twelve Pence make a Shilling, and twenty Shillings a Pound, without any design of representing the latter as a Coin?

Mr. Clarke considers the mention of *golde*, together with *reolpne*, in Canute's Law, as decisive that Gold Coins were intended as well as Silver; and asks, "had this regulation been confined to the Silver Pennies only, why is Gold mentioned in the Law at all^k?" But I apprehend that the Law

^b Connexion, p. 282.

ⁱ If I were here arguing personally with Mr. Clarke, I should add to these Coins the Thrimsas which, at p. 235, he considers as real Money, but which is not found in Ælfric's list; and also the Shilling of four pence, which Mr. Clarke admits is to be found in the laws of Aethelstan, together with the Shilling of five pennies. Connexion, p. 153. Ælfric, too, in his translation of Exodus, c. xxi. ver. 10, speaks of a Shilling of twelve pennies.

^k Connexion, p. 353.

means only to express, that the punishment of loss of hand should not be redeemed by any fine whatsoever, and therefore both *reolþpe* and *zolbe* may be considered as equally expletive¹.

The conclusions which have been drawn from the non-appearance of any of these Coins, Mr. Clarke pronounces to be utterly inconsistent with the evidence of so many Laws, Edicts, and Historians, and does not allow that circumstance to have any weight in the argument^m.

It has however received considerable accession of strength since his time, and is now, though certainly not conclusive, yet a strong ground of suspicion against the existence of Saxon Gold Coins. Of their Silver and Brass Money more than 2000 varieties are known to exist. They have been found in large numbers together, as if hidden for the purpose of preservation in troublesome times, when, if the concealer had been master of any Gold Coins, there cannot be a doubt but they also would have been hidden.

Mr. Clarke thinks that the *reall* of the Saxons, and the *Solidus* of the Conqueror, were Gold Coins. This he attempts to prove by arguments similar to those by which he endeavoured to shew that the *Mancus* was an actual Coinⁿ. He is confident that they never could have been Silver Coins, on account of their great weight^o.

In confirmation of this opinion he says, "Marculf, who lived in the time of the Merovingian Princes, mentions this *Solidus* in such a manner as might alone determine the dispute [*i. e.* whether it were a Coin]. He was a man of business, and drew up his forms of grants, purchases, and conveyances for common use. One of them is drawn up in these words: '*Dono tibi in auro, vel argento, Solidos Francos tantos.*' Can this passage have any other import but this — that these Frank *Solidi* might be paid in Gold or Silver at discretion? And if in Gold, they were certainly real Coins^p." But may it not be asked, with equal propriety, how does this passage prove the *Solidus* to be a Gold Coin rather than a Silver one? (which Mr. Clarke has

¹ The words of the Law are — *þ he huz mib nanon ƿingon ne gebicge. ne mib zolbe ne mib reolþpe*: . Wilkins, p. 134.

^m Connexion, p. 297.

ⁿ Id. p. 329, &c.

^o Yet at p. 202 he fancies that he has detected Saxon Shillings under the disguise of the Heavy Groats of Edward I., which are mentioned by Folkes in his Table of English Silver Coins, p. 8.

^p Connexion, p. 343.

declared above it could not be); or does it not show that the value of so many Solidi might be paid in either Gold or Silver?

The custom of striking Gold at the Mint Mr. Clarke thinks was discontinued soon after the Norman Conquest, if it continued until that time, of which he is doubtful. His reasons are, that "the Exchange between Gold and Silver, in the reigns immediately following William Rufus, was much altered, and from twelve (as it was in great part of the Saxon times) came down as low as nine to one, the lowest regular Exchange that was ever known in Europe; and this, no doubt, was not on a sudden, but by degrees. But as none of our old Histories and Records mention any Coins, or any Money of Account, which passed in this proportion, we have reason to conclude, that the custom of striking Gold Coins was discontinued at the Mint; and that the Shilling of twelve Pence was nothing more than a method of computing Money, till it appeared in another form under Henry VII.; and that all former Gold Coins, whether foreign or domestick, were not any longer considered as a species payable by Tale, but by Weight only. For this was the regular and constant method of accounting for Gold in the Exchequer^q."

In proof of this he quotes Madox's History of the Exchequer, vol. I. p. 277, and the Dialogue de Scaccario, lib. II. cap. 26; and observes that the Author of the latter work "was one of the Barons of the Exchequer from A. D. 1165 to 1199, and perfectly well acquainted with the practice of that Court. He mentions no other way of paying Gold, but by Weight only."

Now as paying Money by Weight is by Mr. Clarke determined to be a sufficient proof that it is no nominal estimate^r, and as some of the instances, in the pages above referred to by him, specify the Mark, it must in course, according to his *dictum*, be an actual Coin. But, in truth, the references in Madox prove nothing more than this — that in the reign of Stephen and Henry II. Gold was so scarce that payments into the Exchequer, which were stated to be in that metal, were compensated by a proportional value of Silver. If Mr. Clarke had maturely considered this fact, he might perhaps have found some reason to conclude that the payments by Weight, in Saxon times, on which he has laid so much stress, might possibly have been of the same nature.

^q Connexion, p. 372.

^r Id. p. 291.

Whilst Mr. Clarke decides that all payments, &c. wherein Mancuses are mentioned (and they are very numerous) were made with actual Coins, Dr. Pegge states his opinion of the quantity of Saxon Gold Money in much more moderate terms. He says that "the Saxons here in England probably had not much Gold current amongst them, their payments in that metal, when large, being otherwise regulated; yet this hinders not, but a single Gold Piece struck by way of Medal may have come down to us^s." . . . "It begins now to appear to me, that the Saxons actually struck some Gold, though perhaps not much^t." He afterwards hints a suspicion that the Gold Coins might, like the Stycas, be confined to the Northumbrian Kingdom, which might be the reason of their great rarity^u.

His first supposition appears to be perfectly done away by the second, for in the latter it cannot, I presume, be doubted that he intends current Gold Coins. If his *suspicion* be well founded, there must have been some peculiarity, now unknown, in the state of the Northumbrian Kingdom, which could have induced the necessity of striking there only Coins both of the highest and lowest denomination then in use.

But when Dr. Pegge proceeds to the consideration of a Gold Coin published by him in one of those Dissertations referred to above, he rises in his tone, and pronounces it to be "*undoubtedly an Anglo-Saxon, of the Northumbrian Kingdom, being struck at York, in the beginning of the tenth Century*;" and perhaps is a Coin, but this I speak (says he) with diffidence, of the Danish King Sihtric." His chief arguments to prove this are, the Cypher on the Reverse, which he interprets to mean York, and the circumstance of the piece having been found at Hull, which is likewise within that Kingdom. He calls it a Gold Penny, and gives the weight of it, nineteen Grains Troy, a weight which he thinks perfectly agrees with the period to which he assigns it, *i. e.* the tenth Century; because the Silver Money of King Edmund and King Edred run thereabouts, and he must believe that the Gold Money was adjusted exactly to the Silver as to weight, whatever difference there was as to the value of the two metals. He like-

^s Dissertations on some Anglo-Saxon Remains, p. 17.

^t Id. p. 26.

^u Id. Preface, p. x.; and in his account of a Gold Penny he refers it to the Northumbrian Kingdom, where only, so far as yet appears, the Anglo-Saxons coined Gold. p. 25.

wise thinks that, about that time, the Mint-Masters began in England to desist from putting their own names only, without the King's, on the Specie; as no example of it had occurred later than the middle of the tenth Century ^w.

The whole evidence, which Dr. Pegge has collected to prove that this Coin belongs in any way to Britain, is, to say the best of it, extremely inconclusive. In the Cypher he discovers only the letters C. I. and E.; but there is evidently an R at the bottom of what he conceives to be a ligature only, but which is, as probably, the uniting stroke that forms the two upright ones into an M. The I also, as he calls it, is unquestionably an L. If these letters absolutely exist upon the Coin, as they appear in his engraving of it, his supposition that it was struck at York must fall to the ground; nor can the circumstance of its being found at Hull, on which he appears to lay considerable stress, be of any avail to support the argument.

The weight of the contemporary Silver Coins of Eadmund and Eadred, which he conceives to prove that this Gold Piece was struck in conformity with them, is very incorrectly and loosely stated by him. He says that they run about nineteen Grains; but in truth the Pennies of Eadmund vary from $17\frac{7}{10}$ to $24\frac{4}{10}$ Grains Troy; and those of Eadred from $16\frac{8}{10}$ to $24\frac{3}{10}$.

From the manner in which he speaks of the Mint-Masters having desisted from putting their own names only, without the King's, on the Money, it is evident that he believed such practice to have existed generally, at some certain period, in this Kingdom. In this, however, he unquestionably deceived himself. No instance of it, either contemporary, or nearly so, is, as I believe, to be found; for it appears only on the Coins of Ecgberht King of Kent. On the Coins of Offa the Moneyer's name is sometimes placed upon the Obverse, but the King's name is never, in that case, omitted on the Reverse. From this circumstance of the Moneyer's name standing alone it seems probable that the Coin in question is referrible to that class which is described by Le Blanc ^x, as having only the name of the Moneyer, without that of the Monarch, although they bore his image, with the Diadem and Crown; and may, therefore, be conjectured to be of French origin.

^w Dissertations as above, p. 24.

^x Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France, p. 79.

Dr. Pegge's arguments appear to have been considered as so very feeble by his Friend and Coadjutor in the Controversy respecting Saxon Gold, that he has endeavoured to strengthen them by the following considerations. "By its appearance, and the place where it was found, no Country can have a fairer claim to it than our own. In that great variety of Reverses, which we meet with upon the French Aurei, there is not one that resembles this. There is no such name as *Leto* among all the *Monetaires* recorded on their Coins; no such monogram upon any of those which *Messieurs Bouteroue* and *Le Blanc* have published. The Cyphers upon their Coins, as far as I have observed, relate only to *Arles*, *Lyons*, *Marseilles*, *Metz*, *Rheims*, *Tulle*, and *Vienne*. Mr. Pegge, therefore, has a right to keep possession of this Coin, as one of the ancient Aurei of this Kingdom *y*."

If by *its appearance* Mr. Clarke intended a resemblance in any degree whatever to acknowledged Anglo-Saxon Coins, and no other meaning will answer his purpose, he should have pointed out in what particular that resemblance consists; for unless the Coin be viewed through the medium of a pre-conceived hypothesis, it will be impossible to trace such a likeness as will warrant his conclusion. His argument, which is drawn from the place where it was found, will, if admitted to its fullest extent, prove that Coins, which are incontestably the produce of foreign Mints, were struck in our own.

The great variety of Reverses which are found upon the French Aurei do authorize the supposition that possibly some others may exist besides those which have been noticed by *Bouteroue* and *Le Blanc*.

If his argument, derived from the non-appearance of *Leto* as a Moneyer, upon the French Aurei, be of force to his reasoning, how powerful must the statement be, that in more than two thousand varieties of Anglo-Saxon Coins that name is not to be found. To this may be added, that the letter *o* is of very rare occurrence as the termination of a Saxon name, not more than two or three appearing amongst the numerous Moneyers, and only seven or eight in the *Saxon Chronicle*, and not one in *Verstegan's Etymologies* of the *Saxon Proper Names*; whilst, on the other hand, it appears from *Le Blanc* to have formed a very common conclusion of the names upon those Coins

which, like this Piece of Dr. Pegge's, bear the signature of the Moneyer only^z.

If these arguments against Mr. Clarke's mode of reasoning should not be held conclusive, there still remains one which is decisive, at least against himself. He says that the Coin is a Danish Ora^a; now no such name appears in the Enumeration by Archbishop Ælfric; and therefore, according to Mr. Clarke, no such Coin could have been in existence at the time that Enumeration was made, which must have been nearly contemporary with the period which is assigned for the striking of this Piece.

From the foregoing considerations it should seem, that the arguments which have hitherto been adduced to prove the Coinage of Gold by the Saxons, in England, are by no means conclusive; because the instances, quoted in support of them, are equally applicable to Money of Account. The actual appearance, therefore, of Gold Coins, indubitably Saxon, will be required to establish the fact. If they were ever so numerous as they are supposed to have been by Mr. Clarke, it is scarcely possible but that some of them must have been discovered, together with the numerous varieties now known of the Silver Money of that people; and consequently the old adage, which allows the inference of non-existence from non-appearance, is fairly applicable to this case.

I now proceed to describe the different Coins, and also the various Money of Account, which were in use among the Anglo-Saxons.

The most antient of the former was the SCEATTA.

As this term is purely Saxon, and occurs in the sense of Money, or Payment, in general^b, it seems probable that it was the first species which was coined by the Saxons; and this idea agrees well with the supposition that the Sceattæ, without the Christian Symbol, were in use before their arrival in Britain. Its derivation, from *ŕceatz*, a part or portion, has led to the conclusion that it was originally a certain division of uncoined metal; but this conclusion is, as I believe, founded upon conjecture alone.

^z *Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France*, Plates I. II. III. and IV. p. 78.

^a *Connexion*, p. 371.

^b See a variety of instances in Lye's *Dict. Saxon*. It is used in this sense in the Laws of Æthilberht King of Kent, who began to reign A. 560. [Wilkins, p. 7.] About 400 years afterwards the term *mynet* first appears in the Saxon Laws of Æthelstan, where, however, the more antient word is also used. [Id. pp. 59, 64.]

The weight of those which have been discovered is as various as it might be concluded to be from the rudeness of the workmanship, and reaches from seven Grains and an half Troy to twenty and upwards. These two extremes, however, are of rare occurrence, and the most common weight is from 15 to 18 or 19 Grains ^c.

Its value is stated in the Laws of Æthelstan (who reigned from A. D. 924 to 940), where 30,000 Sceattæ are said to be equal to 120 Pounds ^d. But 30,000 Pennies would make 125 Pounds; therefore the Sceatta fell short of the Penny by one twenty-fifth part. This very trifling difference in the weight of the two Coins has induced some Antiquaries to assert that they were only two different names for the same thing ^e. But this is scarcely reconcileable with the frequent occurrence of the *penig* in those very Laws, where the value of the Sceatta is stated. It is remarkable that the Sceatta of this value is to be found in no other part of the Saxon Laws than in the passage referred to above, and in the *Judicia Civitatis London*, which were likewise made in the reign of Æthelstan, where that passage is copied *verbatim* ^f; that the fine which is regulated by those Coins is stated to be according to the Laws of the Mercians; that the same fine was in Mid-England estimated by Thrymsæ, and, unless Lambard, Bromton, and Wilkins be incorrect, greatly exceeded in value that which was imposed in Mercia ^g. From whence it should seem that the Sceattæ, above-mentioned, or at least that mode of valuing them, was peculiar to the Mercian Kingdom.

Beside this Sceatta there appears to have been another, which was worth no more than one fourth of a Penny. It occurs only in the Laws of Æthilberht King of Kent, who reigned from 561 to 616; but of what metal it was composed, or any other particulars concerning it, we are perfectly ignorant.

^c See the weights which are given in the Description of the Plates.

^d Wilkins, p. 64.

^e Clarke's Connexion, p. 431.

^f Wilkins, p. 72.

^g This is proved by Mr. Clarke from the following considerations:—The fine for cutting off a thumb was xx Shillings, for a thumb nail 111 Shillings. If the toes were mutilated in the same manner, the penalty was just one half less. The Law says, *pro digitis pedis dimidium pretii sicut de digitis manus datum est*. Thus, for cutting off the great toe the fine was x Shillings; for the great toe nail xxx Sceattas; *i. e.* by the proportion given, one Shilling and a half, and consequently twenty Sceattas to a Shilling. Connexion, p. 429.

Whatever might have been the precise value of the Sceatta, it was undoubtedly the smallest Coin known amongst the Saxons at the latter end of the seventh century, as appears from its forming part of a Proverb, whose meaning was from the least even unto the greatest — *ne Sceat ne Scilling^h*.

Lambard (in the Glossary which he has given at the end of his Edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, and which was copied from an antient MS. in St. Augustin's, Canterbury) says, "*Scata vocabulum a Saxonice sceatta effectum. Est autem sceatta ingens argenti summa, quippe quæ argenti quinque millia contineatⁱ*."

For this mode of computation no authority is quoted, nor do I believe that any such can be found.

In point of antiquity the PENNY succeeds.

I have not been able to ascertain the time when this term was first introduced; but it appears in the Laws of Ina King of the West Saxons, who began to reign in 688. It is written in various ways; as, Peneg, Penig, Peninc, Pening, Penincg, Penning, and Pending; and the etymologies of it are nearly as numerous as the modes of spelling.

By some it is derived from *pendo*, to weigh^k.

By others, from "*punian*, to beat or knock, which may be deemed a term applied to metal coined, similar to the Latin *cudere^l*."

Minsheu derives it from *πενια*, *paupertas*; ut sit subsidium *της πενίας*, *paupertatis^m*.

The Saxon Dictionaries of Somner and Lye do not give any derivation of the term; but the latter Author, in his Edition of Junius's *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, says, "*Martinius suspicatur Teut. pennine esse a pendo, i. e.*

^h Lye, quoting Cædmon, 47. 3. Cædmon flourished, according to Tanner, in 670.

ⁱ Sub voce Scata.

^k German, Pfenning. Danish, Pending. Modern Saxons, Peninch; antient, Penig, Pening. At this time, Penny, à *pendo*, to weigh. Wilkins, Gloss. to Ang. Sax. Laws. He is followed by Mr. Clarke, Connexion, p. 390; with whom Mr. Whitaker agrees, History of Manchester, vol. II. p. 338.

^l Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. II. p. 133. He likewise quotes, from Schilter, a similar etymology from another language: "*Pœnings nomine Pecunia tantum numerata significat, a pœna, quod est cudere, signare.*" Gloss. Teut. p. 657.

^m Guide to Tongues, sub voce.

solvo, numero. Alii censent esse ex $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, parare, agere, satagere quòd non nisi summo cum labore comparentur nummi. vel a $\pi\epsilon\nu\iota\alpha$, paupertas; quòd vilioris hujus monetæ beneficio mendicantium egestati expeditius promptiusque succurratur. — Isl. peningur pecuniam significat. Wachterus non malè derivat à Celt. pen, caput, quo denarii insigniti fueruntⁿ.”

Skinner thinks it not absurd to derive it from the Latin *pecunia* °.

Of all these derivations, that from *pendo* appears to be the most consonant to reason; the others are either fanciful or forced. If that etymology be admitted, it will seem probable that the Penny was not known to the Saxons before their arrival in Britain, but was adopted, together with its name, at the same time that *mýnet*, from *moneta*, was introduced.

By the term Penny it is held that the Saxons intended a species of Money, of which 240 were made out of a Pound of Silver. This number gives 24 Grains for each Coin, and makes the Pound equal to 5760 Grains. But this calculation is founded only upon the supposition that the Pound Tower was the old Saxon Money Pound (a supposition which, however, is now generally admitted), and that the old Saxon Penny weighed, as the first Norman Pennies did, a Pennyweight, for no documents have yet been discovered from whence the precise weight of this Saxon Coin can be deduced. In Domesday Book, where so many payments in the time of Edward the Confessor are stated, it is remarkable that not one instance occurs in which the Saxon Pennies are said to be twenty in the Ounce, although the passages in which that proportion of the Norman Penny appears are innumerable.

It has been supposed that the Saxons had also another Penny of inferior weight, and the proofs of its existence are brought from the Laws of Ælfred, and of William the First^p. In the former^q the words *mæppa peninga* occur, which, for this purpose, are translated larger Pennies, but, with at least equal propriety, might have been rendered pure, that is, good, or, as it would now be called, lawful Money^r.

ⁿ Sub voce.

^o Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae, sub voce in Etymolog. General.

^p Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. II. p. 127.

^q Wilkins, p. 35.

^r It is so translated by Lye : *ἄρ περ πνδμ μαππα πενιγα*. Cum quinque libris purorum lenariorum, i. e. bonæ monetæ; LL. pol. Ælf. 3. Saxon. Dict. sub voce *ἄρπα*.

In the latter laws, as given by Ingulphus, are found *bener* deners, or, according to Mr. Turner, *better Pennies*^s. But it must be observed that the term *bener* is omitted in every other edition of those Laws^t; that it does not occur in the sense of better in any Dictionary or Glossary; and that meilleur is actually used by Ingulphus to express such meaning, in the 29th Chapter of those very Laws of William I. Possibly the word may be nothing more than the following one, *denar*, mis-spelled.

“The legal weight of the Penny continued the same invariably through the whole period of the Saxon government. It was always the 240th part of their Pound. Their laws, from the first mention of it to the last, give it this uniform valuation^u.”

Large sums were, not unfrequently, computed by Pennies alone. In one instance, three thousand pennies occur; in another, three hundred and eighty-five; and in a third, one thousand four hundred and fifty, in the purchase of lands^w.

The half of this Penny was called *Halfpenge*^x, or *Halpenige*^y, and was likewise coined of Silver, as was probably the *Feorðling* or *Feorðung*, the fourth part, or Farthing^z.

Wilkins also renders it by *bonæ*, p. 35.

Lambard by *Merciorum*, p. 23. In the margin he puts, alias *mæpna*.

The propriety of translating this word by the term *pure* appears from these passages in Du Fresnoy's Glossary: “De denariis, si mero sunt argento, et pleniter pensantes.” Voce Denarii Meri.—“Ne aliquis bonum denarium, id est, Merum et bene pensantem rejicere audeat.”—“Denarii meri & bene pensantes: quibus opponuntur mixti, id est, alia viliora materia. Ita aurum argenti miscere vetitum; cui perinde opponitur aurum merum.” Voce Meri Denarii. The instances are taken from Edictum Pistense.

^s History of Anglo-Saxons, vol. II. p. 135.

^t Namely, those by Selden, Lambard, and Wilkins.

^u Clarke's Connexion, p. 425.

^w Turner's Hist. of the Ang. Saxons, vol. II. p. 126, referring to MS Charters of the late Mr. Astle, No. 7, No. 22, No. 28. He has not given the dates of these payments.

^x Hickes's Thesaurus. Dissertatio Epistolaris, p. 109.

^y Lye sub voce; where he quotes Luke, xii. 6, the same passage which is referred to by Hickes as above.

^z Lye sub voce. Mr. Turner, speaking of the Halfpenny and Farthing, says, “We cannot

Both these Coins are mentioned in the Saxon Gospels.

Besides these divisions of the Penny, there seems to have been another, by which it was parted into three. In the laws of Ælfred a fine is stated at *ryx peningas, 7 ryx scill. 7 ryx tiz scill. 7 8ridðan dæle peningas*:^a and the use of this fractional part of a Penny was continued as late as the reign of king Henry I. in whose laws the following sum occurs: “*LXVI sol. & VI den. & trientem unius den.*”^b

It is difficult to conceive how these sums could be paid, if there were no Coins existing by which the Penny could be divided into three parts.

But even so small a division as one fourth of a Penny could not be sufficiently minute to answer the common purposes of exchange, at a time when most of the necessary articles of life were to be purchased at prices so far beneath what is now considered to be their value; when, for instance, in the reign of Æthelstan, an ox was sold for thirty Pennies^c, and a sheep for one shilling^d. They therefore coined brass Money, denominated *Stycas*, two of which were equal to one Farthing. The name is derived, by Lye, from *Sticce*, *8tycce*, *minuta pars*, because this Money was of all other the smallest^e.

But the propriety of this derivation may be questioned, as the *Styca* was in weight not inferior to the common-sized Pennies; and *minuta pars* cannot be well applied to express value distinct from magnitude^f. It must be acknowledged, however, in confirmation of his etymology, that these Coins seem to be the same as that which occurs in *Domesday Book*, under the term *minuta*^g, from whence comes our mite.

doubt that these were Copper Monies.” *Hist. of Anglo-Saxons*, vol. II. p. 136. Mr. Turner probably did not recollect, or, possibly, he never saw, an engraving of a Saxon Halfpenny of Edward the Elder, which was given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1796. I discovered that Coin in the Bodleian Collection; and another of the same monarch is now in the British Museum. They are both engraven in Plate XVII. Nos. 31 and 32.

^a Wilkins, p. 46.

^b Id. p. 281. It does not appear of what metal these Coins were formed.

^c *Judicia Civit. London.* Wilkins, p. 68.

^d Id. p. 66.

^e Sub voce *8tycce*.

^f I, however, confess myself unable to give a better etymology.

^g Vol. I. folio 268. I have not discovered it in any other part of that record.

All of this kind yet discovered are from the Mints of the Northumbrian Kings, or of the Archbishops of York. But Mr. Clarke observes, that "the Saxon Gospels seem to be a sufficient evidence that these Coins were struck in other parts of the island. We cannot well suppose that they speak a provincial language only, or that this version was made in that kingdom. The two Mites which make a Farthing, Mark, xii. 42, is there translated, *τρεῖς γάρ, þ ʒ, feorðung peninger*. The original is, *λεπτά δύο, ὃ ἐστὶ κοδραντῆς*^h."

To this conjecture, however plausible it may appear, is to be opposed that argument which Mr. Clarke treats so lightly, but to which the persevering search of modern Medalists has, since the time he wrote, given great weight and importance; I mean the non-appearance of Styca which can be appropriated to any other kingdom of the Heptarchy.

In the year 1808, a large quantity was turned up, by a plough, in the parish of Kirk Oswald, in Cumberland. They were of the following Kings and Archbishops:

Kings.		Archbishops.	
Eanred	- - - - - 99	Eanbald, with title	- - - 1
Ethelred	- - - - - 350	Vigmund	- - - - - 58
Redulf	- - - - - 14	Vulfhere	- - - - - 5
Osbercht	- - - - - 15		

making in the whole 542ⁱ. As in so large a number no new names either of Monarchs or of Archbishops were found, it was concluded by some that these Coins were struck by no other persons; but this conclusion was proved to be erroneous by the discovery of a Styca with the name of Ecgfrith, in the year 1813^k. It is highly probable that the Stycas circulated all over the island, as they have been found in various parts of it, and must have been of the last necessity in carrying on the smaller exchanges of property.

All these which have been enumerated, namely, the Sceatta, Penny, Halfpenny, Farthing, and Styca, are acknowledged, by every Antiquary who has written upon the subject, to be real Coins; and indeed every one of them,

^h Connexion, p. 434.

ⁱ From the information of Mr. Richard Miles.

^k See Appendix, Plate XXVIII. and the explanation.

except the Farthing, is to be found in different Cabinets. But, besides these, the Saxons had other Monies, or rather denominations of Monies, the exact nature of which is by no means determined; such as the Mancus, the Mark, the Shilling, the Thrimsa, and the Ora, each of which we shall consider separately.

The term MANCUS, or, as it was written by the Saxons, Mancor, Mancr, Mancur, and Mancure, is supposed to have been derived from Italy, and to be formed from the Latin manu cūsum, by which it was intended to express coined Money, as the word cūsum could have no reference to simple weight. If this supposition be correct (and the connexion which existed between that country and England, after the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, is sufficient to warrant it), it can scarcely be supposed that the Coins themselves were not imported as well as the name, and became current amongst the Saxons, in the same manner as they appear to have circulated through most of the other nations of Europe. This is much more probable than the opinion that such Coins were struck in the Anglo-Saxon Mints, of which no evidence has yet been discovered.

It should seem, however, that this species of Money soon fell into disuse, whilst the name only was retained, and applied to a certain weight. That this was the case may be concluded from the occurrence, at an early period, of Mancuses of Silver as well as of Gold; for it never was pretended that a Silver Coin existed under that denomination, even by those who have been the most strenuous advocates for the Golden Mancus of the Saxons. When therefore we find, in the ninth century, Mancuses of Silver described precisely in the same manner as those of Gold¹, we must either consider the Silver Mancus as a Coin, which it is allowed on all hands that it never was, or we must admit that by the Mancus of Gold a certain weight only was intended at that time. In like manner, Marka Auri^m, and Marka Argentiⁿ, occur in Domesday Book, neither of which was ever suspected to be a Coin. The term Mancus is likewise applied where a Coin of that name could not

¹ Thorn, sub anno 838. col. 1776. Id. anno 861, col. 1778.

^m Vol. I. folio 32.

ⁿ Vol. I. folio 10 b.

possibly have been meant, that is, where it is clearly intended to express a certain quantity of known current money. By *Mancusa Denariorum*^o it is impossible to understand anything more than a determinate number of Pennies.

The value which was expressed by the *Mancus* has been recorded by Archbishop Ælfric, who wrote about the end of the tenth century. It was then equal to thirty Pennies, or six Shillings^p, at which rate it continued to be estimated in the laws of Henry I.^q

By a strange mistake (which probably originated in an over-attention to similarity of name), some Antiquaries have concluded that the *Mancus* and the *Mark* were the same. Though this opinion bear the sanction of names the most highly respectable^r, yet that it is erroneous will be evident from a comparison of the different sums which were expressed by those terms.

The *MARK* was a Danish mode of computation, and was probably introduced into this Kingdom in the reign of Aelfred, as it appears for the first time in the league between that Monarch and Guthrun the Danish King, which took place about the year 878^s.

The Marks there mentioned are of Gold^t, but the proportional value of that metal to Silver in Saxon times does, I believe, no where appear. The Silver Mark was, early in the tenth century, estimated at one hundred Pennies^u; but in the year 1194 at one hundred and sixty^w. I have not been able to discover at what precise period this alteration took place, but it was probably soon after the arrival of William I. in England, when the Norman Shilling of twelve pence was introduced. This valuation of the Mark at one hundred and sixty pence, or thirteen shillings and four pence, is con-

^o Du Fresne's Glossary, *Mancusa*. He quotes *Mat. Westmonast. an. 857*; and Simeon Du-nelm., but without reference to the year or page.

^p See Ælfric's Saxon Grammar at the end of Somner's Saxon Dictionary, p. 52.

^q Wilkins, p. 265.

^r Of this opinion were Camden, Somner, Spelman, Lambard, Watts, Fleetwood, Hickes, Junius, Lye, Wilkins, Wise, Bishop Nicolson, and others.

^s Wilkins, p. 47. Its name is supposed to mean a limited quantity, from *Mark*, a boundary.

^t *Id. ibid.* These Marks are said to be *arobener golser*, which Lambard and Wilkins render *fusilis auri*, but which should rather have been translated *decocti*, i. e. *puri auri*.

^u Wilkins, p. 51.

^w *Mat. Paris, Vitæ Abbatum Sanct. Albani*, p. 1042.

tinued to this day, in those payments which are regulated by that denomination of Money, such as legal fines, &c.

So long as the Mancus and the Mark were thought to be the same, they were supposed to be real money, but, since the discovery that they were totally distinct from each other, the latter has, as I believe, been universally allowed to be only a weight.

The SCILL or SCILLING appears at a very early period in the Anglo-Saxon laws, some fines being regulated by it in the reign of Ethelberht, who was King of Kent from about the middle of the sixth century to the beginning of the seventh.

This term is of very doubtful derivation. Lye, in his Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, considers it as a Saxon word, meaning either Money in general, or a peculiar Coin. Junius says it is clearly from the Teutonic *scellan*, to sound, "*ut proprie sit nummus tiniens sono integri solidique argenti.*" Mr. Turner brings it from the Saxon *ꝛcylan*, to divide, or from *ꝛceale*, a scale, and from thence concludes that it meant so much Silver cut off, as in China, and that it was a certain quantity of uncoined metal^x.

Somner seems to make its primary signification *Lunula*, which he renders a *Gimmel*^y. But Mr. Clarke, in order to confirm his idea that the Saxon Money terms imitated the Roman, derives it from the Latin *Sicilicus*, "which signified in that language a quarter of an ounce, or the forty-eighth part of a Roman Pound. From *Sicilicus*," he says, "came *Sicilic*, *Scillic*, *Scilling*, for so the Saxons always wrote it^z." The whole of this supposition, that the Saxons borrowed from the Romans a Coin which was the forty-eighth part of a Pound, appears to have no other foundation than an accidental coincidence of proportion; for, as the Roman and Saxon Money Pounds were different from each other, it is impossible that Coins which formed equal parts of those Pounds, should have any other similarity than that which

^x Hist. of Ang. Saxons, vol. II. p. 132.

^y Saxon Dictionary, sub voce *Scill*.

^z Connexion, p. 120. Mr. Clarke's theory respecting Saxon Money consists of two parts, which can scarcely be reconciled to each other. He is of opinion that they borrowed their Money Pound from the Greeks, and their nummary language from the Romans.

arose from their bearing the same proportion to the integer of which they were divisions.

The same arguments which have been adduced to prove that the Mancus was a real Coin, have been applied to the Scilling^a. As they are liable to the same objection of being equally applicable to money of account, it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

By this term the Saxons at one time intended the number of five Pennies, and at a subsequent period no more than four, but the date of this diminution of number is not known; it, however, had certainly taken place before the promulgation of the *Judicia Civitatis Londoniæ*, which was prior to the middle of the tenth century, for a Subsidy which is there rated at four Pennies, is in the same paragraph called a Scilling^b. It is difficult to reconcile this with Archbishop Ælfric's valuation of the Shilling at five Pennies^c, which must have been made at the latter end of that century^d, unless we are disposed to admit that two Coins of the same denomination, but of different current value, were permitted to circulate together. This, absurd as the practice may appear, and contradictory to all true principles of Coinage, does yet seem to have been the case; for two distinct estimates of the Scilling occur, by Thrymsas, which can be reconciled only by the supposition of this anomaly^e. When we descend to more enlightened times, as they proudly style themselves, we shall be somewhat surprized to find similar practices prevailing, even in the 18th century.

The Shilling of four pence appears to have continued during the remainder of the Anglo-Saxon period; for when William I. adopted and confirmed the laws of Edward the Confessor, he recognized the English Shilling to be equal to four pennies^f, and as no notice is taken by him of the Shilling at five pennies, it probably had fallen into disuse.

From some passages which have been referred to by Mr. Turner, in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, it appears that computations by Shillings of

^a See Clarke's *Connexion*.

^b Wilkins, p. 66.

^c *Ang. Sax. Grammar*, p. 52.

^d Vide Moresi *Comment. de Ælfrico*, p. 10.

^e Wilkins, p. 71.

^f Wilkins, p. 221. The payments in *Domesday Book*, which are stated at five pence, were, it should seem, originally fixed by the Saxon Shilling of that value.

twelve pence were not unusual amongst them. “Ælfric, in his translation of Exodus, c. xxi. v. 10, adds of his own authority, they are twelve Scyllinga of twelve pennies; and in the Monies mentioned in the *Historia Eliensis*, edited by Gale, we find numerous passages which ascertain that a Pound consisted of twenty Shillings. I will refer to a few; Three hides were sold by a Lady to an Abbot for a hundred Shillings each. The owner is afterwards said to have come to receive the fifteen Pounds. When seven Pounds and a half only had been paid, the Ealdorman asked the Abbot to give the Lady more of her purchase money. At his request, the Abbot gave thirty Shillings more. Thus, it is added, he paid her nine Pounds. On another occasion, the Money agreed for was thirty Pounds. One hundred Shillings were received, and twenty-five Pounds were declared to remain due^g.”

In order to do away the argument which had been drawn from the non-appearance of any Saxon Shillings, Mr. Clarke supposed that he had discovered them in those heavy Coins which in Folkes's Table are referred to the age of Edward I.^h Their weights, according to Mr. Clarke, are 92, 116, or 138 Grains Troy. “It is scarcely possible,” says he, “to suppose that the pieces so much above weight were cut by his Moneyers for the Groats of that reign: *they were old Coins new minted*: the two first were most probably Saxon Shillings; for that Shilling at five pence (supposing no diminution at all in the Tower Pound) would weigh $112\frac{1}{2}$ Troy Grains; and at four pence, about 92 or 93 Grains; for they would then strike about 57 or 58 in the Pound. Allowing something of the same inequality in the weight of their Shillings that we find in their Pennies, these are just such Coins as, from the rude and careless execution of that age, might reasonably be expectedⁱ.”

Mr. Clarke's eagerness to confirm his hypothesis has caused him to overlook some circumstances in Mr. Folkes's statement, which could not be easily compelled to conformity with his supposition. He has omitted to state that the greater part of these Coins, which Mr. Folkes had weighed, were from 80 to 85 Troy Grains, and he has forgotten to account in any way for that which

^g Vol. II. p. 126, referring to Gale, X Script. pp. 472 and 478.

^h Table of English Silver Coins, p. 8.

ⁱ Connexion, p. 202.

he himself states, from Folkes, to have weighed 138 Troy Grains. Now the weights of 80 or 85 Grains are as incompatible with his supposition as that of 138 can be; and if it be *scarcely possible* to suppose that such unequal pieces could be cut by the Moneyers of Edward I. for Groats, it seems *as little possible* to believe that they would re-strike such various weights for the same purpose. The probability is, that they were pattern pieces of a Coin, which was never struck for circulation.

The next in valuation to the Scilling was the THRIMSA, a term probably derived from the Saxon *Þry* or *Þri*, three^k. It appears to have been equal to three fifths of the Shilling of five pence, and to nearly three fourths when that Coin was reduced to four pennies; and was therefore always considered as equivalent to three pennies. In the reign of Aethelstan, in the tenth century, both these estimates are to be found, as has been before observed in the account of the Scilling.

Mr. Somner first remarked that the Thanes' Weregild was by the Angli valued at 2000 Thrimsas, and by the Mercians at 1200 Shillings; and, as he took it for granted that the same sum was intended by both these fines, he concluded that the Thrimsa must be three fifths of the Shilling which contained five pennies, and consequently was in value three pennies^l. That the Thrimsa was still estimated at the same number of pennies after the Shilling had been reduced one fifth, was discovered by Mr. Clarke, from the fine imposed for the murder of a peasant. This is said to be 266 Thrimsas, which, by the Mercian law, made 200 Shillings. Now 200 are to 266 as 3 is to 4, wanting only two thirds of a three-pence^m.

But it must be observed that the above calculations are founded upon a presumed similarity in the fines of the Angli and the Mercians. In the same law of Aethelstan, however, the King's Weregild is first stated at 30,000 Thrymsæⁿ, and afterwards it is said to be 30,000 Sceattæ, according to the

^k Somner derives it from *Þrim*, quod ternos significat. Wilkins, a *Þreo*, quod tria sonat. Hickes, a tremisse; and thinks it contained four Pennies of the Gold Shilling, and one third of the Silver Shilling. Vide Dissertat. Epist. p. 211, & Præfat. p. xli.

^l Glossary to Twysden's Decem Scriptores.

^m Connexion, p. 232.

ⁿ Wilkins, p. 71.

Mercian Law^o. If this be correct, one of two things must necessarily follow: either that the Thrymsæ and Sceattæ were equivalent, or that the Mercian Fines were not quite one third of those imposed by the Angli; for the Law states, that the 30,000 Sceattæ make 120 Pounds, but 30,000 Thrymsæ would be 375 Pounds. It appears to be probable that the word *ƿceatƿæ*, in Wilkins's seventy-second page, should be corrected to *ðrȳmƿæ*.

The arguments which are supposed to prove that the Thrimsa was a real Coin, are the same as those which have been applied, for that purpose, to the Mancus and the Scilling.

The last of these Monies of Account is the ORA; a term generally conceived to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *ore*, ore or metal^p; but which Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Whitaker following him, bring from a corruption of the Roman Aureus^q.

But, whatever be its etymology, it seems to have been brought into this Island by the Danes; at least the first mention of it occurs in the League between Eadweard the Elder and Guthrun the Danish Monarch^r. The exact date of this Treaty does not appear, but it must have been ratified between the years 901 and 924, to which period it is limited by the extent of the reign of Eadweard.

In this League the Fines imposed upon the English and the Danes are frequently stated in different modes; which seems to show that those modes of payment which are appropriated to the Danes had not then been generally adopted by the English. Thus, for instance, in the third Section the Englishman is to pay 30 Shillings, and the Dane a Mark and a half^s; and in the seventh Section, when the former forfeits the same number of Shillings, the latter is fined 12 Oras^t; and it is observable that the Danish Fines are never estimated by Shillings, whilst those which are laid upon the English are so invariably.

The Danes used this term both as a denomination of Money and also as a weight. According to Bircherod, the Money Ora antiently was reckoned at

^o Wilkins, p. 72.

^p By Lambard, Somner, Lye, Wilkins, &c.

^q Connexion, p. 311. History of Manchester, II. p. 338.

^r Wilkins, p. 51.

^s Id.

^t Id. p. 52.

fifteen Pennies, so that two of them were equal to two Shillings and a half; but the Ora as a Weight was one third more than the Money Ora ^u.

In the Laws of Aethelred, as given by Bromton, the Commercial Ora appears to have been one fifteenth of the Pound-Weight ^w; and from Domesday Book we learn that the Money Ora contained twenty Pennies ^x.

The invariable statement of 20 Pennies to the Ora, in that Record, was probably intended to distinguish the Ora, by which all rents, &c. to the Crown were to be paid, from another Ora, which was in value no more than 16 Pennies. Spelman says that such a valuation of the Ora was known to the Saxons, and gives as his authority *Æ. Miscel.* ^y, which I am unable to explain, nor have I met with any instance of that kind of estimate in Saxon times.

After the Norman Conquest the Ora of 16 Pennies was unquestionably in use. In the 37th of Henry III. the men of Berkeholt in the County of Suffolk claimed, by prescription from the time of Henry II., to pay to the Lord, on the marriage of their daughters, no more than two Oræ, which were in value thirty-two Pence ^z.

These which have been enumerated, above, are all the Coins, and denominations of Money, which appear to have been used by the Anglo-Saxons. The materials, from which the account of them has been compiled, are, it must be confessed, in every instance scanty, and in many unsatisfactory. But from a careful consideration of them, such as they are, the following conclusions seem to arise. First, that no evidence has yet been produced to prove that the Anglo-Saxons struck any Gold Money; but that the balance of probability apparently inclines to the determination, that no such Money was issued from their Mints ^a. Secondly, that the Penny, Halfpenny, Farthing, and Half Farthing, were actual Coins; as was, probably, the Triens,

^u Specimen Antiq. Rei Monet. Danorum, p. 10.

^w Column 899. This passage is not to be found in Lambard's or Wilkins's Edition.

^x Vol. I. folio 1, & passim.

^y Glossary, sub voce Ora.

^z Id. Ibid. referring to Plac. coram Rege T. Mich. 37 H. III. Rot. 4.

^a The Coins called Bezants, which sometimes occur in Anglo-Saxon transactions of bargain and sale, derived their name from Bizantium (Constantinople, the seat of the Eastern Empire), where they were struck.

which divided the Penny into three equal parts. And, thirdly, that the Mancus, the Mark, the Ora, the Shilling, and the Thrimsa, were only Money of Account; or that if the Mancus were ever current amongst the Anglo-Saxons, it was a foreign Coin, and was never imitated in their Mints.

I now proceed to give such Notices of the Anglo-Saxon Coinage as I have been able to collect, either from the Coins themselves, or from the Laws and Histories of those times; but must apprise my Readers, that they are to expect little more than a dry List of the Names of the Mints and Moneyers.

The Sceattæ, which are represented on the first and second Plates, may, from their rudeness of design, be considered as the earliest products of the Anglo-Saxon Mints, although we have no means of ascertaining the time when, or the place where, they were struck. Some of them are obviously prior to the introduction of Christianity, as it cannot be supposed that the Cross would ever be omitted after it had once been impressed, as a religious symbol, upon their Coins. One of them, N^o 25 in Plate I. bears on its Reverse the evident imitation of a common Roman Coin. I am unable to explain the very few letters which are to be found upon them.

The Coinage of the different Kingdoms of the Heptarchy, from its superior antiquity, must be next considered; and here the Kingdom of KENT claims the precedence, not only on account of its earlier establishment than the rest, but likewise because the Coins of the Monarchs which have been discovered are by far the most antient in the Anglo-Saxon series.

A Sceatta of Ethilberht I., King of Kent from 561 to 616^b, is the earliest Saxon Coin which has yet been appropriated^c. It bears on the Obverse the name of the Monarch, and on the Reverse a rude figure, which occurs on many of the Sceattæ, and which is supposed to be intended to represent a Bird.

^b As great chronological accuracy is not necessary to my subject, I shall give the dates as I find them in the Fasti at the end of Sir Henry Savile's *Scriptores post Bedam.* folio, London, 1696, and in those, drawn up by Tyrrell, which are added to Sir A. Fountaine's *Num. Ang. Sax.*

^c Several of the Sceattæ in the two Plates are probably older than this, as they are of workmanship equally rude, and have no legend.

No place of Mintage, nor even the Moneyer's name, appears upon it, and it is therefore impossible to ascertain in what part of his Kingdom it was struck. As it wants the symbol of Christianity, its date may, with probability, be referred to some part of the period between the year 561, when he ascended the throne, and the conclusion of that century, when Ethilberht's conversion is supposed to have been effected by St. Augustine.

In his Laws the Fines are estimated by Scillings and Sceattæ ^d:

Sceattæ are the only Coins which have hitherto been discovered of Ecgerht, who reigned in Kent from 665 to 674. They are of various types. On some the figure of the King, standing between two crosses, appears on the Obverse, together with his name; whilst the Reverse bears only a small Cross, with the name of the Moneyer. On the Obverse of others is a figure rudely representing a Dragon, with a Reverse like the former.

His Moneyers' names are,

ALCHISED.

EAGBEREHTVL.

EOTBEREHTVL.

ALCHRED.

ECFVAIR.

EOTBERTVL.

EADBEREHTVL.

In the Laws of Hlothare, who began to reign in 674 ^e, and in those of Eadric his successor in 686 ^f, Shillings are the only Coins which occur; but the Fines which are imposed by the Laws of Wihtræd, who ascended the throne in 693, are regulated by Shillings and Pounds ^g. No Money of these three Monarchs has yet been discovered.

The next which is known is a Coin of Ethilberht II., between the years 749 and 760. In this reign, or perhaps earlier, though no specimens have yet been found, the Money seems to have quitted the Sceatta form; and with a more expanded volume, and a trifling addition of weight, then first commenced, in this Island, that species of Coins which was afterward, for so many ages, known by the denomination of the Penny.

This Coin has on the Obverse the head of the King, with his name, and on the Reverse Romulus and Remus, with the she-wolf, in an irregular oblong compartment, over which is the word REX. Its genuineness has been suspected, chiefly on account of this imitation of a Roman device; but it is

^d Wilkins, p. 1.

^e Id. p. 7.

^f Id. Ibid.

^g Id. p. 10.

by no means singular in that respect, as will appear on examination of N^o 25 in the first Plate of Sceattæ.

There are Pennies of Eadbearht, or Ethelbert surnamed Prænus, which have his name and title in three lines on the Obverse, and his Moneyer's name on the other side.

Only three Moneyers have yet been discovered on the Coins of this Monarch, who began to reign A. D. 794.

ETHELMOD.

IAENBERHT.

TIDHEAH.

Cuthred ascended the throne in the year 797. On his Coins the title of King of Kent first appears, in addition to the name. The Reverses have respectively the names of the following Moneyers:

DVDA.

HEREMODI.

SIGEBERHTI.

EABA.

SIGEBERHT.

VERHEARDI.

HEREMOD.

Beldred is likewise stiled King of Kent upon his Money. His reign began in 805, and continued until the dissolution of that kingdom in 823. Three different types of his Money are engraven in Plate III.

On the first of them will be found the earliest instance which is known of the insertion of the place of Mintage. Its Reverse bears within the inner circle an abbreviation of DOROVERNIA CIVITAS, and is the first specimen, which can be authenticated, of the Royal Mint in Canterbury.

His Moneyers were,

DIORMOD.

ETHELMOD.

OBA.

SWEFNERD.

No Coins of the SOUTH SAXON Monarchs have as yet been discovered.

In the Laws of Ina, who reigned over the WEST SAXONS from 688 to 726, the Fines are reckoned by Shillings, except in two or three instances, where Pennies are, for the first time, made use of for that purpose^b. None of this Monarch's Coins have yet appeared; but of his immediate successor, Aethelward, some have been found. They are of rude workmanship, and bear only the King's name and title, and the Moneyer's name. The Mint does not appear upon them.

^b Wilkins, p. 14.

Moneyers :

AETHELHELM.

DVDDA.

EADMVND.

RAEXENHEBE.

He reigned from 726 to 740, when he was succeeded by Cuthred, of whom no Coins are known, unless Nos 3 and 4 in the third Plate should be appropriated to him. It seems probable that they belong to him, because they want the title of King of Kent, which appears on the other Coins of Cuthred who reigned over that Kingdom; and because N^o 3 has the same Moneyer, Dudda, whose name is found on the Coins of Aethelward, whom Cuthred succeeded in the Kingdom of the West Saxons.

After the death of Cuthred, in 754, no Coins have been discovered until the accession of Beorhtric, in 784. Of his Mint a single Penny only is known, which is engraven in Plate III. It is like the Coins of Aethelward, and has not the name either of the Kingdom or the Mint upon it.

The Moneyer's name is ECCHARDI.

Of all the Heptarchic Monarchies the Kingdom of MERCIA, if we may be allowed to form a conclusion from the number of its Coins which have descended to our times, was by far the most wealthy. The first specimen, however, of its Coinage is of the date of nearly one hundred years from its foundation as a separate state, in the reign of Eadvald, who ascended the throne in 716. His Coins are of rude workmanship, and have only the name of the King, and of his Moneyer, with the addition of the Monarch's titleⁱ.

His Moneyers were,

EADNOTH.

REGNIGHT.

VINTRED.

The Coins of Offa, whose reign in Mercia extended from A. D. 758 to 796, a period of thirty-eight years, present some of the most elegant specimens of the Art of Coinage which are to be found in the Anglo-Saxon series. As he was at Rome in the Pontificate of Adrian I., it is probable that he brought from thence Italian Artists, to whose skill the improvement of his Money is to be imputed. These Coins have the head of Offa, in a style of drawing which is without parallel in the Money of this Island from the time of Cunobeline to the reign of King Henry VII. If the account be correct,

ⁱ In his Charters he stiles himself Rex Merciorum. [Hemingi Chart. p. 16.]

that he visited Rome only about two years before his death^j, it should seem that these Coins should have been placed the last amongst the representations of his Money. Immediately after his death the Italian Artists must have ceased to work, as the Money resumed its former barbarous appearance on the accession of his son Egcberht.

On some of his Coins his name only is impressed on the Obverse, and in others it has the addition of REX, or of REX MERCIORVM^k; on all these the name of the Moneyer is to be found on the Reverse.

But instances are not wanting where the Moneyer's name appears on the Obverse, with the image of the Monarch, whose name and title are then transferred to the other side; and one Penny is stamped with the King's name on both sides.

The types of the Reverses are extremely numerous, and some of them are not destitute of picturesque design; they do not afford the name of any of his Mints.

Various Moneyers were employed by him; their names were,

AELRED.	EALMVND.	OSMOD.
ALHMVN.	EALRED.	OTER.
ALHMOVND.	EOBA.	REDWIN.
ALHMOVTH.	ETHELNOTH.	REGNIGHT.
ALMOVND.	ETHELVALD.	THONI, probably INOTH reversed.
BABBA.	ETHILVALD.	VDD.
BEANEARD.	FEHTVALD.	VINTRED.
BERNEARD.	HEABER, or possibly	WEHVALD.
CELHARD.	HEATHIER.	WIHREA.
CIOLHARD.	IBBA.	WIHRED.
DVD.	INONNG.	WIHTRED.
EADBERHT.	INOTH.	WINOTH.
EADMVN.	LVLLA.	WLNOTH.
EADMVVN.	OETHELRES.	
EALHMOVNTH.	OLHMOVND.	

His Queen Cenethreth, or Quindred, appears to have enjoyed the privilege of coining; at least her name appears upon two Pennies which have descended

^j Carte, History of England, vol. I. p. 273.

^k In his Charters his title is — A. D. 772, Rex Suthanglorum, 780, Rex Mercensium; 788, Rex Merciorum; Rex Anglorum; Rex a rege regum constitutus. [Hemingi Chart. pp. 552. 26. 18. 109.] Gratia Dei Rex Merciorum. [Mat. Paris, p. 1151. Additamenta Editoris.]

to these times. On the Obverse of two of these is an head, which is supposed to represent her husband Offa, with the name of the Moneyer, in a style greatly resembling those Coins of Offa which are engraven in Plate IV. Nos 12 and 14. On the Reverse is the Queen's name, together with her title¹. But however these two pieces may seem not to have claimed the power of coinage for her, but to have left it in the hand of the King, with whose image they are impressed; yet another Penny bears her superscription alone, which gives it the appearance of having issued from the Mint under her sole authority.

Her Moneyers are,

EOBA.

OBA.

On the death of Offa, in 796, his son Egcbert succeeded to the throne, and died within six months after his accession. But notwithstanding the shortness of his reign he coined Money, of which specimens still exist. They bear on the Obverse his name, with that of the Moneyer on the Reverse; and they are appropriated to this Monarch on account of their resemblance to the Coins of Offa, and because they appear to have been stamped by his Moneyers, whose names are found upon them^m.

They are, BABBA and VDD.

After his death, Coenvulf ascended the throne of Mercia, which he possessed more than two and twenty years.

In variety of types his Coinage resembles that of Offa; but in point of workmanship it is far inferior to it. All his Coins have his name and title, with the addition of M. to designate the Kingdom of Merciaⁿ. Their Reverses bear simply the name of the Moneyer, without any place of Mintage.

His Moneyers were numerous, and many of their names are the same as those which appear upon the Money of Offa and Egcbert.

BIORNFERTH.

CIOLHARD.

DVDA.

BOTRED.

DEALLA.

DVN.

CEOLBEALD.

DIORMOD.

EALHSTAN.

¹ Her name appears, with her style, in a Charter granted by Offa to the Church of Worcester—*Ego Cynethryth Dei gratia regina Merciorum*. [Selden's Titles of Honour, part I. chap. VI. § 7.]

^m William of Malmsbury says that Offa caused his son to be anointed King during his lifetime. p. 33.

ⁿ In his Charters he likewise styles himself *Rex Merciorum*. [Hemingi Chart. p. 1. Anno 816.]

EANMVND.	LVLLA.	VERHEARDI.
ECBERHT.	NEREBERNT ^o .	WERHEARD.
ECGBERHT.	OBA.	WERHEARDI.
EOBA.	SEBERHTI.	WIGHED.
ETHECMOD.	SIGEBERHTI.	WIHTRED,
ETHELMOD.	SIGESTEF.	or
HEREBERHT.	SVVEFNED.	WINTRED.
LVDOMAN.	TIDBEARHT.	WITHEd.
LVL.	VERHEARD.	WITHER.

The short reign of Ciolvulf I., which commenced about 819, and continued not more than twelve months, affords, notwithstanding its shortness, three specimens of his Coinage.

They are all stamped with the rude representation of the Monarch, together with his title as King of Mercia. On the Reverse is the Moneyer's name, with the addition, in one instance, of the place of Mintage:

DOROBERNIA^p.

His Moneyers were,

CEOLHARD ^q .	EALHTAN, probably for	EANVULF.
DEALING.	EALHSTAN.	SIGESTEF ^q .

He was succeeded by Beornwulf, who reigned until 824, of whose Coins three are still known to exist. They all bear a profile, but scarcely human, with the name and title; and the Moneyer's name on the other side. No Mints are to be found upon them.

Moneyers:

EADWAS.	EVCSTA.	MONNA.
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The reign of Ludican was still more circumscribed than that of his predecessor, and was ended in about eighteen months. One Penny only of his has yet been discovered. It is engraven in Plate VII. The Reverse of it is singular, in having the name of the Moneyer, and the title of his office, in three irregular lines across the field.

Moneyer, WERBALD.

^o From Mr. Southgate's MSS.; but qu. whether HEREBERHT above be not the true reading? It is not always easy to distinguish whether H. M. or N. be the letter intended.

^p In the Duke of Devonshire's Collection. Dr. Combe's MS.

^{q q} Both these names are likewise given on Dr. Combe's authority. The first is from Sir A. Fountaine's Plates, No 3; the last from the Cabinet of the Duke of Devonshire, as above.

Of Berhtulf, who ascended the throne in 839, and reigned thirteen years, not any circumstances are recorded which can illustrate the history of his Coinage. His Money resembles in rudeness, and in legend, those of his Predecessors, excepting that not any place of Mintage appears upon them.

His Moneyers' names were,

BRID.	DENEMEAN.	OSYÆF ^r .
BVRNVVALD.	EANBALD.	SIGEHEAH.
DENEHEAN, or	OSVLF.	WIGEHEAN.

The long reign of Burgred affords a great variety of Coins, together with irrefragable proofs that the Art of Coinage had then sunk into the lowest state of barbarism, not only in point of execution, but also in the baseness of the standard; for some of them are of an extremely coarse alloy. This debasement was probably occasioned by poverty, the consequence of repeated plunderings by the Danes, who at length succeeded in driving Burgred from his dominions in the year 874, after he had reigned twenty-two years. He took refuge in Rome, where he died, and was interred in St. Mary's Church belonging to the School of the English Nation there ^s.

His Coins bear on the Reverse his portrait, if that name can be given with propriety to a drawing which so little resembles the human form, with his name and title around it ^t; and on the Reverse is the Moneyer's name. From the following List it should seem that considerable quantities of Money were coined in his Mints, where so numerous a body of Workmen was employed. The variety of names far exceeds that of any other Monarch of the Mercian Kingdom, though the reigns of Eadvald and Offa were of considerably greater extent.

No Mints are to be found upon his Coins.

His Moneyers were,

ADHELM.	BEAGSIAN.	BERNEA.
ADHLEM.	BEARNE.	BERHEAH.
BEACILIA.	BERAHM.	BERHTEL.
BEAGITAN.	BERHAM.	BERLM.
BEAGLIA.	BERHEA, or	BEVRNI.

^r So this name is written by Mr. Southgate in his MSS.

^s Saxon Chronicle, sub anno.

^t A Charter dated 855 calls him Burhred rex Merciorum. Hemingi Chart. p. 33.

BIARNVLF.	DVDD.	GVDHEM.
CEALLAF.	DVDDA.	GVTHERE.
CENRED.	DVDECIL, or	HEAGLE.
CIALLA.	DYDECIL.	HEAVVLF.
CIALLAF.	DVDELM.	HEREFERTH.
CVNEHL.	DVDEMAN.	HEREMELTH.
CVNEHLM.	DVDEMTAN.	HVGERED.
CVNEHELM.	DVDNE.	HVSSA.
CVNEHM.	DVDWINE, or	LIAFMAN.
CVNEHEL.	DYDWINE.	LVLLA.
CVTHERE.	EADNOD.	MAMMAN.
DADA.	EADVLF.	OSMVND.
DIAINLE.	EANRED.	OSMVNE.
DIARVLF.	ETHELHEAM.	TATA.
DIARVLF.	ETHELVL.	TATEL
DIARVALD.	ETHELVLF.	VVHNE.
DIARVIL.	ETHERED.	VVLFEARD.
DIARVVLF.	FRAMRIC.	WIFEARD.
DIGA.	GEVNTHE.	WINE.
DVDA.		

On the flight of Burgred from his dominions, Ceolvulf his Minister mounted the throne, but was soon after deprived, by the Danes, of the sovereignty which he had assumed. With his short reign the Mercian Kingdom expired.

His Coins resemble those of Burgred in type.

His Moneyers were, HEREBERHT. OBA.

No Coins of the Monarchs of the EAST ANGLES are known prior to the reign of Beonna, who ascended the throne about the year 690.

Two of his Pennies, of the Sceatta form, and of very inartificial workmanship, have been preserved. They have on one side the name and title of the King, and the Moneyer's name, without any addition, on the other.

Moneyer, EFE.

The unsettled state of this Kingdom, and its subsequent annexation, for a time, to that of Mercia by Offa, are probably the causes that no Coins have been discovered subsequent to the reign of Beonna, until Eadmund ascended the throne, about the year 855, more than one hundred and fifty years after the decease of that Monarch.

His Coins have his name and title, REX AN., on the Obverse, and the Moneyer's name on the Reverse. The situation of his Mints is not known, as his Money gives no information respecting them.

His Moneyers were,

AETHELHELM.	DVDDA.	EADWOLD.
ALEX.	EADMONV.	ETHELHELM.
BAELHELM.	EADMVND.	ETHELVVLF.
BEORNFERTH.	EADVALD.	SIGERED.
BEORNHAEH.	EADWALD.	SILERED.
DECALE.	EADWARD.	TWICCA.

After the martyrdom of St. Eadmund, by the Danes, in the year 870 ^u, Guthrum, a Dane, was placed upon the throne of East Anglia, by Alfred ^w. This Monarch was converted to Christianity, and at the time of his baptism, in 878 ^x, took upon him the name of Ethelstan ^y.

His Coins, of which several varieties have been preserved, must have been struck subsequently to his conversion, as they all bear his Anglo-Saxon name, and are marked with the symbol of Christianity. They resemble, in type, those of his predecessor, excepting that the letters AN are never added to his title. The first of these letters, however, is frequently found within the inner circle of the Obverse. They have, in general, the Moneyer's name on the Reverse, without any place of Mintage; but one remarkable Penny reads ETHELSTAN on the Obverse, and REX ANG. on the Reverse; and another has ETHELSTAN REX on both sides.

The following names of his Moneyers are all that I have been able to discover :

EADGAR.	ERNWER.	RERNNER.
EADNOD,	ERONWER.	TORHTHEL.
probably for	MON.	TORNTHELM.
EADNOTH.	ORNTHELM.	TORTHELM.

Eohric, who succeeded him in the year 890, was, after a reign of fourteen years, expelled by his subjects, and this Kingdom was then added to the dominions of Eadward the Elder ^z.

^u Chron. Sax. sub anno.

^w William of Malmsbury, p. 34.

^x Chron. Sax. sub anno.

^y Chron. Sax. sub anno 890, in which year Ethelstan died.

^z William of Malmsbury, p. 34.

The Kingdom of NORTHUMBERLAND, which was founded by Ida about the middle of the sixth century, has this remarkable peculiarity belonging to its Coinage — that from its Mints issued, as far as is yet discovered, the only Brass Coins which were struck by the Anglo-Saxons. The earliest specimen, hitherto known, is of the reign of Ecgfrith, who ascended the throne in the year 670, and fell at Drummechtan, with most of his troops, in the 15th year of his reign ^a. It differs from the Stycas of succeeding Monarchs in the omission of the Moneyer's name on the Reverse ^b.

Of the sixteen succeeding Monarchs (whose reigns occupy a period of something more than 130 years) no Coins have as yet occurred. The first that appears was struck by Eanred, who began to reign in the year 808. He was, according to Speed, one "of the intruders, or rather tyrants, who bandied for this sovereignty for the space of thirty years." The last of them was Ælla, with whom terminated the Northumbrian Monarchy.

One Silver Penny of Eanred is known. It has his portrait, with his name and title, on the Obverse, and on the other side the Moneyer's name and office, with the letter M, whose meaning I am unable to explain^c. His Stycas are of various rude types, without any representation of the Monarch, but with a legend similar to that on his Silver Coin, excepting that the Moneyer's name stands on the Reverse, without any addition.

The Workmen employed by him were,

ALDATES.	FORDRED.	HRRED.
BRODER.	FVLCNOD.	HVAETRED.
BRODR.	GADVTE.	MONNE.
DAEGBERCT.	GADVTEIS.	THES. the Moneyer on his
EADVINI.	HEARDLF.	Penny.
EANRED.	HEARDVLF.	VVLFHEARD.
EARRDVVLF.	HERRED.	VVLFRED.

The Stycas of Ethelred his son, who succeeded to him A. D. 840, so much resemble those of his father as not to require a particular description. They are much more numerous than his predecessors.

^a Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. I. pp. 150, 152.

^b See an Engraving of the Coin, Appendix, Plate XXVIII. and the Explanation.

^c See Appendix, Plate XXVII. No 1.

His Moneyers were,

ALDHERE.	EDILREED.	LEOGDEGN.
ALGHERE.	EORDRED,	MONNE.
ANRED.	pro	ODILO.
BROTHER.	FORDRED?	OLDVN.
CEOLBALD.	FORDRED.	TIDVLF.
CVDHEARD.	HNIFVLA.	VBRODER.
EADMVND.	IEVVBE.	VENDELBERHT.
EANBALD.	INRED.	VVLFRED.
EANRED.	LEOFDEG.	WINTRD.
EARDVVLF.	LEOFDEGN.	WINTRED.

He was succeeded by Redulf.

The Stycas of his Coinage resemble those of his predecessors. I have not been able to discover the date of his accession to the throne.

His Moneyers are,

ALGHERE, qu.	COENED.	FORDRED.
ALDHERE?	CVDBEREHT.	MONNE.
BROTHER.	EANRED.	VENDELBERHT.

On the Stycas of Osbercht, whose reign began in 849, and ended by the usurpation of Ælla in 862, the title of REX is sometimes omitted. In other respects they differ not from the former.

His Moneyers' names are less numerous than those of his predecessors. They are,

EANVLF.	EANVVLF.	MONNE.	VINIBEGHT.	VINIBERHT.
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After his reign the Stycas seem to have fallen into disuse, at least none of a later period have yet been found.

At what time Regnald ascended the throne is not known; but both he and Anlof were expelled from the Kingdom, by Eadmund, in the year 944^d.

One Coin only remains of the work of his Mints. It is the first on which the Saxon Cununc appears instead of the Roman Rex. On the Reverse is the Moneyer's name,

AVRA.

^d Chron. Sax. sub anno.

The Coins of Anlaf, who was driven from Northumberland in the same year that Regnald was expelled from thence, are much more numerous than his. On some of them the Saxon Cununc is found, and on others the Roman Rex. His name also is variously spelled, it being sometimes written Anlaf, and at others Onlaf. One Coin bears on the Obverse the Raven, which was also worked on the enchanted Danish Standard^e; and another has on its Reverse what seems to be intended for a Banner: possibly the same Standard, though it is upon too small a scale to allow the representation of the Raven upon it^f.

These Coins all bear on the Obverse the Monarch's name and title, with the Moneyer's name on the other side. No Mint is to be found upon them.

^e See Plate XI. No 1. Of this Coin Sir A. Fountaine says, "Aquila (vel alia quæcunque sit avis) huic nummo impressa videtur fuisse signum seu vexillum Anlafi ad instar Aquilæ Romanæ." [Numismata Ang. Sax. &c. p. 172.] But it is more probable that this bird was a representation of the famous Standard, which is thus described in Asser's Life of Aelfred, who took it from the Danes A. D. 878*: "In quo etiam acceperunt illud vexillum quod Reafan † nominant: dicunt enim quod tres sorores Hungari & Habbæ, filiæ videlicet Lodebrochi, illud vexillum texuerunt, & totum paraverunt illud uno meridiano tempore: dicunt etiam, quod in omni bello, ubi præcederet idem signum, si victoriam adepturi essent, appareret in medio signi quasi corvus vivens volitans: sin vero vincendi in futuro fuissent, ponderet directe nihil movens: & hoc sæpe probatum est." [Asserius de rebus gestis Ælfredi, à Wise, p. 33. Vid. Vit. Ælfredi à Spelmanno, p. 31.]

^f See Plate II. No 2. The figure on the Reverse has been thought to represent various things. By Obadiah Walker it was supposed to be the front of a Church. This Sir A. Fountaine conceived to be a mistake, but knew not for what it was intended. [Vid. Num. Ang. Sax.] Mr. Thwaites called it a Pastoral Staff and a Book secured with seven seals, and that it was struck to commemorate the baptism of Anlaf. [Notæ in Ang. Sax. Nummos.] Mr. G. North imagined it "to be the Cþym, which was a white linen cloth, put over the face, immediately after baptism, and worn for eight days." [MS. penès Autorem.] The figure on the Obverse is said by Thwaites to be the rude form of a Mitre. Sir A. Fountaine can make nothing of it. Nicolson takes it to be a Cluster of three Kingdoms, not much unlike the three Legs (as they are called) upon the modern Farthings of the Isle of Man; and as the English Historians make Anlaf King of Ireland, Northumberland, and (multarum Insularum) of the Isles; and that he was also, as he conjectures, King of Man; he asks, "Is not this the firmest ground whereon the Manks Tripos can stand?" [Irish Hist. Library, p. 74.]

* After a battle in Devonshire, in which the Brother of Inwar and Healsden was slain, together with 840 of his men. Chron. Sax. sub anno.

† It was also called Raunfan. Gesta Danorum extra Daniam, vol. II. p. 32.

His Moneyers were,

ATHEFERD.	FAMAN.	RADVLEF.
ATHELFERD.	FARMAN.	RATHVLF.
BACIALER.	FARN.	WADTER.
EAGMON.	INGELGAR.	

In the year 949 Anlaf returned to the Kingdom of Northumberland, and was again expelled, by his subjects, in 952, who raised to the throne Yric the son of Harold. Him likewise they deprived in less than two years, and the Kingdom was then taken possession of by Ædred^g.

Some of the Pennies of Eric are stamped, on the Obverse, with the figure of a Sword, the meaning of which is not known, whilst others have only a plain Cross Patee in the centre: all of them bear the King's name and title^h. Their Reverses have the names of the following Moneyers:

ACVLF.	INEGELGAR.	INGELGAR.
HVNRED.	INGAELGAR.	RADVLF.

At the beginning of the ninth century Ecgbearht ascended the throne of the West Saxon Kingdom; and in the course of his long reign brought under his dominion nearly the whole of the Heptarchic States. He is therefore commonly considered as THE FIRST SOLE MONARCH OF ENGLANDⁱ; notwithstanding those States were not completely united in one Sovereignty until the reign of Eadgar.

On his Coins he is styled sometimes REX alone, and sometimes SAXONVM is added in a Monogram within the inner circle of the Obverse, where in the others a rude representation of the Monarch appears. The Moneyer's name is on the Reverse. His Mints are not known, unless the Monogram in the centre of N^{os} 2 and 3 of his Coins should be intended for Canterbury.

^g Chron. Sax. sub annis.

^h Which is sometimes ERIC REX only; in other instances N is added, probably for the name of his Kingdom; and a Penny in the Cabinet of the late Robert Austin, Esq. reads ERICVS REX A.

ⁱ Selden says, that the glory and greatness of Egbert consisted rather in the swallowing up of the other subject Kingdoms into his own rule, and in the new styling the Heptarchy by the name of England (for he, in *Parlamento, apud Wintoniam, mutavit nomen regni, de consensu populi sui, & jussit illud de cætero vocari Angliam*) than in having a larger dominion than any of his predecessors. [Titles of Honour, part I. chap. III. § 1. He quotes, for the words in Italicks, Instrum. lib. Hospit. S. Leonardi. Ebor. MS. in Bibl. Cottoniana.]

“The work of his Money,” says Mr. G. North, “is so very rude and bad as justly to be wondered at, especially as the Money of Offa, who died not 50 years before him, expresses a degree of elegance. It may in general be observed that the Coins we have remaining of the West Saxon Kings are inferior in work to all the rest of the Saxon Money^k.”

His Moneyers were,

BEORNEHART.	DIORMOD.	TIDBEARHT.
BEORNHEARD.	DVNVN.	TIDEMAN.
BEORNHEARTH.	OBA.	TIMBEARHT.
BOSA.	OSMVND.	TIMDEARHT.
BOSEL.	SIGESTEF.	TILVVINE.
DEBIS.	SVEFNVRD.	VVEFNARD.

Ethelvulf succeeded to Ecgbeohrt in 837; and although his reign extended to little more than one half of the length of his Father's, yet more of his Coins have been found, and a greater variety of Moneyers appears upon them. They bear on the Obverse his name and title, which is sometimes continued on the Reverse, either by CANT, SAXONIORVM, or OCCIDENTALIVM SAXONIORVM. His portrait is rudely executed on some of them, whilst on others its place is occupied by a part of the word DORIBERNIA, the place where they were struck. The Reverses have the Moneyer's name, sometimes alone, and sometimes with his title of office subjoined.

No other Mint appears upon them but DORIBERNIA, Canterbury.

His Moneyers were,

BEAGMVND.	ETHELERE.	NEREBEALD.
BIARNNOTH.	ETHELHERE.	NEREBELD.
BIORMOD.	ETHELLOD.	NEREBEVL D.
BRID.	ETHELMOD.	OSMVND.
DVNN.	ETHELNOTH.	VERMVND.
EAIGMVND.	HEREBEVL D.	VVELHHEARD,
EALGMVND.	HVNRED.	or
EARDVL FES.	MANINC.	VVELMHEARD.
ETHELEHERE.	MANNA.	VVILHEM.

^k MSS. penès Autor. If Mr. North had recollected the barbarous workmanship of the Coins of Ecgberht and Coenvulf, the immediate successors of Offa in the Mercian Kingdom, he would not have expressed so much surprize at the rudeness of this Money.

Aethelbald. Of this Monarch, who ascended the throne upon the death of his Father in 857, no Money is now known to exist. But in a Set of Plates of Anglo-Saxon Coins, which was engraved by Hall, under the direction, as it is believed, of Mr. John White, of Newgate Street, a Penny is ascribed to him. In type it is exactly similar to N^o 1. of Ethelvulf in Plate XIV. and has on its sides the following legend: Obverse, AETHELBALD REX. — Reverse, BEAHMVND MONETA. To this Engraving Dr. Combe has referred in his MS., and has marked the Coin as being in the Cabinet of Mr. Austin, where he has assured me that he saw it, and had no doubt of its being a genuine Coin. The Coin, however, is not now in Mr. Austin's Collection, which was carefully examined by Mr. Taylor Combe. I have, notwithstanding, given the above account of this remarkable Penny, because from Dr. Combe's accuracy I am convinced he could not have been mistaken as to the existence of the Coin; nor is it probable that the correctness of his eye could have been deceived by a forgery. The insertion of this description may possibly lead to the discovery of this valuable relique of the Anglo-Saxon Mints.

The short reign of Aethelbald terminated, by his death, in 862, when his brother Aethelbert succeeded him, but sat on the throne not more than five years. His Coins are, in course, but few, and bear in their legends only the name and title of the Monarch, and of his Moneyers.

BEAHMVND.	DEGBEARHT.	HVNRED.
BIARNMOD.	DEGLAB.	OSMERE.
BYRNVALD.	DVDDA.	SIGHERE, or
CENVEALD.	DVDVINE.	SIGENERE.
CVNEFRETH.	DVDWINE.	TORHTMVND.

The Children of Aethelbearht were set aside by his Brother Aethelred, who assumed the government, on his death, in 867.

The legend of his Coins differs from those of his predecessor only in the addition of SAXORVM to his title. No Mint appears upon them.

The following names of his Moneyers have been preserved:

BIARNEAH.	DVDD.	HEREBEALD.
BIARNMOD.	DVDDA.	MANING.
BVRGNOTH.	DVNN.	MANN.
DENVALD.	ELBERE.	MANNINC.
DIGA.	ETHELRED.	TORHTMVND.

Aelfred was raised to the throne upon the death of Aethelred, the rights of the Children of the elder Branch being again violated.

Although his long reign, from 872 to 901, was so much disturbed by the incursions of the Danes, with whom he was engaged in bloody contests almost to the time of his death, yet his natural genius and indefatigable application enabled him to arrive at such a proficiency in literature and in the arts as was unequalled by any of his contemporaries. The following account, by Asser, of his unwearied diligence in widely-varied pursuits, is so highly interesting that I shall, without apology, give it at large, in his own words; only premising, that the Author was honoured with the unreserved friendship of his Monarch, and was therefore well qualified to record his private pursuits, as well as his publick history. "*Interea tamen,*" says he, "*rex inter bella & præsentis vitæ frequentia impedimenta, necnon Paganorum infestationes, & quotidianas corporis infirmitates, & regni gubernacula regere & omnem venandi artem agere; aurifices & artifices suos omnes, & falconarios, & accipitrarios, canicularios quoque docere; & ædificia supra omnem antecessorum suorum consuetudinem, venerabiliora & pretiosiora nova sua machinatione facere; & Saxonicos libros recitare; & maxime carmina Saxonica memoriter discere, aliis imperare; & solus assidue pro viribus studiosissime non desinebat; divina quoque ministeria, & missam scilicet, quotidie audire, psalmos quosdam & orationes, & horas diurnas, & nocturnas celebrare, & ecclesias nocturno tempore, ut diximus, orandi causa, clam a suis adire solebat & frequentabat; eleemosynarum quoque studio & largitati indigenis & advenis omnium gentium; ac maxima & incomparabili contra omnes homines affabilitate atque jocunditate; & ignotarum rerum investigationi solerter se jungebat*¹."

It is much to be regretted that his necessities prevented him from bestowing a part of his attention on the state of his Coinage, or, more properly speaking perhaps, that they irresistibly compelled him to debase it, for we find Coins of his whose alloy is evidently coarser than the antient standard. To the same cause, it is probable, must be referred the absolute silence of his Laws respecting any regulations of Money, which he could not have omitted to make, had not the peculiar circumstances of his reign precluded the possibility of adopting any measures for the improvement of his Coins.

¹ Asserius de rebus gestis Ælfredi, p. 43. Vide etiam p. 58.

Accordingly his Laws are entirely silent concerning them; and afford no other information respecting the Currency of his time than that it was estimated by Pounds, Shillings, and Pence, such being the Coins, or Money of Account, by which the Fines are regulated. The Third Part of a Penny also occurs in them, which could not readily be paid unless there were Money of that value; none, however, have yet been discovered. In the League between Aelfred and Guthrun the Dane both the Mark and the Mancus are to be found ^m.

The earliest of his Money exactly resembles, in type, that of his Brother.

His style upon his Coins is either simply AELFRED, or AELFRED REX; whilst in his Charters it is AELFRED REX ANGLORVM ET SAXONVM ⁿ. The Reverse has sometimes the Moneyer's name, and sometimes a Monogram of the Town where the Mint was placed.

The places of Mintage were,

DORO. Dorovernia, Canterbury.

LONDINIA. London in a Monogram.

ORSNAFORDA. Oxford.

His Moneyers:

AELFSTAN.	CVDBERHT.	IARNRED.
AETHELVLFF.	DEALING.	MANNING.
ATHELVLFF.	DIARVALD.	OSHERE.
BEDRERN.	DVINC.	SEFRED.
BERHVUSD.	DVNN.	SIEESTEF, pro SIGESTEF.
BIARNVLFF.	FOLEARD.	TIDBALD.
BOSA, or	FRANBALD.	TILEFEINE.
BOZA.	GINEEF. See HLVILA.	TILEVINE.
CIALMOD.	GODA.	VILHLM.
CIALNOTH.	GODAM.	VVIEARD.
CIALVLFF.	HLVILA ^o .	WVLGARD.

On the death of Aelfred, in the year 901, his son Eadward, commonly distinguished by the name of Eadward the Elder, succeeded to the government. Of the state of the Coinage in his reign no legal documents, or

^m Wilkins, pp. 45, 46, 47.

ⁿ Hemingi Chart. p. 43, anno 889.

^o HLVILA, GINEEF, occur on the Reverse of a Coin of similar type to N^o 13, Plate XVI. and seem to be the names of two Moneyers.

records, are to be found ; nor do the Historians of his time furnish any information : the little which can be said upon the subject must therefore be collected from his Coins which still remain. On them we see such a variety of types as will justify the conclusion of a very extensive Coinage having issued from his Mints ; but no intelligence is afforded as to the particular parts of his dominions in which they were situated. Though there is every reason to believe that not only the Monarchs who preceded, but those also who followed, him, must have coined Halfpennies of Silver, yet it is a curious fact, that of his Coinage alone pieces of that denomination have been found. Two of them are now known ; one of which I discovered in the Bodleian Library : some time afterwards another was purchased by Mr. Tyssen, and came with his Collection to the British Museum. Representations of them will be found in Plate XVII. Nos 31 and 32.

In his Laws the Fines are estimated by Shillings alone ; but in the Treaty between him and Guthrun, the Danish King, the Mark and Ora are found.

His title, upon his Coins, is invariably EADWARD or EADWEARD REX. The Reverse has his Moneyer's name, but no place of Coinage. The Roman w is always used in his name, though the Saxon ƿ appears sometimes on his Coins. He employed a great number of Workmen in his Mints ; and the following names of them have been preserved :

ABBA.	BERHTRED.	EREREFVZR.
ADRIIRI.	BOIGA.	ETHESTAN.
ADRIIRIFI.	BRECE.	FRAMVVIS.
ADVLE, pro ADVLF.	BRVHTVALD.	GAREARD.
AEDELVVLF.	BVGA.	GRIMVALD.
AEHERED.	BVRHELM.	GRIMWALD.
AETHELSTAN.	CIOLVLF.	HEARDHER.
AETHELVVINE.	CVDBERHT.	HEDVL.
AETHERED.	CYNESTAN.	HEIENFRED.
AETHFRED.	DEORMOD.	HEIOIEBHEIBIOB.
ALHSTAN.	DEORVVALD.	blundered.
ATHELVLF.	DRYHTVALD.	HEREMOD.
ATHELWVLF.	EADERED.	IOFERM.
ATHVLF.	EADMVND.	IRFARA.
BEAHSTAN.	EADVVALD.	IVA.
BEANRED.	EALHSTAN.	MANN.
BEORNERE.	EICMVN.	NEBEIEDHEEIEI.
BEORNVVALD.	EICMVND.	blundered.
BIORNWALD.	ERAMVVIS.	NEIOIROHEICI. blundered.

NIEICONIOICI. blundered.	TISA.	WEFRED.
ORDVLF.	VLF.	WIGHARD.
OSLAC.	WALEMAN.	VVLFEARD.
OSVLF.	WALMAN.	VVLFGAR.
RAEGENVLF.	WALTERE.	VVLFHEARD.
REGENVLF.	WARIMER.	WLFRED.
RIHARD.	WBERHT.	VVLFSIGE.
SIGGOT.	WEALDHELM.	

Aethelstan, who ascended the throne in 924, on the death of his Father Eadweard, appears to have been the first of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchs who ordained Laws for the regulation of the Coinage. In a grand Synod, which was held at Lipeatanleaze^p (wherein were present Wulfhelme Archbishop of Canterbury, together with all the noble and wise men whom the King had assembled), it was appointed that there should be one kind of Money throughout the whole Realm^q, and that no one should coin but in a Town; that if a Moneyer should be guilty, his hand, with which he committed the offence, should be cut off, and fixed upon the Mint. But if he should be accused, and would clear himself, then he should go to the hot iron, and acquit his hand of the fraud which he was accused of. And if in the Ordeal he should be guilt-worthy, it should be done to him as had been aforesaid. It was at the same time ordained, that there should be in Canterbury seven Moneyers — four belonging to the King, two to the Bishop, and one to the Abbot; in Rochester three — two for the King, and one for the Bishop; in London eight; in Winchester six; in Lewes two; in Hastings one; the same in Chichester; in Hampton two; in Werham two; in Shaftesbury two; and elsewhere one in the other Burghs^r.

^p These Laws for the regulation of the Coins resemble a Capitular made by Charlemagne in 819. Mr. North's MS.

The exact time at which this solemn Assembly was convoked no where appears; but it must have been between 928, when Wlfhelme was consecrated Archbishop, and 940, the year in which Aethelstan died.

^q Selden is of opinion that, prior to this Ordinance, every Lord of a City not only exercised the privilege of coining, but also stamped the Money with either his name or his effigies. These practices he conceives to have been entirely abolished by this Law, which required all the Money to be marked with the Prince's name or effigy; with the addition of the name of the Earl of the Province, of the Lord of the City or Town, or of the Moneyer. [Notæ ad Eadmerum, p. 217.]

^r Wilkins, p. 59. To these Leland adds (ex antiquo de legibus Saxonum libro) in Dorcestria 1. [Collectanea,

It was at this time, probably, that the practice of stamping the name of the Town upon the Coins became general in the Mints; and it should seem that it began shortly after he ascended the throne, as the greater part of his Money is so impressed. It has been said, by some Authors^s, that this was enjoined by an Edict of his fifth year [928], which also required the Moneyer's name to be placed upon the Coins; but of the existence of this Edict I believe no proof can be brought. It is possible, however, that the prohibition, abovementioned, against coining, excepting within the walls of a Town, might have caused the Moneyers to stamp upon their work the name of the place where it was coined, as, otherwise, it might not have been readily current.

The various types of his Money may be seen in Plates XVII. XVIII. and Appendix Plate XXVIII. On them he is styled^t either REX, without any addition, or sometimes REX SAXORVM, REX TOTIVS BRITANNIÆ.

This last title is not found on the Coins of any of his predecessors, but was assumed by him at an early period of his reign^u. To it he appears to have had considerable claim, although, strictly speaking, the whole of the Kingdom was not absolutely under his sovereignty. Of the West Saxons he was King by inheritance; of the Mercians, by election^w; and of the greater part of the remainder of Britain by conquest^x. In consequence of this accession of power, his alliance was courted by the greatest Monarchs on the Continent^y.

[Collectanea, vol. III. p. 213.] It is observable that no Coins of this Monarch have hitherto been discovered of Rochester, Lewes, Hastings, Chichester, Southampton, Dorchester, or Wareham; though possibly one which reads *wæ* may have been struck at the last place.

^s Martin's History of Thetford, p. 279. Nash's History of Worcestershire, vol. I. p. xci.

^t His style in his Charters is much more high sounding. In one dated 929 it is, "Ego Æthelstanus, regnum totius Albionis, Deo autore, dispensans." [Hemingi Chart. p. 111.]

In another, of the following year, "Ego Æthelstanus, ipsius [Dei nempe] munificentia basileus Anglorum, simul & imperator regum & nationum infra fines Britanniae commorantium." To this Charter he signs, "Ego Æthelstanus, singularis privilegii ierarchia peditus, rex." [Hemingi Chart. p. 441.]

^u A Charter in the preceding note proves it to have been used by him in A. D. 929.

^w Chron. Sax. sub anno 925.

^x William of Malmsbury, folio 26. b. Florence of Worcester places this conquest under the year 926.

^y William of Malmsbury, folio 23.

Almost every Coin, or denomination of Money, which was at any time in use amongst the Anglo-Saxons, is to be found in his Laws; for the Fines which are imposed by them are estimated in Sceattæ, Pennies, Thrymsæ, Shillings, and Mancuses.

His Mints were numerous, and extended over the greater part of his dominions; but it is by no means probable that one was placed in every Burgh, as it has been sometimes concluded from these general words of appointment in his Law — *Ellef to ðam oþrum burzum an: .^z*

His Coins present the names of the following Towns:

BAT. CIVITATE.	Bath.	LEIE.	
DEORABV. }	Derby.	LEIE. C.	
DEORABVI. }		LEIE. CF.	
DO. IS.		LEIG. C.	
DOR. CIVIT.	Canterbury.	LEIG. CE.	
EAXANIE CIV.	Exeter.	LEIG. CF.	
EBORAC. }		LEIGE.	
EFORWIC. }	York.	LEIGE. CIF.	
EFRWIC. }		LOND. CI.	
EIECIEI.		LOND. CIVI.	
EO. }		LONDI.	
EOF. }	York.	LONDON. CI.	
GLEAWAS.	Gloucester.	LVND. CIVIET.	
HEREF.	Hereford.	LVND. CIVITT.	
IEECF.		N.	
LEG.		NORTHWC. }	
LEGC.		NORTHWI.	
LEGCF.		NORTHWIC.	
LEGCFE.		NORTHWIE.	
LEGCF. BOIG.		NORWI.	
LEGE.		NORWIC.	
LEGEC.		REORABVI. pro DEORABVI.	Derby.
LEGECE.		SCEFT.	Shaftesbury.
LEGECEI.		SCROB.	Shrewsbury.
LEGE CF.		SNOTENGHAM.	Nottingham.
LEGE CFI.		STEF. }	
LEGEEC.		STF. }	Stafford.
LEGF.			

VERI.

^z See Hearne's Preface to Johan. Glaston. Chron. p. xxix, where he fancies that he had discovered a Mint at Besiles-Lee, in Berkshire, which has no other foundation than those general words. The true meaning of the Clause appears to be, that there should be no more than one Moneyer in the other Burghs which were permitted to coin, but whose names were not enumerated.

VERI. }
WE. } Worcester.

WINC. }
WIN. CI. } Winchester.
WIN. CIVIT. }

It appears from his Laws, which are referred to at p. 251, that he established Mints at the following places also, though no specimens of their Coinage have hitherto been discovered:

Chichester, Hastings, Lewes, Rochester, Southampton, and Wareham;
and Dorchester also, according to Leland.

His Money also furnishes a numerous list of Moneyers:

ABBA.	EDMVND.	LIFINC.
AELFSTAN.	EADSTAIN.	MAELDOMEN.
AELFVIENE.	EADVLF.	MAGNARD.
AELFWALD.	EARLVLF.	MANTICEN.
AETHEIM.	EDRED.	MEGENFRETH.
AETHELSTAN.	EFRARD.	MEGNEREDTES.
ALET.	EGIBHRET.	MONTHEGN.
AMELRIC.	EGLBHRET.	MONTHIGN.
ARE.	EINARD.	ODA.
ARNALF.	ELFVIENE.	ODO.
ATHELWOLD.	ELLAF.	OIANNA.
BARBE.	ERE.	OSLAC.
BARIFERDES.	ERM.	OTHA.
BEANRED.	ERTHELWO.	OTIC.
BERHTELM.	ETHELNOTH.	PAVLES.
BERNERE.	ETHELNOTIN.	RAEGENOLD.
BIORHTVLF.	ETRAM.	REGNALD.
BIORNEARD.	EWTHELWO.	REGNOLD.
BIORNVIC.	FRARD.	RENVLF.
BOICALET.	FROTHER.	ROTBERT.
BOIGA.	FROTIERM.	SIGEFERTH.
BOIGALET.	FVGEL.	SMALA.
BVRDEL.	GINARD.	SNEL.
BVRNELM.	GIONGBALD.	SNELE.
BVRNWALD.	GRIMWALD.	STEFANVS.
CNATH.	HANTICEN.	TIDGAR.
CENAWA.	HEREMOD.	TIDGER.
DEORERD.	HRODGAR.	TORHTELM.
DEORVLF.	HVNLAFF.	TORTHELM.
DEORVVALD.	INGERI.	TOTES.
DOMENCES.	ISNEL.	WAYLES.
DRVHTVALD.	LANDAC.	WEALDHELM.
EADGAR.	LBERTEE. qu. pro BERTEEL?	WIARD.

WIHARD.	WLFGAR.	WVLFHELM.
WINELE.	WLFSTAN.	WVLFSTAN.
WITIL.	WIHTEMVND.	

On the death of Aethelstan, A. D. 940, his brother Eadmund succeeded to the Crown. During his reign, the practice of placing the name of the Mint upon the Money seems to have fallen nearly into disuse; at least a vast majority of his Coins has the name of the Moneyer alone. His laws contain no pecuniary fines, nor any thing relating to the subject of our inquiry. Of the Coins which are given in Plates XVIII and XIX as his, those with the head are thus appropriated on account of their resemblance to his brother's Money: those also without the head are very similar to Aethelstan's; and the propriety of placing them to this Monarch, instead of Eadmund the Martyr, King of the East Angles, as Sir A. Fountaine has done, is evident from the names of Moneyers being found upon them who were employed by his predecessor Aethelstan, and his successor Eadred; such are, OTIC and AGTARDES. He seems never to have assumed the title of Rex totius Britanniae, but to have contented himself, at least in his style upon his Coins^a, most frequently with Rex only, but in a few instances with the addition of one or two letters which begin the name of Britanniae.

The following short list of his Mints contains all those which have hitherto been discovered:

AMTD.	Southampton?	LON. EIIT.	London.
EB.	York.	LONEM.	
EX.	Exeter.	NORWI.	Norwich.
LEIEFFI.	Leicester?	X.	Exeter?

But though his towns are so few, yet his Moneyers' names nearly equal in number those of Aethelstan, whose reign extended to nearly three times the length of his. They were

ADELVVERD.	AELFVVALD.	ALBERI.
AEGNVCEM.	AERNVLF.	AMVNDES.
AELFRIC.	AETHERED.	ARE.
AELFVALD.	AGTARDES.	ATHELMVND.

^a In a Charter dated 944, he is called Edmundus Rex Anglorum, cæterarumq; gentium gubernator & rector. William of Malmsbury, folio 29 b.

ATHELVVINE.	EFERVLF.	ONVNMAN.
BACIALER.	EGERED.	OTHEL IORCEL ^c .
BALDRIC.	ERETHICES.	OTIC.
BALDWINE.	ERGIMBALT.	PAVLES.
BENEDICTVS.	ERGYMBALT.	REGNVLF.
BERHTELM.	ETHEL SIGE.	SALCIARENE.
BERHTWIG.	EVLCART.	SCVRVA.
BERNSIGE.	FARAMAN.	SIGARES.
BESE.	FRARD.	SIGEARES.
BIORNEARD.	GEVND FETH.	THEODVLF.
BIVRENE.	GNAPA, or	THRMODE.
BOGA.	GNAWA.	THRMODEM.
BOGAF.	GOTAF.	VGLEBART.
BOINVVLF.	GVNDFERTH.	VLF.
BVRHELM.	HEREMOD.	VM.
BVRNHELM.	HEREVVIG.	WARN.
BVRNRIC.	HOTAF.	WAVELS.
BVRNWIC.	HVNSIGE.	WERLAF.
CENBERHT.	INGELGAR.	WHITE.
CIALBERHT.	LANDWINE.	WICARD.
CLAC ^b .	LEOFRIC.	WIGEAR.
CLAE.	LIAFINC.	WIGEARD.
CVNDFERTH.	MAELDEN.	WIGEARIM.
DEMENEC.	MAELDOMEN.	WIGEARIN.
DOMENCES.	MAELDOMENE.	WIHTEL, or
DORVLF.	MANA.	WINTEL ^d .
DORVLFE.	MANETA.	WILAFE.
DREGEL.	MANNA.	WLFSTAN.
DVDIG.	MANNE.	WVCFGARES, forsan
EADMVND.	MANTEEN.	WVLF GARES.
EADRED.	MARTIN.	WVLFHELM.
EADSTAN.	MEGRED.	WVLFIC.
EARDVLF.	NANSIGE.	WYNNELM.
ECGBRIHT.	ONDRES.	

In the year 946, the government descended to Eadred, on the death of his

^b Qu. CLACMON on Eadred, No. 3, or CLACMONEN, as on one of this Monarch in the possession of Mr. Jackson, and copied by Mr. Southgate. [Mr. T. Combe's Note.]

^c These seem to be the names of two distinct Moneyers.

^d Mr. John White gave a Penny with this Moneyer to Mr. Wintle, a jeweller and silversmith in the Poultry, as bearing the name of (possibly) his ancestor.

brother Eadmund. No laws of his are extant, nor are any facts recorded, in the histories of his reign, which can illustrate the state of his Coinage.

On his Money he is styled sometimes Rex Anglorum, and at others Rex Saxorum^d; but in one instance the Obverse bears EADRED MON. probably for Monarcha. The Reverses of his Coins have the name of the Moneyer, with, in some few instances, the addition of the town where the Mint was placed.

The only Mint yet discovered was situated at $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NOR.} \\ \text{NORTHW.} \end{array} \right\}$ Norwich, unless AX on the Reverse of one Penny should be supposed to mean Exeter.

His Moneyers' names are very numerous.

AELFSIGE.	DEMENCE.	GODIN.
AETHELM.	DORVIF, probably	GRIMES.
AETHELMVND.	DORVLF.	HEREMOD.
AETHELVLFF.	DVRAN.	HILDVLFF.
AGTARDES.	DVRMOD.	HVNRED.
ALSIGE.	EADMUND.	HVSEBALD.
ANOERET.	EADVLFF.	INEVCES. } probably
ATHELMVND.	EARDVLFF.	INGVCES. } the same
ATHELVERTH.	ELFREDES.	name.
BALDRIC.	ELFRES.	INGELGAR.
BALDVIVIN.	ENGILRED.	LEOFRIC.
BALDVVN.	ENGLBRED.	LIFINC.
BERNARD.	ENGLEBRED.	MANECA.
BERNEEHE.	EROVLE.	MANECHIN.
BERNFERTH.	EODIN.	MANECIN.
BESE.	EROTH.	MANELFIN.
BIORHTVLFF.	FERTHICES.	MANES.
BOGAES.	FRARD.	MANIN.
BOIGAES.	FREDRED.	MANNA.
BOIGAI.	FRETHICES.	MANNE.
CALISMERT, or pos-	FRETHICS.	MANNEES.
sibly SMERTCALI.	FROTH.	MANNEN.
CANOERET ^e .	FROTHRIC.	MARTIN.
CENBERHT.	GILLES.	MVNRED, probably
CLACMON.	GISGEMES.	HVNRED.
CRISTIN.	GISLEHELM.	OEDRHERI.
CVLEIN.	GISLEMER.	OSFERD, or OSFERTH.

^d See Explanation of No. 6 of the Coins of Aethelred I. in the 15th Plate.

^e So read by Mr. Southgate on a Coin in the Bodleian library; but Mr. Wise calls the first letter, which is imperfect, an L, and reading the bottom line backward, makes it TERELA MO. Num. in Scrin. Bodl. recond. Catalogus, p. 96.

OSGOD.	SIEFERETH.	TVLEADREX.
OSWALD.	SIGARES.	VNBEIN.
OSWINE.	SMERTCALI, or	WALDFRETH.
OTHELRICES.	CALISMERT.	WIGERETH.
PRIN.	SWERELINC.	WILAF.
REGTHERES.	THEODMAER.	WILFRED.
REINFIRTH.	THEODRED.	WINEL.
RICVLF.	THEODVLF.	WINNEM.
RINVC.	THEOTHRED.	WLFSTAN.
RINVLF.	THODABERT.	WLFSTN.
RODABERT.	THRMODE.	WVLFGARES.
RODBERT.	THVRMOD.	WVLGARES.
SCYRVA.	THVRVLF.	WYNNEM.

The short reign of Eadwig, who succeeded his uncle in 955, and died in 959, affords no information respecting the subject of our inquiry, except the little which is to be collected from his Coins.

His style on them is only Eadwi, or Eadwig, Rex^f. A few towns are to be found on the Reverses of them; but in general they have only the name of the Moneyer. His Mints were at

BEDA.	Bedford.	NEVE.	
EO.	York.	NEWE.	
HAM.	Southampton.	NO.	Norwich.
HERE.	Hereford?	TO.	
HVN.	} Huntingdon.	WE.	Worcester?
HVNT.		WIN.	Winchester.
LVND.	London.		

His Moneyers names :

AELFREDES.	CLAC.	DVNNIC.
AELFSIG.	CVTEL.	EADVLF.
AESCULF.	DEORVLF.	EFERD.
AMVNDES.	DORVLF.	EOFERAD.
ATHVLF.	DVDEMA.	FRARD.
BIRVER.	DVNNC.	FROTHRIC.
BOIGA.	DVNNES.	GRIM.

^f In a Charter which bears date 956, he is called Eadvvi Rex, nutu Dei Angulsæxna & Northumbrorum Imperator. [Hemingi, Chart. p. 333.]

HEREMOD.

MANEODI.

THVRMOD.

HERIGER.

MANN.

WAERIN.

LEVIGN.

MANNA.

WARIN.

MANEOD.

OSWALD.

WILEBERT.

During the reign of Eadwig, his brother Eadgar usurped part of his dominions, and in 959 took possession of the whole upon his death. At what time he turned his attention to the improvement of his Money is not known, for the date of the promulgation of his laws does not appear. In them he repeated that part of Aethelstan's ordinance, which appointed that only one kind of Money should be current throughout the realm; with this further addition, that no one should refuse it^g.

But, notwithstanding his care, the Money had, at the latter end of his reign, become so much diminished by clipping, that the Penny was scarcely equal to one Halfpenny in weight; he, therefore, a short time before his death, commanded new Money to be made throughout all England^h. That this crime had attained to an alarming excess may be inferred from St. Dunstan's refusal to celebrate Mass on Whitsunday, until three Moneyers, who had falsified the Coins, had undergone the usual punishment of the loss of the right hand. This it seems had been deferred on account of the sacredness of the day; but he expressed his sense of their crime in the strongest terms, and insisted upon the sentence being executed immediatelyⁱ. Ead-

^g Wilkins, p. 78.

^h Mat. Westminster, p. 195.

ⁱ The words of Eadmer are: "Alio tempore Monetarii tres, qui in potestate viri erant*, cum falsâ monetâ capti ad subeundam pœnam hujusmodi hominibus per totum regnum promulgatam sunt judicati. Quæ res a Dunstano abscondi non potuit. Die ergo Pentecostes idem pater Missarum solennia celebraturus percunctatur, utrum Dei populo statuta justitia de ipsis monetariis facta fuerit annon? Respondetur eam ob reverentiam tanti diei in alium diem esse dilatam. Nequaquam, inquit, ita fiet. Monetarii nempe, qui falsos ex industriâ denarios faciunt, fures sunt; & eorum furto nullum nocentius esse cognosco. Nam in falsâ monetâ quam faciunt totam terram spoliunt, seducunt, perturbant. Ipsi divites, ipsi mediocres, ipsi pauperes in commune lædunt; & omnes quantum sua interest aut in opprobrium aut in egestatem aut in nihilum redigunt. Quapropter noveritis, quia ego hodie in sacrificandum Deo non accedam; nisi primo illi qui deprehensi sunt, eam quam in seductione totius populi promeruerunt

* Viri in potestate, according to Du Cange, were men subject to the power of the lord, or, in other words, villeins. See Glossary, Homines Potestatis.

mer's account of this transaction is so curious, that I have given it at length below.

In his Laws the payments are regulated by Shillings and Pennies only, but in the Statutes Northumbrensiū Presbyterorū, which in the Cambridge MS. are subjoined to them, Oræ and Marks are found^j.

On his Coins he styles himself Rex Anglorū, and also Rex totius Britannię^k. The Reverses bear the name of the Moneyer, and also, in many instances, that of the Mint. None of his Money has yet been discovered

subierint pœnam. Si enim in ultione tanti mali cum negotium me respiciat Deum placare supersedeo; quomodo illum de manibus meis sacrificium suscepturum sperare queo. Sed hæc licet crudelitati possint ascribi, Deo tamen patet intentio mea. Lacrimæ, gemitus atque suspiria viduarum ac pupillorum, clamor quoque vulgi totius mihi incumbit, & correctionem hujus mali deposcit. Quorum afflictionem, si quantum in me est mitigare non intendo; & Deum qui gemitibus eorum compatitur, nimis offendo, & alios ad idem malum exercendum promptiores & audaciores facio. Dixerat, et pro pœna illorum qui manus erant perdituri pietate motus, lacrimis manat; ut satis esset videre de quo fonte procedebat edictum, quod nonnullis videbatur crudele. Ubi vero audivit præstitutam justitiam factam, surrexit, ac lota facie ad oratorium exhilarato vultu abiens ait: Quia Deum obediendo statutis justitiæ legibus audivi hodie, confido quod & ipse per misericordiam suam sacrificium de manu mea suscipiet hodie. Cujus confidentiæ effectu privatus non est. Eo quippe inter sacro-sancta Missarum solennia sacras manus extendente, & Deum patrem omnipotentem ut Ecclesiam suam Catholicam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere dignaretur toto orbe terrarum interpellante, nivea columba multis intuentibus de cœlo descendit; & donec sacrificium consumptum esset, super caput ejus expansis & quasi immotis alis sub silentio mansit." Eadmerus de Vita S. Dunstani. Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 216.

^j Wilkins, p. 98.

^k In his Charters he is styled, Basileos Anglorū, et rex atque imperator sub ipso Domino regum & nationum infra fine Britannię commorantium. A. D. 967. [Hemingi, Chart. p. 371.]

Divina collubescence gratia totius Albionis rex primicheriusque. A. D. 969. [Id. p. 559.]

Per magnam omnipotentis Dei misericordiam, tocius Anglorū Regni solio sublimatus. [Archæologia, vol. XIV. p. 154.]

Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Basilius, necnon maritimarum seu Insularum Regum circum habitantium, adeo ut nullius progenitorum meorum subjectione largiflua Dei gratia superpetente, sublimatus. A. D. 974. [William of Malmsbury, folio 32.]

Anglorū basileus omniumque regum insularum Oceanique Britanniam circumjacentis, cunctarumque nationū, quæ infra eam includuntur, imperator et dominus. [Selden's Titles of Honour, Part I. chap. ii. § v.]

with Greek in the legend, either in words or in single letters, though the existence of such has been incautiously asserted¹.

The conquest of great part of Ireland, with its most noble city, Dublin, of which Eadgar boasts in a Charter granted by him to the Church of Worcester, A. D. 964^m, has been treated by some as a fiction of the Monks. But although the Charter itself be allowed to be spurious (and it must be confessed that, from internal evidence, its genuineness is much to be suspected), yet it by no means follows that the conquests of Eadgar which it enumerates must necessarily be without foundation. That immediately before us, of

¹ Edgar, upon his Coins, and in his Charters, almost always termed himself Basileus, instead of Rex. [Milner's History of Winchester, vol. I. p. 151, n. 6.]

On Coins of this æra βασιλεϋ has been found. [Henshall's Domesday translated, No. I. p. 221.]

To both these gentlemen I applied for further information. Mr. Milner, in a letter dated March 31, 1800, says, "I am forced to acknowledge my inability to recollect, at the distance of three years, the grounds on which I asserted that the word Basileus occurs on some of the Coins of Edgar. It is very possible that my imagination being strongly impressed by the frequency of that term in the Charters of Edgar, I might fancy that I had also seen it on some of that Monarch's Coins. At all events, I will take care (in case I should not in the interim meet with a Coin bearing that title) to efface it in any future edition or editions I may give of the History of Winchester." This is extremely candid and manly. Having, however, occasion to write to him in 1806, on another subject, I begged to know whether he had gained any additional information. His answer was dated Nov. 23 in that year; and in it he says, "I do not recollect what I might have written heretofore concerning the title of Basileus on the Coins of Edgar, but I should have been almost surprized if any other had appeared upon them." He then gives his reason, which is, that Edgar is so styled in his Charters. And the Note referred to above appears exactly in the same form, and precisely in the same page, in the second edition of the History of Winchester, which was published in 1809.—Mr. Henshall forgot what was due to himself and to me, and returned no answer to my inquiries; but, upon being questioned by a gentleman, at my request, he quoted Mr. Milner as his authority. I cannot but observe that he was particularly unfortunate in selecting from the History of Winchester COINS, on which the word in question is not to be found, and in omitting CHARTERS, in which it so frequently occurs, and which would have answered his purpose.—My Readers are now in possession of all the information which it is in my power to give respecting the existence of Coins of Edgar with Basileus in their legends; and I trust they will not think me deficient in candour when I declare that, in my opinion, the statements which have been extracted from the works referred to above, have no other foundation than a want of knowledge of the subject, joined to a warm and incorrect imagination.

^m Hemingi Chart. p. 517.

Ireland, receives great confirmation from the circumstance of Coins having been struck in Dublin by Aethelred, who succeeded to the Crown of England not more than four years after the death of Eadgar; for it is impossible to show by what means he established a Mint there, unless a prior conquest of that City should be admitted; and it is not even pretended that either he, or his predecessor Eadward, were the conquerors of Ireland. The reign of the latter was much too short to allow of foreign conquests, and that of the former too feeble, and too much affected by Danish incursions, to permit any attempts at an extension of dominion. It has been conjectured that Eadgar did not keep possession of the City of Dublin, but only imposed a tribute upon its king; and that these Coins, with the name of Aethelred, were struck for the purpose of paying it, and as an acknowledgment of dominion and right of protectorshipⁿ. But this is to cut, rather than to untye, the knot; and it will require much, and that very evident, proof to induce us to admit that Coins were ever formed with such intentions.

It is probable that there is as little foundation for the tradition that Coins were made of leather at this period. I find it thus alluded to in the Comedy of The Wits:

“ Why this was such a firk of piety
 I ne’er heard of: bury her gold with her!
 ’Tis strange her old shoes were not interr’d too,
 For fear the days of Edgar should return,
 When they coin’d leather^o.”

His Mints were numerous:

A.		CAETWARA.	} Canterbury.
BATHA CIFI.	Bath.	CENT.	
BDFO.	} Bedford.	CANTWARA.	} Derby.
BE.		DEORBY.	
BEDAFO.		EAXANC.	} Exeter.
BEDAFOR.		EAXNC.	

ⁿ Simon's Essay on Irish Coins, p. 8, who has borrowed the idea from Keder's Nummorum in Hibernia antequam hæc insula sub Henrico II. Angliæ Rege, Anglici facta sit juris, cusorum indagatio, 4to, Leipsiæ, 1708. p. 27.

^o Act V. Sc. 1. I know not any fact which can justify this allusion.

EFER.	} York.	LO.	} London.
EFERVVIC.		LOND. CIF.	
ELY.	Ely.	LOND. CIFITA.	
ENT. [probably C omitted]	} Canterbury.	LVD.	
EO.		LVND.	
EOFER.	} York.	LVNDE.	
EOFERWIC.		LVNDI.	} Norwich.
EOFOR.		METWI.	
EOFORWI.		MLTVI.	
EOFORWIC.		NORTHVVI.	} Oxford.
EX.	Exeter.	NRTHVVI.	
GLEAV.	Gloucester.	OX.	} Shrewsbury.
GIP.	Ipswich.	OXNA.	
H.	} Southampton.	SCRO.	} Stamford.
HA.		STANF.	
HAM.		STANFO.	
HAMT.		STANFORD.	} Thetford.
HAMTV.		TE.	
HAMTVN.		THEOTF.	} Teignmouth.
I.	} Lewes.	TIN.	
INTB.		TINTMI.	} London.
L.		VN. probably for LVN.	
LAE.	} Leicester, Chester, or Lewes?	WELEGAFOR.	Wallingford.
LAWE.		WENCLES.	Winchelsea?
LE.	} Lewes.	WI.	} Wilton.
LEVE.		WILTV.	
LEWE.	} Lincoln.	WILTVN.	
LINCOL.		WIN.	} Winchester.
LINN.	Lynn.	WINT.	
LINDCO.	} Lincoln.	WINTO.	
LNDCO.			

His Moneyers exceed in number those of any preceding Monarch. The following names have been preserved :

ADELAVER.	AETFERD.	ALDEWINE.
ADELGER.	AETFERN.	ALFERTH.
ADEN.	AETHELFERTH.	ATHELAVER.
AELFGAR.	AETHELRED.	ATHELWINE.
AELFNOTH.	AETHELSIE.	ATHELWOLD.
AELFRED.	AETHELSIGE.	ATHVLF.
AELFSIGE.	AETHELSTAN.	BALDRIC.
AELFSTAN.	AETHELWINE.	BALDVVIN.
AESCMAN.	AETHESTAN.	BENETHIHT.
AESCVLF.	ALBVTE.	BEORMTRIC.

BERENARD.	FASTOLF. ODA.	LEOFSILI.
BIRGS.	Two Moneyers.	LEOFWINE.
BIRNVM.	FASTOLF. RAFN. Ditto.	LEOFWOLD.
BOGA.	FASTOLFES.	LEVIG.
BOGEA.	FASTOLFVES.	LIOFSTAN.
BOIA.	FIODVAN.	LYFINC.
BOIGA. See FASTOLF.	FOLEARD.	MAN.
BRITFER.	FREOTHRIC.	MANAN.
BRVNINC.	FRETHIC.	MANING.
CARTHEIN.	FRETHICIN.	MANIWV.
CARTHEN.	FROTHRC.	MANNA.
CAVELI.	FRYTHEMVND.	MANNEES.
CAWELIN.	GILM.	MANSAT.
CNAWA.	GILVS.	MARCER.
CNAWE.	GRID.	MARSCALE.
COLENARD.	GRIM.	MELSVTHAN.
COWMAN.	GVNNVLF.	MORENVN.
CVLM.	GVNVERD.	MORGNV.
DEMENCE.	HACVF.	MVWN.
DEORVLFES.	HACVLF.	ODA. See FASTOLF.
DVN.	HREMAN.	OGEA.
DVRAND.	HEREMOD.	OGENAN.
DVRANDIES.	HERIGER.	OGENANI.
EADMVND.	HEROLF.	OSMVND.
EADWINE.	HEROLFES.	OSVLF.
EALFSIGE.	HERTIN.	OSWARDES.
EANVLF.	HIGOLF.	OSWARDTHS.
ELCDEN.	HILD.	OTHELRIES.
ELFREDES.	IGOLFERTHES.	RAFN. See FASTOLF.
ELFSTAN.	INGELBERD.	REGENOLD.
ELFWALD.	INGOLF.	RICOLF.
ENIMOEODIA.	IOLES.	RICVLF.
EOFERARD.	IONAN.	SEDEMA.
EOFERMVND.	IVE.	SEDEMAN.
EOROTH.	IVEN.	SIFERTH.
ETFERN.	IVENTE.	SIFERY.
ETHELRED.	IVHAN.	THEODGAR.
ETHELVINE.	LEGFERTH.	THVRFERTH.
FARDEN.	LENNA.	THVRMOD.
FARMAN.	LENNAM.	THVRSTAN.
FARTHEIN.	LEOFRIC.	VIDOC.
FASTOLF. BOIGA.	LEOFSIG.	VNBEIN.
Two Moneyers.	LEOFSIGE.	WINE.

WINEN.
WINENR.
WVIFTAN, forsan
WVLFTAN.

WVLFGAR.
WVLFMAER.
WVLFTAN.
WVLGAR.

WVLSTAN.
WVNSIGE.
WVNSTAN.

In the year 975, Eadweard II. better known by the title of the Martyr, ascended the throne on the death of his father Eadgar.

It does not appear that he made any alteration in the state of the Coinage during his short reign, which continued not more than three years; nor are any circumstances relating to his Money to be found in the Historians who have given brief statements of the events during that period.

His style upon his Coins, when it is given at length, is REX ANGLORVM. All of them which have hitherto been discovered are of the same type, and bear on the Obverse an ill-drawn portrait, with a cross patee on the Reverse, around which are the name of the Moneyer and of the Mint.

The places are numerous, and some of them are not found upon his father's Money.

BEDA.	} Bedford.	FERIC. pro EFERIC.	York.
BEDAFOR.		GIPE.	Ipswich.
CAENT.	Canterbury.	GLEV.	Gloucester.
CASTR.	Qu. Castor in Northamptonshire, or Chester, which is sometimes written Cear-ter in Chron. Sax.	GRAN.	} Cambridge.
		GRANT.	
		HAM.	} Southampton.
DEORBY.	Derby.	HAMTV.	
E.		HATVN.	
EAEX.	} Exeter.	HERT.	Hertford.
EAXE.		KAENT P.	Canterbury.
EAXEC.		LAEV.	} Lewes?
EAXET.		LAEVE.	
EFE.	} York.	LE.	Leicester or Chester?
EFER.		LEGE.	Chester.
EFERIC.		LI.	} Lichfield or Lincoln?
EFERW.		LIC.	
EFERWIC.		LIMEN.	
EFERWICA.		LIMENE.	
EOFORWIC.			

LIN.		NIEWEN.	
LINC.		NO.	
LINCOL.		NORTH.	Norwich.
LINDC.		OXA.	
LINDCL.		OXNA.	} Oxford.
LINDCOL.	} Lincoln.	OXNE.	
LINDCOLE.		SC. EDMD.	St. Edmundsbury.
LINDEOLE.		STA.	
LINDEOLNE.		STAM.	
LINDOL.		STAN.	
LINDOLNE.		STANE.	} Stamford.
LNDCOL.		STANF.	
LNDLOIG.		STANFO.	
LVDA.		STANFOR.	
LVN.		STANFORD.	
LVNDONI.	} London.	TANWO.	
LVVEIC.		THIO.	Tamworth?
LYDA.	Lydford.	WINT.	Thetford.
			Winchester.

His Moneyers names were

ADELAVERN.	DEORVLF.	HILD.
AELFSTAN.	DVN.	HVSTAN.
AELFWALD.	DVNIC.	INDOLF.
AELFWEARD.	EANVLF.	INGOLF.
AESCMAN.	EANVTE.	IOHAN, or
AETHELRED.	ELFSTAN.	IONAN.
AETHELWALD.	ELFSTN.	ISVLF.
AETHERED.	ELFWALD.	KNAPA.
AETHESTAN.	ESCMAN.	LEFWOLD.
ALFWEARD.	ETHELN.	LEOFEN.
ALHSTAN.	FACER.	LEOINAN.
BALDDIC.	FASTOLF.	LEVG.
BALDIC.	GLONNVLF.	LEVIG.
BEMENE.	GRIM.	MAELSVDON.
BENMENE.	GRIMD.	MAFGRIM.
BEOLA.	GRIND.	MANNA.
BERMENE.	GVNNVL.	MANNIC.
BOIA.	GVNNVLA.	MEGERED.
BVRNSTAN.	HAFGRIM.	MELSDON.
CNAPA.	HANCRE.	MEN.
CNAPE.	HANCRENT.	ODA.
COLGRVN.	HANGRIM.	OGEA.
CVLM.	HEGERED.	OIA, forsan pro BOIA.

OSVLF.	SVRNLOS.	VVLFRED.
OSWALD.	SWYRELINC.	WLGAR.
RAEGENVLF.	SYRCLOS.	WVLFEAR.
REGENVLF.	THEODGAR.	WVLFGAR.
RODBERT.	WAGER.	WVLFMAER.
SEHXBVRHT.	WIGFERTH.	WVLFRED.
SEHYBYRYHT.	WILEBEART.	WVLGAR.
STYRGA.	WINE.	WVLSTAN.
STYRGAR.	WINTSIGE.	WVNSIGE.

The cruel murder which was perpetrated on Eadweard by the command of his Step-mother placed her son Aethelred on the throne, in the year 979. He was but ten years of age when he attained the crown; and his whole reign was marked by a series of actions which betrayed the most helpless irresolution and pusillanimity^q. Of the weakness of his government the Danes failed not to take advantage; and in the course of various invasions of his Kingdom extorted from him no less a sum than one hundred and sixty-seven thousand Pounds. It might reasonably have been supposed that the payment of such heavy exactions, the last of which, to the amount of thirty thousand Pounds, took place in 1014^r, not more than three years before the conclusion of the reign of Aethelred, must have drained his dominions of nearly all the current Coin, and that his Money would, in consequence, be amongst the most rare of the Anglo-Saxon Series. This, however, is by no means the case, for those of the most usual type are by no means uncommon. It is probable this must be attributed to the number of his Mints, which far exceeds that of any preceding Monarch. His Moneyers likewise were proportionably numerous; and his Laws afford evidence of considerable attention having been given, during his reign, to the preservation of the integrity of his Money. In the Ordinances which were made at Wantage it was appointed, that if a Moneyer should be accused of counterfeiting the Coins, after it had been prohibited, he should undergo the three-fold Ordeal, and if found guilty, should be put to death; that no man,

^q William of Malmsbury's words forcibly express the imbecility of his reign: "obsedit potius quam rexit annis 37." folio 34 b.

^r The amount of the different sums which were paid to the Danes is taken from Florence of Worcester.

cept the King, should have a Moneyer^s; and that every Moneyer who should be accused should purchase his Law with twelve Oras; that the Moneyers who should work in woods, or elsewhere, should forfeit their lives, unless the King would pardon them^t. In his Laws the Fines are regulated

^s Wilkins in this passage renders *mýnezepe* by *officinam monetariam*. In the sentence immediately preceding this he translates it by *Monetarius*, as it is also by Brington. See the following note.

^t Wilkins, p. 118. This working *inne puða* must, I presume, have been prohibited, not only because it was without the walls of a Town, within which alone Coinage was to be carried on according to the Laws of Aethelstan, but also because the working in a secret and retired place would give opportunity for clandestine practices. As the provisions respecting Money in Brington's Translation of the Laws of Aethelred differ very materially from those in Wilkins, I shall give them at length, that they may be compared together:

"Cap. XI. Et omnis monetarius qui accusabitur quod falsum fecit postquam prohibitum fuit, adeat triplex ordalium, & si culpabilis sit occidatur. Et nullus habeat aliquem monetarium nisi rex, et omnis monetarius qui infamis sit redimat sibi lagam xij. oris."

"Cap. XXVI. Et jam dixerunt quod nichil eis interesse videbatur inter falsarios & mercatores qui bonam pecuniam portant ad falsarios, & ab ipsis emunt ut impurum & minus appendens operentur & inde mangonant & barganniant, & eos eciam qui conos faciunt in occultis, & vendunt falsariis pro pecunia, & incidunt alterius monetam mundam & non ipsam inmundam, unde visum est sapientibus omnibus, quod isti tres homines unius rectitudinis essent digni. Et si aliquis eorum accusetur, sit Anglicus sit transmarinus, ladiet se pleno ordalio; Et constituerunt quod monetarii pendant & ponatur super ipsius monetæ fabricam, & qui in nemoribus vel alibi sinilibus fabricant, vitæ suæ culpabiles sint, nisi rex velit eorum misereri.

"Cap. XXVII. Et præcipimus ne quis pecuniam puram & recte appendentem sonet [*i. e. respuat*] monetetur, in quocunque portu monetur in regno meo, super overhirnessam meam.

"Cap. XXVIII. Et diximus de mercatoribus qui falsum & lactum afferunt ad portum, ut advocent si possint, si non possint weræ suæ culpabiles sint vel vitæ suæ sicut rex velit, vel eadem lada se innoxient quam prædiximus quod in ipsa pecunia nil inmundum sciebant unde suam negotiationem exercuerunt, & habeat postea dampnum illud ex incuria sua, ut ab institutis monetariis purum & rectum appendens. Et portirevæ qui falso consentanei fuerint, ejusdem censuræ digni sint cum falsis monetariis, nisi rex indulgeat eis vel se possint adlegiare eodem *sirath* vel ordalio prædicto.

"Cap. XXIX. Et rex suadet & mandat episcopis suis & Comitibus & Alderniannis & præpositis omnibus, ut curam adhibeant de illis qui tale falsum operantur & portant per patriam, sicut præmissum est utrobique cum Danis & Anglis.

"Cap. XXX. Et ut monetarii pauciores sint quam antea fuerunt, in omni summo portu sint tres monetarii, & in omni alio portu sit unus, & illi habeant suboperarios suos in suo crimine, quod purum faciant & recti ponderis per eandem witam quam prædiximus. Et ipsi qui portus custodiunt efficiant super overhirnessam meam, ut omne pondus ad mercatum sit
pondus

by Pennies, Shillings, Marks, Oras, and Pounds^u; the latter occur both of Gold and Silver^w.

The type of his Coins does not appear to have been frequently changed, at least no more than six or seven varieties are known, though his Money is far from being uncommon. One kind of it is remarkable from the hand of Providence being impressed on the Reverse, with the letters A and ω, as it is the only instance in which Greek characters are found on any Coins of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchs.

He is styled on his Money Rex Anglorum; but in his Charters his title is considerably amplified^x. The Reverses invariably present the name of the Mint together with that of the Moneyer.

His Mints were placed at

ALE.		CANTWA.	} Canterbury.
ATE.		CANTWARE.	
BARD.		CEFTEN.	
BATH.	} Bath.	CENT.	} Canterbury.
BATHA.		CENTWARE.	
BATHAN.		CIC.	} Chichester.
BATHON.		CISE.	
BEDA.	} Bedford.	COLN.	
BEDAF.		CROBE, forsan pro SCROBE.	Shrewsbury.
BEDAFOR.		DE.	
BYCIG.	Buckingham.	DEORABY.	} Derby.
CAENT.	} Canterbury.	DEORARY.	
CAENTW.		DEORAY.	
CAENTWA.		DEORBY.	
CAENTWARE.		DIFLI.	} Dyflin, i. e. Dublin ^y .
CANT.		DYFLI.	

pondus quo pecunia mea recipitur, & eorum singulum signetur ita quod xv oræ libram faciant. Et custodiant omnes monetam sicut vos docere præcipio & omnes eligimus." Bromton, Col. 897, 898, 899.

^u Wilkins, p. 118.

^w Id. p. 105.

^x Æthelred Rex Anglorum [totius Anglorum nationis, summo rerum opifice largiente, regni gubernacula sortitus]. A. D. 995. [Textus Roffensis, p. 124.]

Æthelred, deifica annuente clementia, gentis Anglorum basileus. A. D. 998. [Id. p. 131.]

Æthelredus Rex nationum totius Britanniae. A. D. 1012. [Id. p. 136.]

Gratia summi tonantis Angligenum, Orcadarum necne in gyro jacentium monarchus. To the same Charter he subscribes, Ego Æthelredus Anglorum induperator. [Selden's Titles of Honour, part I. chap. II. § v.]

^y See Appendix, Plate XXVIII. All the Coins of this Mint, which have hitherto been discovered, are of this type, which is commonly called the Irish, from its resemblance to the Money

DOFE.	} Dover.	HVNT.	} Huntingdon.
DOFR.		HVNTAN.	
DOFRA.		HVNTAND.	
DOFRR.		HVNT.	
DOR.		IED. Jedburgh?	
E.		IORT.	
EAXE.	} Exeter.	LAEVE.	} Lewes.
EAXEC.		LAEW.	
EAXECEST.		LAWE.	
EEERWIC, pro EFERWIC.		LAL.	
EFER.	} York.	LANSTF ^z .	
EFERW.		LEA.	
EFERWI.		LEGES. Chester.	
EFERWIC.		LEICE.	} Leicester.
EFOR.		LEIEE.	
EFORWIC.		LEIG.	} Lewes.
EO.		LEW.	
EOFE.		LEWE.	
EOFER.		LI.	
EOFR.		LIGE.	} Leicester.
EOFRIC.		LIGECES.	
EOFRW.		LIGER.	
GEPEWIC. Ipswich.		LIGERCES.	
GIFELC. Givelcestre, i.e. Ilchester.		LIMNA.	
GIP.	} Ipswich.	LIN.	} Lincoln.
GIPE.		LINC.	
GIPES, or		LINCL.	
GYPES.		LINCO.	
GIPIS.	} Gloucester.	LINCOL.	
GLEA.		LINCOLE.	
GLEAW.	} Cambridge.	LINCOLN.	
GRANT.		LINCOLNE.	
HAM. O.	} Southampton.	LIND.	
HAM. VIL.		LINDC.	
HANO.	} Hertford.	LINDCL.	
HEORT.		LINDCO.	
HERFORD.		LINDCOLNE.	
HIFI.		LINDOL.	

of the early Kings of that nation. The probability that this Mint was established in consequence of the conquest of Dublin by Eadgar has been suggested, under his reign, at p. 261.

^z Quanquam satis distinctæ sunt literæ, explicare nescio. Mr. G. North's MSS.

LINEL.		SCEAFT.	Shaftesbury.
LNC.	Lincoln.	SCRO.	Shrewsbury.
LONDON.	} London.	SEARBE.	
LONDONI.		SFROBBES, pro	} Shrewsbury.
LVD.	} Lydford?	SCROBBES.	
LVDA.		STAETH.	Stafford?
LVDAN.		STAN.	} Stamford.
LVDO.	} London.	STANF.	
LVN.		STANFO.	
LVND.		STANFOR.	
LVNDE.		STANOR.	
LVNDEN.		STANV.	Stanwick?
LVNDN.		SVDBY.	} Sudbury.
LVNDO.		SVTHB.	
LVNDON.		SVTHBI.	
LVNDONI.		SVTHBY.	
LVNDONIA.		THEO.	} Thetford.
LVTHBY, forsan pro SVTHBY.	Sudbury.	THEOD.	
LYDA.	Lydford.	THEODFO.	
M.		THEOT.	
MAELD.	} Maldon.	THEOTFO.	
MAELDV.		THEOTFOR.	
MAELDVNE.		THEOTFORD.	
MEALD.		TVRC.	Torcksey?
MEALDE.		VNT ^a , pro HVNT.	Huntingdon.
MELDVN.	} Norwich.	WECED.	} Watchet.
NORTH.		WEEED.	
NORTHWIC.		WELIG.	} Wallingford.
NORWI.		WELING.	
NR, forsan pro NOR.	Norwich.	WERE.	Wareham?
OXNA.	Oxford.	WFEHIA.	
RAID.	Reading.	WIGEA.	Worcester?
RINI.		WIHR.	Worcester?
RINTO, forsan pro WINTO.		WILT.	} Wilton.
RISIC, or		WILTV.	
RIZIC.		WILTVN.	
ROF.	} Rochester.	WIN.	} Winchester.
ROFE.		WINC.	
ROFEC.		WINCE.	
ROFECE.		WINCESTR.	
ROFECS.		WINCSER.	

^a In one quarter of this Coin there is a lozenge, which Mr. Southgate considered to be intended as the mark of omission of a letter, and that the letter H.

WINCSR. }
 WINCST. } Winchester.
 WINT. }
 WINTCESRE. }

WINTO. }
 WINTONI. } Winchester.
 WINTONIA. }

Moneyers :

AADGAR.
 AEDERED.
 AELEWINE.
 AELFEAN.
 AELFGAR.
 AELFHEN.
 AELFMAER.
 AELFNOTH.
 AELFRVD.
 AELFSIGE.
 AELFSTAN.
 AELFWERD.
 AELFWINE.
 AERGRED.
 AETHELMAER.
 AETHELNOTH.
 AETHELRED.
 AETHLRIC.
 AETHELSIGE.
 AETHELWERD.
 AETHELWERT.
 AETHELWI.
 AETHELWINE.
 AETHERAED.
 AETHERD.
 AETHERED.
 AETHESTAN.
 AEVIC.
 ALFWALD.
 ALFWOLD.
 ATHELWOLD.
 ASVLF, or
 AZVLF.
 BALDDIC.
 BALDIC.
 BEADVLF.
 BEALDVLF.
 BEGAM.
 BERHTNATH.

BEOCAN.
 BEOLA.
 BEOLAN.
 BEORNNOTH.
 BEORNVLF.
 BO'GIA.
 BOIA.
 BRANTING.
 BRESTAN.
 BRIHTMAER.
 BRVN.
 BRVNSTAN.
 BVRNTITH.
 BYRHMOTH.
 BYRHTNOTH.
 BYRNFERTH.
 BYRNSIGE.
 BYRNSTAN.
 COLGRIM.
 CVNNAM.
 CVNSIGE.
 CYNNA.
 DODDA.
 DODRIG.
 DRANTONG.
 DRENG.
 DVDELE.
 DVN.
 DVNSTAN.
 DVRAND.
 DVRHTMAER.
 EADGAR.
 EADMVND.
 EADNOTH.
 EADRIC.
 EADSIG.
 EADSIGE.
 EADWERD.
 EADWINE.

EADWOLD.
 EALDRED.
 EALHSTAN.
 EALSTAN.
 EDRIC.
 EDSIGE.
 EDSTAN.
 EDWECR.
 EDWER.
 EDWINE.
 EGVIG.
 EILAF.
 ELEBRHT.
 ELESTAN.
 EODMAN.
 EREWINE.
 ETHELRED.
 ETHELWERD.
 FAEREMAN.
 FAEREMIN.
 FAERTHEN.
 FARMAN.
 FASTVLF.
 FEREMAN.
 FEVIC.
 FIERIEIH.
 FOLCEARD.
 FRITHEMVND.
 FROSTOLF.
 FTSTOLF.
 GOD.
 GODA.
 GODAM.
 GODEMAN.
 GODINC.
 GODINE.
 GODING.
 GODMAN.
 GODRIC.

GODWINE.
 GODWINEN.
 GRIM.
 GRIMD.
 GRIND.
 GVNAR.
 GVNAR.
 GVNNI.
 HANCRENT.
 HEAWVLF.
 HEREBREHT.
 HILDVLF.
 HVNDVL.
 HVNDVLF.
 INGELRI.
 ISEGEL.
 ISEGELL.
 IVLSTAN.
 KYNSIGE.
 LEGFWINE.
 LEOFESTAN.
 LEOFMAN.
 LEOFNOTH.
 LEOFNYSE.
 LEOFRIC.
 LEOFRVD.
 LEOFSIGE.
 LEOFSTAN.
 LEOFSTANIT.
 LEOFWINE.
 LEOFWOLD.
 LEOMAN.
 LIFINC.
 LIOFSTAN.
 LIVING.
 LOFNOTH.
 LYFINC.
 LYTLMAN.
 MANGOD.
 MANING.
 MANNA.
 MANNIC.

NIOMNREN.
 ODA.
 OGE.
 ONLAF.
 ORDBRIHT.
 OSBERN.
 OSCETEL.
 OSCVTEL.
 OSCYTEL.
 OSFERTH.
 OSFRED.
 OSFYRTH.
 OSGVT.
 OSMVND.
 OSOLF.
 OSVERD.
 OSVLF.
 OSWI.
 OSWIG.
 OSWOLD.
 OTHGRIM.
 OVTHGRIM.
 RAEGENBALD.
 RODBART.
 RODBERD.
 RODBERT.
 SAEMAN.
 SAEVINE.
 SAEWINE.
 SIBWINE.
 SIDEWINE.
 SIDWIN.
 SIDWINE.
 SIGERIC.
 SIRE.
 SITHWINE.
 SOEMVD.
 SVMERLEDI.
 SVMERLETHI.
 SVNVL.
 SWERTGAR.
 SWERTIN.

SWERTINC.
 SWERTING.
 SWETIN.
 SWETINC.
 SWYRLING.
 SWYRTINC.
 THEDGILD.
 THEODGILD.
 THVRCETEL.
 THVRCYTEL.
 THVRSTAN.
 THVRVLF.
 TOCA.
 TOGA.
 TOGAM.
 TVMME.
 TVNA.
 TVNVLF.
 TVPEMAN.
 VILHEMT.
 VLFCETEL.
 VLFCETL.
 VNBEGN.
 VNBEIN.
 WALTTERN.
 WALTTFERTH.
 WANSTAN.
 WENGOS.
 WINTSIGE.
 WLMAER.
 WLMVND.
 WVLELIC.
 WVLFGAR.
 WVLFMAER.
 WVLFMER.
 WVLFNOTH.
 WVLFRIC.
 WVLFSGE.
 WVLFSTAN.
 WVLFWI.
 WVLLSTAN.
 WYNSTAN.

Aethelred fled into Normandy A. D. 1013, and Suein the Danish Invader mounted the throne. Bircherod has given a rude drawing of a Penny of this Monarch, which he decidedly pronounces to be struck in England, but which is, in my judgment, evidently a Danish Coin. I know not where the piece is to be found in this Kingdom, and therefore am under the necessity of copying Bircherod's Plate, which I have done in order to enable my Readers to form their opinion upon the subject. For the same reason I shall give that Author's words at length, as his work is so rare as to be in very few hands: "*Est mihi nummus argenteus hujus Regis, cujus unum latus Regem ostendit galeatum, & chlamyde indutum, cum barbâ protensâ & divisâ quæ cognomen furcatæ barbæ ipsi addidit more antiquissimo septentrionalium, qui a vestitu, capillis, vitiis & virtutibus aliisque corporis vel animi qualitatibus viros præstantiores denominare solebant. Ut in ipso opere plenius demonstratur. Conversionem & religionem crux illa indicat, quam manu præfert loco sceptri. Titulus & nomen regis SVEIN quod luculenter expressum legitur, eodem modo apud antiquos scriptores habetur, utpote apud Adamum Bremensem, in encomio Emmæ Reginæ & aliis scriptis huic ætati vicinis. Quæ in averso latere sunt, quamvis satis clare videri possunt, tamen locum vel castrum quoddam hodie ignotum indicare videntur. In Angliâ cusum fuisse hunc nummum a Suenone extremis suæ ætatis temporibus neutiquam dubito. Solent enim multi imo omnes antiqui Anglici nummi talem, qualis in averso latere est, crucem præferre cum punctulis & ornamentis, quod clarissimum mihi est indicium, alium Suenonem hic non intelligi posse quam hunc, qui Angliam simul tenuit^c.*"

Suein died within about seven months after his elevation, and his son Cnut, at the termination of a long contest with Aethelred, who had been recalled by the English Chieftains, and with Edmund Ironside, who succeeded to the throne upon the death of his Father, firmly established himself in the government in the year 1017.

It has generally been supposed that this Monarch coined only in his English Mints, and the following passage in Bircherod's work on Danish

^c Thomæ Broderi Bircherod, Specimen antiquæ rei Monetariæ Danorum, 4to. Hafniæ, 1701, p. 36.

Money has been referred to, in confirmation of that supposition: "Multos hunc Regem longo sui Imperii spatio cudisse nummos verisimile est, nec alios adhuc cernere contigit, quam in Angliâ signatos, ubi plurimo tempore resedit. Inde est, quod Chronicon Norvagicum refert, legatos Canuti ad corrumpendos Norvagiæ Proceres emissos primo verbis omnia fecisse, sed frustra, deinde ex crumenis suis effudisse magnam copiam Anglici numismatis ex argento, cujus nitor oculos horum Procerum perstringebat^d."

But these words are unquestionably not capable of so extended a signification, for it by no means follows, that Cnut never coined in Denmark because he attempted to bribe the Norwegian Nobles with English Money. That he did coin in Denmark is proved by the existence of Money with the title of REX DANORVM^e; it is, however, of extreme rarity.

His Mints in England are more numerous than those of any other of her Monarchs; a circumstance which seems to prove that a considerable influx of wealth took place during his reign. I have said seems to prove, because I have no evidence to show an absolute encrease of riches either by commerce or by any other means, and because it is possible that England then became more wealthy only as she was at that time enabled to retain the fruits of her industry unmolested by the rapacious Danes, who for more than two centuries had perpetually wrested them from her.

Whether these numerous Mints proceeded from the pride of Cnut, which might be gratified by their establishment, or were granted to gain the affection of the Towns in which they were placed, or were considered merely as a source of revenue (for the privilege was not wholly free^f), cannot now be determined; but it is probable that all these causes were combined.

In his Laws he provided for the preservation of his Money by ordaining, that one Coin should be current throughout all the Kingdom, and that no

^d Specimen Hist. Monet. Danorum, p. 39.

^e See Beskrivelse over Danske mynter og Medalier I Den Kongelige Samling. Kiöbenhavn. in two volumes folio. This splendid and very extensive work contains only two specimens of Cnut's Danish Money; one of which reads CNVT REX DANORVM. A.; the other, CNVT REX DENOR.

^f Payments for the Mints occur frequently in Domesday Book. See, for instance, vol. I. folio 336. b. where it is stated that in the time of Edward the Confessor the City of Lincoln paid twenty Pounds for the Mint.

man should refuse it except it were false; and if any one should hereafter falsify it, that he should lose the hand with which he counterfeited it, nor should he redeem it with any thing, neither with gold nor with silver. And if any one should accuse the *geþeƿa*^g of giving him permission to counterfeit the Money, then he should clear himself by the three-fold ordeal, and if his clearing should fail, he should be punished as a false coiner^h.

The Fines which are imposed in his Laws are estimated by Pounds, Shillings, Pence, Halfpennies (which occur for the first time in the Anglo-Saxon Laws), and Mancuses of Gold.

Cnut appears to have been proud of his title as King of England. It was scarcely ever omitted upon his Coins; and when, on other occasions, his style was written at full length, the precedence was given to England before all his other dominionsⁱ. It is singular that Ireland is not enumerated amongst the Kingdoms which were subject to him, as he unquestionably had a Mint in Dublin. His Coin which bears the name of that City, on the Reverse^k, does not differ from his most common type, and therefore cannot be supposed to have been struck for the express purpose of tribute, as those of Aethelred II., which resemble the antient Coins of Ireland, are vainly imagined to have been.

That very rare and remarkable Coin of his, with *PACX* on the Reverse, was probably struck on occasion of the Peace which was concluded between him and Eadmund Ironside, A. D. 1016^l.

His Mints, as has been before observed, were extremely numerous, and their names are always placed upon his Coins together with the Moneyer's. They were situated at

^g This *geþeƿa* was, I presume, the chief Officer of the Mint, for the term is equivalent to the Latin Comes, by which the principal person in any office was designated. The connexion of this Officer with the Mint is evident from the context. We still retain the word in our Sheriff, *i. e.* Shire-Reeve, or Head of the County. See in page 268, note ^t, an extract from Aethelred's Law, Chap. XXVIII. as given by Bromton, where *portirevæ* should, I suspect, be *revæ*, the Saxon being probably *geþeƿan*.

^h Wilkins, p. 134.

ⁱ William of Malmshury, folio 41. b.

^k See Appendix, Plate XXVIII.

^l Chron. Sax. sub anno.

AESCEFTES. } Shaftesbury.
AESCFTES. }

BATH. }
BATHA. } Bath.
BATHAN. }
BEATHN. }

BED. Bedford.

BR.

BRI.

BRIC.

BRICE.

BRIE.

BRIL. forsan pro BRIC. } Bristol.

BRIV.

BRV.

BRY.

BRIN.

BVC. Buckingham.

BVI.

CAD. Cadbury ?

CAENT.

CAENTW. } Canterbury.

CANTW. }

CEICE. Chichester.

CEN.

CENT. } Canterbury.

CENTW. }

CEP. Chepstow ?

CES. Chester.

CICEST. Chichester.

CNET.

COL.

COLAC. }
COLC. } Colchester.

COLE.

COLEC. }

CR.

CROG. } Crewkerne ?

CROGI. }

D.

DED.

DEO.

DIF. Dublin.

DOFR.

DOFRA.

DOFRAN.

DOFRENN. }

Dover.

DOR. Dorchester.

DTHE.

DYF. Dublin.

E.

EC.

ECX.

ECXEC. } Exeter.

EDFER.

ELV. Ely ?

EO.

EOD.

EODE.

EOF.

EOFD.

EOFE.

EOFER.

EOFERW.

EOFERWI.

EOFI.

EOFR.

EOFRI.

EOFRW.

EOFRWI.

EOFRWIC.

EOFRWICE.

EOI.

EOR.

EORC.

EX.

EXC.

EXCE.

EXCEC.

EXECE. }

Exeter.

FIM.

FRVC - - - R.

GIFELC. Ilchester.

GIPES.

GIPESCES.

GIPESWI. }

Ipswich.

GL. }
GLE. } Gloucester.
GLEI. }
GLEW. }

GODWINECAS.

GRAN. }
GRANTEM^m. } Cambridge.
GRAT. }

GROGI, forsan pro CROGI.

HAM. Southampton.

HEO. }
HEOR. } Hertford.
HEORT. }

HER. }
HEREF. } Hereford.

HERN.

HEST. }
HESTINC. } Hastings.

HREN.

HVN. Huntingdon.

HYTHA. Hythe.

IRRIVTV.

IAECE, or

NIAECE.

L.

LAE. }
LAEW. } Lewes.

LAGC. Leighton?

LAM, or

LAN.

LE.

LEG. }
LEGC. } Chester.
LEGE. }

LEGER. Leicester.

LEGL.

LEH.

LEHC.

LEHR. Leicester.

LEHTⁿ.

LEI. }
LEIC. } Leicester.
LEICE. }
LEICES. }

LELV.

LENC. Lincoln.

LEW. Lewes.

LHVDA, or }
LHYDA. } Lydford.

LI.

LIECE. Leicester.

LII.

LIN.

LINC. }
LINCO. } Lincoln.
LINCOL. }
LINCOLN. }
LINCONLNC. }
LINDCOL. }

LN.

LNC.

LNCN.

LNET.

LV.

LVD. Ludlow.

LVINE.

LVN. }
LVND. }
LVNDE. } London.
LVNDEI. }
LVNDEN. }
LVNDI. }
LVNDON. }

LYDA C. Lydford.

MÆLD. }
MEAL. } Maldon.

^m Mr. Combe gives this to Grantham; Archæologia, vol. XVIII. p. 201.

ⁿ Edward the Confessor has this Town together with the same Moneyer wvlstan. The Coin is in the British Museum. [Mr. Combe.]

NEACN.
 NIAECE, or
 IAECE.
 NOR.
 NORTH.
 NORTHI.
 NORTHW. } Norwich.
 NORTHWI.
 NORTHWIC.
 NORWI.
 OC.
 OCXE.
 OX.
 OXCEN.
 OXE.
 OXEN. } Oxford.
 OXN.
 OXSA.
 OXSEN.
 OXSENA.
 OXSN.
 RANT.
 RIC.
 RINC.
 RIV.
 ROFE. } Rochester.
 ROFEC.
 RV.
 RVME. } Romney.
 RVNE.
 SAEBER. Salisbury?
 SAN. } Sandwich.
 SANDVVI.
 SCEFTE.
 SCEFTESB. } Shaftesbury.
 SCFTES.
 SCR.
 SCRO. } Shrewsbury.
 SCROBR.
 SEBER. Salisbury?
 SEFTE. Shaftesbury.
 SER. } Salisbury?
 SERE.
 SITHE.

SN. } Nottingham.
 SNO.
 SR.
 SRO.
 ST.
 STA. Stamford.
 STAE. Stafford.
 STAN.
 STANF. } Stamford.
 STANFO.
 STANFOR.
 STANI.
 STEF. Stafford.
 SV. } Southwark.
 SVTH.
 TANTV. Taunton.
 THE.
 THEO.
 THEOD. } Thetford.
 THEOT.
 THEOTF.
 THEOTFO.
 THRIV.
 TOTA. Totnes.
 VNTED. Huntingdon?
 WAERINC. Warwick.
 WE.
 WECE. Watchet.
 WEL.
 WELI. } Wallingford.
 WELIN.
 WELMIAC.
 WELMIAF.
 WERI.
 WERIC. } Warwick.
 WERIN.
 WESWA.
 WI.
 WIB.
 WID.
 WIHRAC.
 WIN. } Winchester.
 WINA.
 WINC.

WINCE. }
 WINCES. }
 WINCESTR. } Winchester.
 WINCL. }
 WINCS. }
 WINCST. }

WINCSTERE. }
 WINCSTR. } Winchester.
 WINEOD. }
 WIR. } Worcester.
 WIRI. }

His Moneyers ° were,

AEDRED.	ALFSI.	CETEL.
AEFICC.	ALFWALD.	CETTHEGNWINE.
AEFRED.	ALFWOLD.	CHYTEL.
AEGELWINE.	ANWARD.	CINSIGE.
AELFE.	ARNCETL.	CNIGHT.
AELFEL.	ARNCTEL.	CNIHT.
AELFELM.	ARNOLF.	CNOFLNEN.
AELFGAR.	ASGOD.	CODERE.
AELFIGARD.	ASGOVT.	CODRIC.
AELFNOTH.	ASGVNT.	COGRIM.
AELFRIC.	ASGVVT.	COLEMAN.
AELFSI.	ASLAC.	COLGRIM.
AELFSIE.	BEORN.	COLLINI.
AELFSIG.	BLACELAN.	COLVINI.
AELFSIGE.	BLACEMAN.	CORLAC.
AELFSTAN.	BORSTIG.	CRETHEWINE.
AELFWERD.	BORSTRI.	CRINNA.
AELFWI.	BRANN.	CROC.
AELFWIE.	BREHSTAN.	CROFINC.
AELFWIG.	BRIHTMAER.	CROFL.
AELFWINE.	BRIHTWINE.	CRVCAN.
AELFWIRD.	BRINWOLD.	DEGNWINE.
AELRIC.	BRNTRED.	DENGWINE.
AELTHWOLD.	BRVMAN.	DEORSIGE.
AELWINE.	BRVNCTAN.	DRODA.
AETHELNOTH.	BRVNGAR.	DROWA.
AETHELRIC.	BRVNH.	DVSTAN.
AETHELWINE.	BRVNINC.	EADELRED.
AETHERIC.	BRVNMAN.	EADNOTH.
AETHESTAN.	BRVNSTAN.	EADWI.
AETHRIC.	BRVNTAT.	EADWIN.
ALCSI.	CAETEL.	EADWIRED.

° The publication of the XVIIIth volume of the Archæologia, whilst this sheet was in the press, has enabled me to encrease the List of Moneyers.

EADWOLD.	FRTHIWINE.	IVSTEGEN.
EALDRED.	FRVDIWINE.	LADMAER.
EDLOIGERARE.	FRYDIWINE.	LANDPERTH.
EDRED.	GARTHEIN.	LED - - - LE.
EDRIC.	GEFFEL.	LEFA.
EDSIGEWARE.	GIMVLF.	LEFENTII.
EDWERD.	GINVLF.	LEFOCA.
EDWINE.	GODA.	LEODMAER.
EGELWERD.	GODEFRETH.	LEODMER.
EGELWIG.	GODELEOF.	LEODMR.
EGELWINE.	GODEMAN.	LEOFA.
EIMVLF.	GODERE.	LEOFEDEG.
ELBERD.	GODMAN.	LEOFENOTH.
ELEWERD.	GODRIC.	LEOFNOD.
ELEWINE.	GODRICSWOT.	LEOFNOTH.
ELEWN.	GODWINE.	LEOFRED.
ELFICARD.	GODWINECAS.	LEOFRIC.
ELFRIC.	GOERE.	LEOFSIGE.
ELFWIC.	GOLDVS.	LEOFSTAN.
ELFWINE.	GOTCILD.	LEOFSVNN.
ELFWIRD.	GOTEIL.	LEOFWI.
ELFWVRD.	GOTEILOR.	LEOFWIN.
ELVARD.	GOTEILTH.	LEOFWINE.
ELWERD.	GRIM.	LEOFWOLD.
EODALLIA.	GRIMAN.	LEONCWE.
EODWINE.	GRIMOLF.	LEOT - - -
ESELWINE.	GRIMVLF.	LEOWINE.
ETHELMAER.	GRVCAN.	LEOWN.
ETHELRIC.	GRVNGAR.	LIFINC.
ETHELWINE.	GRVRN.	LIOFWINE.
ETHESTAN.	GVNELF.	LIWINE.
ETHLSTAN.	GVNLEOF.	LODA.
ETSIG.	GVNREF.	LVFA.
ETSIGE.	HATHAN, pro NATHAN.	LVFERIC.
FAERTHEIN.	HELSIRICO.	MACSVTHA.
FARGRIM.	HILDOLE.	MAN.
FARTHEIN.	HILDOLF.	MANA.
FARTHIN.	HILDRED.	MATTHAN.
FEREMAN.	HILDVLF.	NATATHAN.
FEREMN.	HVNEWINE.	NATHAN.
FERENM.	HVNNI.	NIEICI.
FLATHAN.	HVVATMAN.	NIEIMEI.
FLECTHILFL.	IFRETHI.	NORVLF.
FRITHCOL.	IRE.	ODA.

ODE.	STIRKAR.	TROTAN.
OMAI.	STRCOL.	VCEDF.
ORDBRIHT.	STYRCOL.	VLF.
OSBERN.	SVARTCOL.	VLFONLINC.
OSFERTH.	SVARTGOL.	WEDLES.
OSGOD.	SVMERLIDA.	WEDLOS.
OSGOT.	SVNEGOD.	WINE.
OSGVT.	SVNOLF.	WINEDAEI.
OSMVND.	SVRTINC.	WINEDAEN.
OSVLF.	SVRITVNE.	WINTSIGE.
OSWI.	SWAEGEN.	WITHAN.
OTHAN.	SWAN.	WITHRIN.
OTHBI.	SWARTIC.	WITHRINE.
OTHIN.	SWARTIN.	WITHRN.
OTHTHIN.	SWARTINC.	WVLBARN.
RAEFEN.	SWEARTA.	WVLBERE.
RICNVLF.	SWEARTBRAND.	WVLFMAER.
RVLBERN.	SWEARTEBRAND.	WVLFNOTH.
SAEGRIM.	SWEARTINC.	WVLFRED.
SAEGWIN.	SWEGEN.	WVLFRIC.
SAEMAN.	SWERT.	WVLFRIMEN.
SAEWINE.	SWERTEBR.	WVLFWIME, or
SEGRIM.	SWERTEBRAD.	WVLFWINE.
SEMAN.	SWERTEBRAND.	WVLFMAER.
SEOFINC.	SWILTMAN.	WVLMI.
SEWINE.	SWITHEN.	WVLMIOD.
SHVT.	SYWTINEN.	WVLNOTH.
SIREN.	THVRGRIM.	WVLSTAN.
SIRFADN.	THVRIM.	WVLWINE.
SIRIC.	THVRSTAN.	WVNSIGLE.
SNELEAR, HASNEL, Two Moneyers.	THVSTAN.	WVNSTAN.
STEGEN.	TIDRED.	WYNSIGE.
STICOL.	TINDRED.	WYNSIGG.
STIRCAR.	TOCA.	WYNSIGIE.
STIRCOL.	TOOCA.	WYNSTAN.

Cnut had, in life-time, placed his son Suein upon the throne of Norway, and after his death in 1036 his two other sons took possession of his remaining dominions: Harthacnut ruled in Denmark, and Harold in England.

The short reign of the English Monarch affords no farther information respecting the state of his Mints than that which is to be collected from his

Coins which still remain. On them he is sometimes styled REX simply, and at others REX A. for ANGLORVM.

The name of the Mint, and of the Moneyer, appear upon the Reverse.

His Mints were few in number. The names of the following Towns only are known :

BED.	Bedford.	LVD.	Ludlow.
BRE.		LVN.	
BRIC.	} Bristol.	LVND.	} London.
BRIE.		LVNDE.	
CEICE.	Chichester.	LVNDON.	
DOFR.	} Dover.	NOR.	} Norwich.
DOFRA.		NORTH.	
DOFRAN.		NORTHWI.	
DOFREN.		NORTHWIC.	
DOFRENN.		NORTHWIE.	
EO.	} York.	O.	
EOF.		OX.	Oxford.
EOFER.		SERE.	Salisbury?
GRAN.	Cambridge.	SN.	Nottingham.
ITAA.		STA.	Stafford or Stamford?
LEIC.	} Leicester.	STANF.	Stamford.
LEICE.		THEO.	} Thetford.
LINC.	} Lincoln.	THEOD.	
LINCO.		THEOTF.	
LINCOL.		VERINCW.	Warwick.
LINCOLN.		WEL.	Wallingford.
LV.			

His Moneyers were,

AECMAN.	CAERENAN.	GODD.
AEFICC.	CEOFNOTH, forsan pro	GODRIC.
AELFEWALD.	LEOFNOTH.	GODWINE.
AELFNOTH.	CONRIN.	GODWNE.
AELFSIGE.	DVLCEFT.	GRAVLF.
AELFSYGE.	DVRACAN.	LEFWNE.
AELFWIN.	EDWALD.	LEOFNOTH.
AELFWINE.	EDWERD.	LEOFRED.
AELFWOLD.	EDWINE.	LEOFRIC.
AELLMAN.	EDWOLD.	LEOFWINE.
BLACAMAN.	ELFSIIGE.	LEORIC.
BOGA.	ELFWINE.	LEOWINE.
BRVNCAR.	ELFWOLD.	MANNA.
BRVNGAR.	ETSIGE.	SCVL.

SCVLA.
SIRMAN.
SWAFA.
SWARTINC.

THVRSTAN.
WATHERING.
WITHERWINE.

WITHRWINNE.
WVLCEET.
WVLGAR.

On the death of Harold in 1040, his brother Harthacnut was invited to accept the English Crown. His short reign was marked by cruelty, and intemperance; and he died in the act of swallowing a gluttonous draught.

The name of his newly-acquired Kingdom of England is never to be found upon his Coins; of which some bear his name alone, whilst others have it with the addition of REX.

The Reverses have invariably the place of Mintage, and the name of the Moneyer.

His Mints were at

BRVCS. Bristol.
GLEWECE. Gloucester.
HERE P. Hereford.
HVNTA. Huntingdon.
L.
LERE. Leicester.

LINCOL. Lincoln.
LINDEIO.
LVNDE. London.
N.
WAERHICA. Warwick?
WICE. Worcester.

His Moneyers were,

ÆELFWINE.
ASLAC.
ETHESTAN.
GODRIC.

LEFENOOTH.
LEFSTAN.
LEOFWE.
LEORN.

OVTHENCAR.
RVMERIED.
WVLFWI.

Edward the surviving son of Aethelred II. succeeded to the throne upon the demise of Harthacnut, A. D. 1042. Immediately upon the death of his Father he was sent into Normandy, where he lived until the time of his accession. From so long a residence in that country he was become attached to its customs, many of which he introduced into England^a. Amongst

^p Mr. Southgate read this LERE, and accordingly it was engraved in the Plate of Saxon Coins with which he furnished Mr. Nichols for his History of Leicestershire. I have therefore placed LERE in the List of Towns above. But see the Coin in Plate XXIV. No 3, where the first letter of the Town's name is apparently not L.

^a Ingulphus, p. 62.

these, it is highly probable, was the oppressive practice of frequent changes of the Coins, which at every alteration gave considerable profit to the Crown. (This, at some period after his reign, settled in a triennial Tax, known by the name of Moneyage, which was paid expressly to prevent those changes; but this payment soon became so unpopular that it was entirely abolished by King Henry I., in the second year of his reign ^r.) If the supposition be admitted, that this practice now first obtained in the English Mints, it will account for the great variety of the types of his Coins, which are much more diversified than those of any of his predecessors. Two of those types bear on the Reverse the word PAX, for the occasion of which I shall supply the want of proofs by laying before my Readers the conjectures of an able Numismatic Antiquary, but not without apprizing them, that the part which relates to Harold II. is contradicted by the words of that Monarch, as will be seen hereafter. "The word PAX being to be found only on the Coins of the Confessor, Harold, and William I.^s, intimates it arose from something that had peculiar reference to them. I apprehend it was first on account of the Peace between Godwin, Harold's Father, and King Edward, A. D. 1052; when he granted his *ꝥpax* or PAX to the Earl, as the Saxon Chronicle informs us. The particular articles of that Peace, Historians do not give us, but it seems as if promise of succeeding to the Crown was part; for the same Chronicle, speaking of Harold's taking the Kingdom, says it was as K. Edward had granted or agreed with him. Upon this supposition the PAX upon Harold's Coin pointed to the Agreement, which was the foundation of his title. And William the Norman having a like promise from the Confessor, when he was in France, might with equal reason stamp the same word on his Coin, to remind the people on what footing his title stood ^t."

His Laws contain no regulations respecting his Money; but in the 14th Chapter of them all treasure found in the earth is declared to belong to the

^r Wilkins, p. 234.

^s The Penny of Cnut (which has been already mentioned), and that of Henry I., both with the same legend, had not, I presume, been discovered when the above was drawn up by Mr. North.

^t North's MS. penes Aut. But Harold himself claimed the Crown as the gift of the Confessor in his last moments.

King, except it should be discovered in a Church, or in a Churchyard, in which case the King should have the Gold, and one half of the Silver, the other moiety to be taken by the Church where it was found, whether it were rich or poor^u. In the 38th Chapter it was ordained that no work of Gold or Silver, *of which any doubt could exist as to the propriety of the sale*^w, should be bought except in the presence of Goldsmiths or Moneyers. And if it should appear to belong to a Church, or to a Treasury, it should not be bought without a pledge, or surety; and if the seller should not be able to give such pledge, then the article, together with that which was to be given for it, should be detained, until the owner of it should appear, or some other person who should sufficiently warrant the same. If any person should make a purchase in any other manner, he should lose and forfeit what he had foolishly bought^x.

The fines which were imposed by his Laws were regulated by Pounds, Oras, Marks, Shillings, and Pennies.

As his Coins which have been preserved are very numerous, nearly five hundred varieties being known, so the manner in which his name and title are signified upon them is likewise extremely varied, by almost every possible mode of ill-spelling. They have chiefly the initial, or the whole, of ANGLORVM upon the Obverse^y; and the circle of the Reverse is filled with the name of the Mint and Moneyer, except in one instance, where SPRACELING occupies the whole of it.

He had Mints in

AESTIEN. Hastings.
AMT. Southampton.

BATH. } Bath.
BATHEN. }

^u Wilkins, p. 199.

^w I know not whether that sentence which is given in Italicks represents the sense of the original words, "unde emptor dubitare possit," though I am not aware of any other kind of doubt in the mind of the Buyer which could render necessary the presence of Witnesses.

^x Wilkins, p. 209.

^y In one Charter he is styled REX ANGLORVM [Hemingi Chart. p. 335]; and in another ANGLORVM BASILEVS [Id. p. 399].

According to a Charter of Inspeximus, Pat. 18 H. VI. mem. 9. ch. 12. part 2, he sometimes styled himself cýning. [Selden's Titles of Honour, Addition to Col. 638. part II. chap. 5. § 11.]

On his Great Seal in Speed is engraven

SIGILLVM EADVWARDI ANELORVM BASILEI.

BEARB, forsan pro		DOR.	Dorchester * or Derby.
DEARB.	Derby.	DORB.	} Derby.
BED.	} Bedford.	DORBI.	
BEDAFOR.		DORTH.	Dorchester?
BEDE ^z .		DOWER.	
BEDEF.		DREB.	
BEDEFOR.		E.	
BEDEWINDE.	Bedwin?	EADMVN.	St. Edmundsbury.
	See Note ^z .	EFOR.	} York.
BEDF.	Bedford.	EFRDWIC.	
BERDEST.		EFRE.	
BODEFOR.	Bedford?	EFRWI.	} Aylesbury.
BRIC.	} Bristol.	EGELE.	
BRV.		EGLE.	
————	Bridport. *	ENE.	
CAENT.	} Canterbury.	EO.	} York.
CAN.		EOEFR.	
CANT.		EOEFRW.	
CANWA.		EOER.	
CE.		EOF.	
CENT.	} Canterbury.	EOFE.	
CENTV.		EOFEERI.	
CIC.	} Chichester.	EOFEERW.	
CICES.		EOFEI.	
CICEST.		EOFER.	
CNI.		EOFERE.	
COLA.	} Colchester. *	EOFERI.	
COLCE.		EOFERIC.	
COLE.		EOFERICC.	
COLECE.		EOFERVIC.	
COLECET.		EOFERW.	
COLI.		EOFERWC.	
CRANT, pro GRANT.	Cambridge.	EOFERWI.	
CRECLAD.	Crekelade.	EOFERWIC.	
DEDEWINDE.	See Note ^z .	EOFERWICC.	
DEORBE.	} Derby.	EOFERWII.	
DEORBI.		EOFERWIIC.	
DODTH.		EOFERWS.	
DOFR.	} Dover.	EOFEWIC.	
DOFRR.		EOFI.	

^z The legend on this Coin may be read either WINDECILD ON BEDE, or CILD ON BEDEWINDE. Mr. Southgate had a Coin which he read CILD ON DEDEWINDE.

EOFOFE.
 EOFR.
 EOFRI.
 EOFRR.
 EOFRW.
 EOFRWC.
 EOFRWI.
 EOFRWIC.
 EOFRWICC.
 EOFRWICE.
 EOFRWIEC. } York.
 EOI.
 EOMEO, or
 EONEO.
 EONEOF.
 ENONEOFFE.
 EONEORE.
 EONER.
 EONR.
 EOR.
 EORW. York?
 EOTHE.
 EOTHG.
 EOXES.
 EXCES.
 EXCEST.
 EXE.
 EXECE.
 EXECES.
 EXECEST.
 EXECESTE. } Exeter.
 GENIT.
 GIFE.
 GIPE.
 GIPP.
 GIPPE.
 GIPSII.
 GIPSN. } Ipswich.*
 GLEAWE.
 GLECEST.
 GLEIE.
 GLEVE.
 GLEWE.
 GLEWECE. } Gloucester.

GRA.
 GRANT. } Cambridge.
 HA.
 HAESTIEN.
 HAESTIN. } Hastings.
 HAM.
 HAMT.
 HAMTV. } Southampton.
 HEOR. Hertford.
 HER.
 HERE.
 HEREFOE.
 HEREFOL.
 HEREFOR. } Hereford.*
 HERTF. Hertford.
 HESTIEN. Hastings.
 HORNIDVNE. Horndon.
 HTINC.
 HVN.
 HVNEC.
 HVNT.
 HVNTE. } Huntingdon.*
 IERBIRGE. Jerby?
 IT.
 LAEWE. Lewes.
 LECES.
 LECEST.
 LEG.
 LEGE.
 LEGEC.
 LEGECC.
 LEGECE.
 LEGECES.
 LEGECEST.
 LEGECF.
 LEGECST.
 LEGEEC.
 LEGEEE. } Chester.*
 LEGR.
 LEH.
 LEHE.
 LEHER.
 LEHR.
 LEHRE.
 LEHRECES. } Leicester.*

LEHT^a.
 LEI.
 LEIC.
 LEICE.
 LEICEI.
 LEICES.
 LEICEST.
 LEIG.

} Leicester.

LEMRE.

LENC. Lincoln?

LER.

LEWEI. Lewes. *

LGIL.

LI.

LIE.

LIMNI.

LIN.

LINC.

LINCC.

LINCL.

LINCO.

LINCOL.

LINCOLE.

LINCOLEI.

LINCOLN.

LINCOLNA.

LINCOLNE.

} Lincoln. *

LNCC.

LV.

LVAND.

LVDE.

LVN.

LVND.

LVNDE.

LVNDEN.

} London.

LVNDENE.

LVNDENEN.

LVNDI.

LVNDO.

LVNE.

LVNI.

LY. Lydford?

MAELDV.

MELD.

} Maldon.
 NERER, forsan pro HERER, as it is read
 by Mr. Wise.

NOP, forsan pro

NOR.

NORTH.

} Norwich. *

OCX.

OX.

OXE.

OXENE.

OXENEX.

OXNE.

OXNEF.

OXNI.

RELHM.

RO.

ROCEE.

ROFE.

RVMNE.

RYNE.

S^b.

SC.

SCEFTE.

SCOB.

SCOBE.

SCR.

SCRO.

} Rochester.

Romney.

Shaftesbury. *

} Shrewsbury. *

^a Cnut has this Town with the same Moneyer wvLSTAN. The Coin is in the British Museum. [Mr. Combe.]

^b Probably for Shrewsbury, as the same Moneyer, GODESBRAND, occurs on Coins of this Monarch with sc. and scr.

SCROB. } Shrewsbury *.
 SCROBE. }
 SEARRVM^c. Salisbury.
 SNOTI. } Nottingham *.
 SNOTIN. }
 SRO. }
 SROBB. } Shrewsbury.
 SROBBE. }
 SROW. }
 STA. }
 STAEN. }
 STAN. } Stamford.
 STANF. }
 STANFO. }
 STNE.
 SVTHE. Southwark.
 TAMW. Tamworth.
 TANTVNE. Taunton.
 THEO. }
 THEOD. }
 THEOT. }
 THIDFO. } Thetford.
 THIDFOI. }
 THIDFOR. }
 THIODFOR. }
 THTFO. }
 TINC. Teignmouth?
 TONWVRTH. } Tamworth.
 TONWYRTH. }

WA. }
 WAL. }
 WALI. } Wallingford. *
 WALIN. }
 WALLI. }
 ——— Warham. *
 WARINC. Warwick.
 WI.
 WICE.
 WIGER. } Worcester. *
 WIGR. }
 WIHER. } Worcester.
 WIHRE. }
 WILT. }
 WILTV. } Wilton.
 WILTVN. }
 WILTVNE. }
 WIN. }
 WINC. }
 WINCE. } Winchester.
 WINCES. }
 WINCEST. }
 WINCESTR. }
 WINECSTRE. }
 WINRE.
 WINTVNE. Winchester.
 WIODFOD.
 WIODWOD.
 WNTVNE. Winchester.

To those Mints which occur in Domesday Book as having been worked in this reign, I have added an *.

^c I have never seen this Coin; but it is engraven in "A Description of that admirable Structure, the Cathedral Church of Salisbury," London, 1774, 4to. It is of the Sovereign type, and reads EADVÆARD REX NGLO. REV. GODRIC. ON. SEARRVM. See page 50 of the Account of Old Sarum, where it is said to have been found some years since at that place, and to be now (*i. e.* in 1774) in the possession of Mr. White of Newgate Street; who discovered from this Coin the meaning of SEA on a Penny of Dr. Mead's, which had puzzled many Antiquaries. Qu. whether it were not made for the express purpose of that discovery?

His Moneyers were :

AECFWERD.
AECGWINE.
AEGELMAER.
AEGELRIC.
AEGEWIGE.
AEGLRIC.
AEGLSIE.
AEGLWINE.
AEIELRIC.
AEIELWINE.
AELFER.
AELFERE.
AELFGAR.
AELFMERE.
AELFNERE.
AELFNOTH.
AELFRED.
AELFRIC.
AELFS.
AELFSI.
AELFSIG.
AELFSIGE.
AELFSINE.
AELFWARD.
AELFWERD.
AELFWIG.
AELFWINE.
AELFWINEE.
AELFWN.
AELFWOLD.
AELWI.
AGLRIC.
ALDGAR.
ALEIF.
ALEOF.
ALFSI.
ALFSIG.
ALXXI.
ANCETL.
ANDERBODA.
ANDERBODE.
ANSERA.

ARBETEL.
ARCEL.
ARCETL.
ARCIL.
ARCYTEL.
ARDGRIM.
ARGRIM.
ARNCEL.
ARNCETEL.
ARNCGL.
ARNCTEL.
ARNGRIM.
ARNGRIMLO.
ARNGRIMLOA.
ARRETEL.
AVTI.
AVTTI.
BEORN.
BINRED.
BLACMAN.
BODRIC.
BOIA.
BRAND.
BRAREND.
BRIHINC.
BRIHTIVER.
BRIHTMER.
BRIHTRED.
BRIHTRC.
BRIHTRIC.
BRIHTWINE.
BRIHTWOLD.
BRIN, pro forsan BRIH.
BRITHRC.
BRITHRIC.
BRND.
BRVCHYSE.
BRVNDWINE.
BRVNIC.
BRVNINC.
BRVNMAN.
BRVNNIC.

BRVNVINE.
BRVNWINE.
BRYNWINE.
BVLERED.
BVREDNE.
CEFTEL.
CEOCA. See GODWINE.
CEOFTAN.
CEOLA.
CETEL.
CETELI.
CEWINE.
CILD.
CITGIL.
CLEWINE.
COL.
COLA.
COLBIN.
COLBRAND.
COLGRIM.
COLSI.
COLSTAN.
COLTSVE.
CONNA.
DEORMAN.
DICNN:G.
DIRINC.
DRYIN.
DVDINC.
DVGRID.
DVLINOTH.
DVLINNOTH.
DVNINC.
DVRVL.
DYNWI.
EADWEARD.
EALCSI.
EALDGAR.
EARCIL.
EARNWI.
EDAERD.
EDELIC.

EDMAER.	ESTNVND.	IOCTEL.
EDRIC.	ETHELWINE.	IOCTL.
EDWERD.	ETSIGE.	IOKEL.
EDWI.	ETVRCOL.	IOKETEL.
EDWIEG.	FROM.	IOKTEL.
EDWINE.	FROMA.	IOLA.
EDWN.	GARNWI.	IOLAA.
EIELRIC.	GODELFOLD.	IOLANA.
EIELWINE.	GODERIC.	IOLAON.
ELESIGE.	GODESBRAD.	IOLE.
ELESISE.	GODESBRAND.	IORA.
ELEWINE.	GODMAN.	IOREL.
ELFER.	GODRAC.	IVGBTEL.
ELFERE.	GODRIC.	IVRELEL.
ELFHIERE, or	GODRICC.	LEFCTCL.
ELFNERE.	GODRICO.	LEFNATH.
ELFRDD.	GODRICON.	LEFONOTH.
ELFRIC.	GODSBRAND.	LEFWINE.
ELFSI.	GODSVNV.	LEGOFREDE.
ELFSIE, or	GODWIN.	LEGOFWENE.
ELFSIG.	GODWINE.	LEOCRINE.
ELFSIGE.	GODWINE. CEOCA.	LEOFDAEG.
ELFSINE.	Two Moneyers.	LEOFENOTH.
ELFWERD.	GODWNE.	LEOFNOTH.
ELFWIE.	GOLA.	LEOFRED.
ELFWIG.	GOLTSINE.	LEOFRIC.
ELFWINE.	GOLTSVE.	LEOFRINE.
ELFWINEE.	GOTHRIC.	LEOFTHEG.
ELNOTH.	GOTHRICC.	LEOFWINE.
ELRED.	GRMOLF.	LEOFWOLD.
ELRIC.	GVTHORT.	LIFERE.
ELSIGE.	HAERRED.	LIFINC.
ELSINE.	HARLIN.	LIFINCC.
ELTAN.	HEATHEWVLE, pro	LIFING.
ENDRIC.	HEATHEWVLF.	LIFRED.
EOLA.	HVSCALR.	LIFSTAN.
EOLTSNE.	HVSCAR.	LIFWINE.
ERNCIL.	HVSCARL.	LIOFFNOTH.
ERNCITEL.	HVSRALR.	LIOFINC.
ERNCYTE.	IOCCETEL.	LIOFRED.
ERNCYTEL.	IOCETEL.	LIOFSTAN.
ERNGRIM.	IOCETL.	LIOFWINE.
ESTMVND.	IOCITEL.	LIOFWOLD.

LOELRIE.	SEFDHEL.	THVRECIL.
MAN.	SEFVEL.	THVRGRIM.
MANWINE.	SEFVHEL.	THVRNGRIM.
MORRE.	SEFYHEL.	THVRRIM.
ODGRIM.	SENEBRN.	THVRRIN.
OSFERTH.	SEWINE.	TOLSI.
OSMAER.	SICAC.	TVRGRIM.
OSMVND.	SIETINR.	VLC.
OSWARD.	SNAEBORN.	VLF.
OSWOLD.	SNAERORN.	VLFCEETEL.
OTHAN.	SNEBEARN.	VLFCEL.
OTHBEN.	SNEBORN.	VLFCETEL.
OTHBEORN.	SNEBRN.	VLFCIL.
OTHBERN.	SPRACALNG.	VLFCTEL.
OTHBORN.	SPRACELING ^d .	VLFCTL.
OTHEN.	SPRATELING.	VLFCVTEL.
OTHGRIM.	SPROT.	VLFCYTEL.
OTHIN.	STIRCOL.	VLFE.
OTHOLF.	STIRCOLL.	VLFEIL.
OTWINE.	STVRCOL.	VLFF.
OVD BEARN, or	STYRCOL.	VLKETL.
OVTHBEARN.	SWAETCOL.	VNOLF.
OVTHGRIM.	SWARCOLF.	VVLFGARR.
OVTHVLF.	SWARTCOL.	WICINC.
OVTHWVLF.	SWEART.	WICING.
RAEFEN.	SWEARTCOL.	WIGMAER.
RAEFN.	SWEARTINC.	WILGRIP.
RAFEN.	SWEARTING.	WINDECILD. See BEDE
RIACMAN.	SWERTCOL.	in the list of Mints.
RVLGNR.	SWERTINC.	WINTERFVHEL.
SAEFVCEF.	SWETHAN.	WINTERFVGEL.
SAEFVCEL.	SWETMAN.	WINTERFVGL.
SAEFVCER.	SWOTA.	WINTERFVHEL.
SAEFVGEL.	SWRTCOL.	WINTERFVHL.
SAEFVHEL.	SWRTINC.	WVDEMAN.
SAEWINE.	SWRTING.	WVDVNAM.
SCVLA.	THOR.	WVLBEREN.
SCVLAA.	THORCTEL.	WVLBRN.
SCVLAE.	THORR.	WVLDAR.
SCVLE.	THVRCIL.	WVLENMOTH.

^d This in one instance has no name of Mint added to it.

WVLENNOTH.	WVLFRED.	WVLNOTH.
WVLF.	WVLFRIC.	WVLSI.
WVLCETL.	WVLFSE.	WVLSIGE.
WVLFGAR.	WVLFWARD.	WVLSTAN.
WVLFGEAT.	WVLFWIG.	WVLWI.
WVLFINE.	WVLFWINE.	WVLWIN.
WVLFMAER.	WVLGAR.	WVLWINE.
WVLFMOTH.	WVLINDE.	W-RWIN.
WVLFRRARD.	WVLMAER.	

On the death of King Edward, in 1066, four competitors appeared for the Crown of England: these were, Harold Earl Godwin, Tostig his brother, the King of Norway, and William Duke of Normandy. The nature of the claim of Tostig and the King of Norway is not stated; but both Harold and William deduced their title from the gift of the deceased Monarch. The justice of their respective pretensions cannot now be ascertained, as the contradictory testimony of Historians seems, on this occasion, to have been dictated not by the spirit of truth, but by that of party.

Harold availed himself of the advantage which he derived from being in England when the throne became vacant, and immediately assumed the sovereignty, in such haste that he would not wait for the meeting of the States of the Realm, which had been convened at the accession of several preceding Monarchs^e.

What he so boldly assumed he as gallantly defended against the attempts of the other Claimants, two of whom, Tostig and the King of Norway, were defeated by him and slain. The victory over these, however, so much weakened his powers, that he was unable to withstand the attack of the Duke of Normandy, and fell in the contest, having reigned little more than nine months.

During his short-lived sovereignty he seems to have been studious to perpetuate his memory by frequent Coinages, for his Mints were numerous, and his Coins are far from being uncommon. Three different types of them, all the varieties that are known, are engraven in Plate XXVI. That they are rightly appropriated to this Monarch appears highly probable, from their resemblance to the Obverse of the most common of the Conqueror's Pen-

^e Carte, vol. I. p. 356.

nies^f; and from the circumstance of their having been frequently discovered together with Coins of that Monarch, and of Edward the Confessor, without the mixture of any others^g.

They have on the Obverse his name and title as King of England, and the Reverse bears the Moneyer's name and the place of Mintage. All of them have PAX across the centre^h; which has been supposed to allude to the Peace which Edward the Confessor granted to him and to his father Earl Godwin in 1052, and which Mr. North thinks to have formed the foundation of Harold's claim to the Crownⁱ. This explanation, however, is contradicted by the words of Harold's Message to William, in which he acknowledged that Edward the Confessor did once appoint him to be his heir of the Kingdom of England, and that he [Harold] had ratified that succession to him in Normandy; but that his own title to the Kingdom rested upon a Grant made to him by the Confessor in his last moments; which kind of bequest had, ever since the time in which St. Augustine visited this Island, always been considered as paramount to every other preceding gift^k. Of this donation, made by Edward *in extremis*, I believe there is no other evidence to be found than this Message of Harold; which must be received with caution, as living witnesses of a transaction of such importance ought to have been produced, and the justice of the claim should not have been suffered to depend solely on the assertion of the claimant. But it is probable that the equity of the title was esteemed to be of little consequence by either of the parties, who endeavoured only to make out a plausible case, and left the decision to the sword; which determined in favour of William, after a severe conflict at Hastings.

Harold had Mints at

AEST. Hastings.

AESTR.

BEDE.

BEDEF.

BEDEFO.

} Bedford.

^f See English Coins, Plate I. No 7.

^g In 1739 a large quantity of them was found at Dymchurch in Romney Marsh; and the same in 1774 near St. Mary Hill Church in London. No other Coins were found with either of these parcels. [Archæologia, vol. IV. p. 356.]

^h See Plate XXVI.

ⁱ See page 285, in the account of the Coins of Edward the Confessor.

^k Duchesne, Hist. Normannorum Scriptores, p. 200.

BRI. }
 BRIC. }
 BRVCC. } Bristol.
 BRVCC. }
 BRVCCI. }
 BRVCI. }
 CA. }
 CAN. } Canterbury.
 CANTI. }
 CEICESLA. Chichester?
 CICE. }
 CICEI. } Chichester.
 CICES. }
 COL. }
 COLEC. } Colchester.
 COLEIGST. }
 COLNCEST. }
 CON.
 DO. Dover?
 EFR. }
 EO. }
 EOF. }
 EOFER. }
 EOFERW. } York.
 EOFERWI. }
 EOFRW. }
 EOFR. }
 EOFRI. }
 EOI.
 EON.
 EXE. }
 EXEC. }
 EXECES. } Exeter.
 EXECESTR. }
 EXECESTRE. }
 GIFE. }
 GIFEL. } Ilchester.
 GIFLI. }
 GIPN. Ipswich.
 GLE. }
 GLEGEC. } Gloucester.
 GLEAWE. }
 HA. }
 HAMT. } Southampton.
 HAMPT. }

HERE. }
 HEREFOR. } Hereford.
 HEREFORD. }
 HVMID.
 HVNHED. }
 HVNIED. } Huntingdon?
 ITV.
 LEHRE. Leicester.
 LEWEEI. Lewes.
 LIN. }
 LINC. }
 LINCO. } Lincoln.
 LINCOI. }
 LINCOL. }
 LINGO. }
 LINI.
 LLEGEC. Chester.
 LV. }
 LVN. }
 LVND. }
 LVNDE. } London.
 LVNDEI. }
 LVNDEN. }
 LVNDI. }
 LVNI.
 MALI. Maldon?
 NOR. }
 NORI. } Norwich.
 OMSTENI.
 OX. }
 OXENCA. } Oxford.
 OXENFO. }
 RVMEI. Romney.
 SCEFTES. Shaftesbury.
 SNOT. }
 SNOTIN. } Nottingham.
 SNOTN. }
 SR. Shrewsbury?
 STA. }
 STAI. }
 STAN. }
 STANE. } Stamford.
 STANF. }
 STANI. }
 STENI. }

TAN. Tamworth? or Taunton.
See WILLIAM I.

THEOT. }
THEOTF. } Thetford.
THEOTI. }

WALL. }
WALIN. } Wallingford.

WEARWI. Warwick.

WI.

WIHRI. Worcester.

WILT. Wilton.

WILTIA. }
WILTV. } Wilton.
WILTVN. }

WIN. }
WINCE. } Winchester.
WINRI. }

WITNI. Witney.

WITV.

WILT. }
WLTL. } Wilton.

WN.

His Moneyers were,

AEGLWINE.

AELFGEAT.

AELFWI.

AELFWINE.

AELFWOLD.

AGAMVND.

ALDGAR.

ALEOF.

ALFRIED.

ALFWOLD.

ALGAR.

ALMER.

ALXXI.

ANWERBODE.

BLACEMAN.

BRIHTRIC.

BRIHTWI.

BRIHTWOLD.

BRVNWINE.

BVRCIL.

BVREWINE.

CENTWINE.

CEORL.

COLMAN.

COLRIC.

DERMON.

EADWARD.

EASTNER.

EDRIC.

EDWINE.

ELFWINE.

EOFRED.

ERN CETEL.

FOLRIC.

FORNA.

FORTHA.

GEREFIN.

GODESBRAND.

GODESBRANT.

GODRIC.

GODRIE.

GODWINE.

GOLDMAN.

IOCETEL.

IOCETL.

IOCITEL.

LEISINC.

LEOFRIC.

LEOFSI.

LEOFSINE.

LEOFWINE.

LEOFWOLD.

LIFINC.

MANNA.

OLWOLD.

OVTHBEARN.

OVTHGRIM.

OVTHVLF.

ROSCETF.

ROTCETF.

SAEWINE.

SEHTWINE.

SMARTLING.

SNAEBEORN.

SNEBEORN.

SNEWINE.

SPRACELING¹.

SVTERE.

SWARTCOL.

¹ This name is a corruption of Sprakeleg, as appears from the following passage : " Sueno vero ex Estritha, aliis Margareta cognomine Estrith, & Ulfere Adamo Bremensi Wolf, Angliæ Duce vel ut aliis placet, comite, cognomento Sprakeleg, pro quo corrupte apud Rogerium & Wigorniensem legitur Sprallingi & Spracdingi, genitus est. Ernstius in notis ad Geneal. Reg. Dan. p. 75." [Gesta & vestigia Danorum extra Daniam, tom. II. p. 153. Lipsiæ & Hafniæ, 3 tom. 8vo. 1741.]

SWARTING.	VRSTAN.	WVLFW.
SWEARTCOL.	WIFINC.	WVLFWI.
SWEARTING.	WINNE.	WVLFWARD.
SWEARTLING.	WNLFGEAT.	WVLFWVRD.
SWETMAN.	WVLFGEAT.	WVLGAR.
THEODRED.	WVLF.	WVLLMIRD.
THVRCIL.	WVLFMAER.	WVLMAER.
THVRGOD.	WVLFMAR.	WVLMER.
VLFCETEL.	WVLFVARD.	ZENTWINE.

WILLIAM I.

1066. The decisive battle of Hastings established the Conqueror on the throne of England in this year. But the wily Norman was too well acquainted with human nature to rest his title to the sovereignty on the right of conquest alone; which, he was aware, would be much more disgusting to the minds of his new subjects than even a groundless and pretended claim to a legal succession could be. With this view he affected to consider himself as the lawful heir of Edward the Confessor^m, and, in a short time after his accession, solemnly ratified the Laws by which that Monarch had governed his Kingdomⁿ. By various arts he endeavoured to persuade the English that he looked upon them as his natural subjects, and not as a conquered people^o. Of all these arts, none was perhaps more

^m Soon after his landing, he "made proclamacions and cryes, that no man should take any prayes, or doo any force to the people. For he sayde that it was reasonable that he shoulde spare that thinge that should be his owne." Fabian's Chronicle, vol. I. p. 295. In his Charters he styles himself Ego Willielmus Dei gratiâ Anglorum hæreditario jure factus. Monasticon Anglic. vol. I. p. 44.

ⁿ Ingulphus, p. 88.

^o In Domesday Book, whenever it is necessary to notice the time when William arrived in England, it is always in this manner — Postquam [or antequam] Rex W. venit [or venisset] in Anglia; as if he had come to his own without any opposition*. And it appears, from the same Record, that he made but little alteration in the antient Laws and Customs which prevailed in the Cities and Boroughs in the time of Edward the Confessor.

* The accurate eye of Mr. Ellis has been able to discover no more than one instance to the contrary. It occurs in the second volume, folio 124. b. — p' q' W. rex co'q'siuit anglia'; and even in that folio we find p' qua' rex W. uen' in anglica' t'ra'.

effectual than the manner in which he conducted the Coinage of his new Kingdom: for as the produce of his Mints was perpetually passing before their eyes, it was most obvious to them to remark, that no innovation had been made in a point so essential to their welfare. Such was his attention in this respect, that his Coins not only resembled those of Harold in weight and fineness, but some of them correctly imitated the type of that Monarch's Pennies^p. This mode of Coinage, it is highly probable, was continued during the greater part of his reign, for the Money with that impression is by far the most common of all the Coins which are usually attributed to him. But however that may be, it is evident, from his Coins which are still preserved, that the old Standard remained unaltered by him, even in the latter part of his reign, when he became more severe in his government of his English subjects. This adherence to the weight of the Saxon Penny will appear to be very extraordinary when we consider that he introduced the French mode of computation by Shillings of twelve Pennies; and can be ascribed only to a refined policy, which forbade an alteration, the effect of which would immediately be perceived by his new subjects.

Mr. Carte says that the oppressive Norman Tax, called Moneyage, or a duty of twelve Pence to be paid by almost all persons, every third year, that the Money should not be altered, was brought in at the Conquest; and states, as the cause for the clamour which was raised against it in the early part of the reign of King Henry I., and which then occasioned its abolition, the numberless prosecutions with which Ralf Flambard harassed all sorts of persons, and which had produced an infinite number of fines, mulcts, and debts in the Exchequer^q. But it is by no means certain that this Tax was introduced into England by William the Conqueror; indeed the prosecutions carried on by Ralph Flambard rather favour the suspicion that the necessities of Rufus were the cause of its institution, or at least of its rigid inforcement; for there is no proof existing that Flambard was Justicier until the commencement of his reign^r. To the ill advice of this person, likewise, other

^p English Silver Coins, Plate I. No 7, and Supplement, Plate I. No 4. The various Coins, and denominations of Money, which were at this time in use, may be seen in the Appendix, where extracts from Domesday Book, and other authentick Records, will not only show them, but also the various modes of entering payments at that early period.

^q Carte, vol. I. p. 482.

^r Henry Huntingdon, p. 378. Hoveden, p. 468.

exactions, unknown before the reign of Rufus, are ascribed by Historians ^s. The great wealth which William I. possessed seems to place him above the temptation to exact so unpopular a payment. According to Ordericus Vitalis, his daily income, arising from his rents in England, was reported to be M.LX. lb. xxx sol. 1 d. ob. ^t; which, if calculated according to the efficacy of Money at that period, when a Quarter of Wheat might be bought for three Shillings (such, at least, was the price in the reign of his successor), will give an annual income equal to nearly fifteen millions of our present Money ^u.

In his Laws we do not find any express provisions respecting his Money, but only the general words that all weights should be exact and stamped, in like manner as his worthy predecessors had appointed ^w.

Although his Coins are, at this time, by no means extremely rare, yet they were so until the beginning of the 18th century, when, after a dreadful fire which burnt many houses in Upper Ouse-Gate, in the City of York, in the year 1703-4, a small oak box, containing about 250 Pennies of the two Williams, was discovered on digging a deep foundation for a new building ^x. Before this discovery, the utmost diligence of that indefatigable Collector, Thoresby, could procure no more than two of them.

In his Laws the Fines are regulated by Pounds, Oras, Marcs, Shillings, and Pence. The Shillings are sometimes expressly stated to be English

^s Of this kind was the taking possession of the temporalities during the vacancy of Bishopricks, &c. Ordericus Vitalis, p. 678. ^t P. 523.

^u This calculation is formed upon the different value of the Quarter of Wheat. In the reign of William I. it is supposed to have been worth three Shillings, and at this time [1810] five Pounds eight Shillings, or thirty-six times as much. Baron Maseres, however, adopts a very different mode of estimation, which adds greatly to the result. He first multiplies 1061. 10. 1½ by three, which is the difference of the Silver contained in that number of Pennies in the Conqueror's time and at the present day. He then estimates the value of that Money at twenty times what it now is, and thus brings the total to more than £.23,000,000. [Historiæ Anglicanæ Selecta Monumenta, p. 258, note n.] But this method of calculation is, I believe, erroneous. In estimating the Conqueror's income we are not to take into consideration the quantity of Silver which the Penny then contained, but the efficacy of that Coin when applied to the purchase of any article, which is supposed, above, to be as 36 to 1 of our present Money.

^w Wilkins, p. 217 and 223.

^x Thoresby's Leeds, p. 349.

Shillings of four Pennies each^y. But in Domesday Book various other Coins, or denominations of Money, are to be found: such as, the Mite, Farthing, Halfpenny, Marc of Gold and of Silver, Ounce of Gold, and Marsum^z. There seems also to have been current a Coin of the value of half a Farthing, which was probably the same as the Mite above-mentioned^a.

Of all these the Penny is the only Coin which has descended to our times.

As the Pennies of the two Williams have no distinguishing mark, it is not possible to appropriate all of them to their respective Sovereigns, with absolute certainty. Those, however, which resemble the Money of Harold^b may, without hesitation, be given to William I.; as may those with PAX^c; for the insertion of which on the Coins of Rufus no reason can be assigned^d.

Those which are marked with one or two Stars on the Obverse^e may, I think, with propriety be assigned to the second William, because those ornaments are to be found upon his Great Seal. The rest, which are still unappropriated, I would give to William I., because his reign was extended to nearly double the length of that of his son, and therefore it is probable that his Coinage was the most extensive. This probability is much strengthened by the prodigious wealth which was found in the Conqueror's Treasury after his death, and by the poverty of his successor^f.

^y Wilkins, p. 221.

^z See Appendix, Entries of various Payments in Domesday Book.

^a Domesday Book, vol. II. folio 171. b. At his accession he doubtless found all those Coins in circulation which have been enumerated as the currency of the Anglo-Saxons. In the course of his reign, however, some of the denominations of Money, which that people adopted, seem to have fallen into disuse; for in Domesday Book, where an almost infinite variety of entries of money payments occurs, they are not to be found: as appears from the enumeration above. But perhaps this argument must not be admitted without some allowance, for if Camden be correct, Byzantines were in use during this reign, though they are not mentioned in that Record. [Remains, p. 236, 7th edition.]

^b English Silver Coins, Plate I. No 7, and Supplement, Plate I. No 4.

^c English Silver Coins, Plate I. No 4.

^d See in p. 285 an attempt to explain this word on the Coins of Edward the Confessor, &c. &c.

^e English Silver Coins, Plate I. Nos 9, 10, and 11, and Supplement, Plate I. No 2, and Plate II. No 1.

^f This arrangement had the sanction of the late Mr. Southgate, and is, I believe, used by most modern Medalists. — In the Treasury at Winchester was found sixty thousand Pounds of Silver, besides Gold, Jewels, &c. [Bromton, Col. 983.]

The Coins which are here attributed to William I. have on the Obverse his name and title as King, with the addition of some of the leading letters of *ANGLORVM*^h; and on the Reverse the name of the Moneyer, together with the place of Mintage. On all these the Saxon *F* is invariably used, but the Roman *w* upon his Great Seal.

These Coins do not exhibit any great variety of types, but the Mints are numerous, and extend over the greater part of Englandⁱ, as will appear from the following List^k.

N. B. Those marked * are to be found in Domesday Book.

Where the name is in small Roman letters, it shews that no Coins are known of that Mint.

The names with *ƿ* prefixed are from Snelling's MS Additions to his View of the Silver Coinage.

Æ.	ÆST.	} Hastings?
ÆAST. Hastings?	ÆSTI.	
ÆI.	ASTI.	
ÆSH.	BATHE. Bath.*	

^h In his Charters he is styled *Anglorum Basileus* [Whitelock's Speech in Parliament, Nov. 22, 1650. Parl. Hist. vol XIX. p. 428], or *Rex Anglorum* [Mon. Anglic. vol. I. p. 44.]

The Inscription on his Great Seal is,

Obverse, *✠ HOL · ANGLIS · RELEM · SIGNO · FATEARIS · EVNDEM.*

Reverse, *HOL · NORMANNORVM · WILLELMVM · NOSLE · PATRONVM · SI.*

[See Sandford and Speed.]

ⁱ None have yet occurred of his foreign dominions, except that which reads on the Reverse *N. IVLIOBINA*, and is conjectured, by Dr. Ducarel, to have been struck at Lillebone, a considerable Town in the Diocese of Rouen*, where William held a Provincial Council in the 15th year of his reign, A. D. 1080. [Ducarel's Series of Anglo-Gallic Coins, p. 2.] This Coin, if it be rightly appropriated, is the only one now known of the Conqueror's Anglo-Norman Mints which comes within the design of this work. The others which Dr. Ducarel has engraven, Plate I. Nos 1 and 2, and Plate VIII. No 99, appear, from the legend, to have been struck before he attained the title of King. I have copied Dr. Ducarel's engraving of this Penny amongst the Anglo-Gallic Silver Coins. Snelling strangely fancies it to have been a Coin of Stephen, with a blundered inscription. View of the Silver Coin, p. 6.

^k It is necessary to observe that in this, and the following List, Snelling's names of Mints and Moneyers are incorporated. As he has placed those of the two Williams together, and has not distinguished the types, I have been unable to separate them.

* It is possible, however, that the Coin was struck at Dieppe. See Cluverii Geographia, p. 70.

BEDEF. }
BEDEFORD. } Bedford.

BR.

BRELIS.

BRICSI.

BRICST.

BRICSTOW.

BRIGETS.

BRIGETSO.

} Bristol.

} Bridport.*

BRVES.

BVR, forsan pro

BVRH,

or

BVRGH.

} Peterborough.

CA.

CAN.

CANT.

CANTERBIR.

CANTV.

CANTWA.

CANWA.

CANWAI.

CATI.

CATWAI.

CES.

CESTI.

} Chester.

CI.

CICE.

CICI.

CICSI.

} Chichester.

CITI.

CNT.

CNTLE.

CNTRAI. Canterbury?

CO.

COL.

COLC.

COLE.

COLEC.

COLESI.

} Colchester.*

CTL.

DEORBI. Derby.

DOF. Dover.

DOFRE. Dover.

DORC. Dorchester*.

DORI.

DOV.

DOVER. } Dover.

DOVO.

DVRRI.

S. I. EDM. St. Edmundsbury.

EFER.

EFRWIC. } York.*

EIES.

ELRWIC.

EO.

EOF.

EOFE.

EOFER.

EOFR.

EOFRW.

ERVIC.

EXC.

EXCE.

EXCEER.

EXCER.

EXCI.

EXECES.

EXEER.

EXETER.

} Exeter.

EALE.

GERM. St. German's.

GI.

GIF.

† GIFI.

GIFFLE.

GIFL.

} Ilchester.

GIP.

GIPE.

GIPI.

} Ipswich.*

GLE.

GLEWEI.

GLOVCES.

GLWECE.

} Gloucester.*

GRAN.

GRANT.

} Cambridge.

HA.		LIEWE.	
HAMT.		LIEWEEL.	} Lewes?
HAMTAS.		LIN.	
HAMTVNE.	} Southampton.	LINC.	
HARDFRD.	Hertford.	LINCO.	} Lincoln.
HERE.		LINCOL.	
HEREFOR.	} Hereford.*	LINCOLN.	
HERFOR.	Hertford, or Hereford?	LINI.	
HIFEI.		LOFEC.	
HIFGT.		LONDINI.	London.
HLTING.		LOYNC.	
HNTN.		LV.	
HRELI.		LVDEIE.	
HSTI.		LVN.	
HSTING.	} Hastings.	LVND.	
HVNT.		LVNDD.	
HVNTED.		LVNDDI.	
HVNTEN.	} Huntingdon.*	LVNDE.	
HVNTI.		LVNDEI.	
HVTD.		LVNDEN.	
IE.		LVNDENE.	
IERBIRGE.	Jerby?	LVNDENI.	
IEXCE.		LVNDI.	} London.
IEEXEC.		LVNDIE.	
IEEXECI.		LVNDII.	
IEXS.		LVNDIN.	
IEXSE.		LVNDNDE.	
IEXSEC.		LVNDNE.	
IEXSEL.		LVNDNEI.	
IVLIOBINA.	Lillebone, or Dieppe?	LVNDNEN.	
LCEWEI.		LVNDNI.	
LCO.	Lincoln.*	LVNED.	
LE.		LVNI.	
LEG.	Chester.*	LYNDR.	
LEGRI.	Leicester.*	MAINT.	
LEGWI.		MALM.	
LEH.	Leicester?	MALME.	} Malmsbury.*
† LEOWI.		MEIGT.	
LERECE.		MELDVNA.	Maldon.*
LERECI.	} Leicester.	MIERLEVER.	
LEWEI.		MIFGT.	
LEWEIS.	} Lewes.*	MIFOT.	
LICAE.	Lichfield?	MRLBRGEI.	Marlborough.
LIECE.		NIEO.	

† NORDWI, pro Northwi. Norwich.

NORI.

NORT. Northampton?

NORTHI.

NORTHW.

NORTHWIC. } Norwich.*

NORTHWIL.

NORW.

OCXNRIC.

OEI.

ORTHRI.

ORTHW.

ORTHWI.

OX.

OXE.

OXEN.

OXENAE.

OXENE.

OXENEF.

OXENEFO.

OXENESO.

OXENOFO.

OXNEF.

OXSNE.

OXSNEF.

Pevensey.*

Rhuddland.*

RIC.

RICOM.

RITVNE.

ROFEI.

ROFI.

} Rochester.

ROLEC.

RV. Rumney?

RVFEI.

RVFIC.

} Rochester?

† RVMN. Rumney.

† SALT.

SAN. Sandwich?

SCED. St. Edmundsbury, or St.

Edward? i. e. Shaftesbury.

SCEFITI.

SCF.

SCIEF.

} Shaftesbury.*

SCIEFT. Shaftesbury.*

SCR.

SCROI. } Shrewsbury.*

SEIF.

SHAEFTISBIR. Shaftesbury.

SHIEFE.

SHINE.

SIER.

SINFL.

SNOTI.

SNOTIN.

SNOTTNGI.

SNOTTIN.

} Nottingham.*

STAL.

STAN.

} Stamford.

STEFFOR. Stafford.

STEFNI.

STOT.

STOTI.

STOTIC.

STOTIN.

STOTINGE.

SVEL.

SVTERK. Southwark.

SVTHBL. Sudbury.*

SVTHEWER. Southwark.

SVTHI.

SVTHRE.

SYTHRI.

TAMI. Tamworth.

TAN.

TANT.

} Taunton.*

TANV. Tamworth.

TTIN,

forsan pro

TEIN.

} Teignmouth?

THEFRD.

THEOT.

THEOTF.

THEOTFO.

THIOTFO.

THIOTFORD.

THOFRED.

THTF.

} Thetford.

TOTN. Totness.
 WAL. }
 WALIC. } Wallingford.*
 WALING. }
 WARRN.
 WARRV. Warham.*
 WC.
 WEALI. }
 WELL. } Wallingford.
 WER.
 WERE. Worcester.*
 WERH. }
 WERHA. } Warham.
 WERHI.
 WERHN.
 WERNI.
 WERWIC. Warwick.
 WHREC.
 WI.
 WIC. }
 WICE. } Worcester.

WIE.
 WIG. }
 WIGRI. } Worcester.
 WIHREC. }
 WILTV.
 WILTVN. }
 WILTVNE. } Wilton.
 WILTVNI. }
 WIMRE.
 WIN. }
 WINC. } Winchester.
 WINE.
 WINCEST. Winchester.
 WINIRE. }
 WINRE. } Winchester?
 WINRECI. }
 WITTI. Witney.
 WN.
 WNC.
 XECST. Exeter.

His Moneyers were numerous. The following names have been collected:

ÆASMÆR.	ALLSI.	BRVMMIC.
ÆGELRIC.	† ALNOTH.	BRVNTVI.
ÆGILRIC.	ANDERB.	BRVNWINE.
ÆLFSÆD.	ANDERBODE.	BVT.
ÆLFSI.	ANDERBOIM.	CEATI.
ÆLFSIG.	ANTHOLF.	CEORL.
† ÆLFWINE.	ARTHVLF.	CIMEL.
ÆLISMER.	ARTHVR.	CINRIC.
ÆSBÆARN.	AVDERINE.	CINTSWINE.
AFARVE.	AVINE.	† CIOFWINE.
AGELWI.	† BALDWINE.	COLFRIN.
AGLFINE.	BERITERI.	COLSPEGEN, or
ALARVE.	BODA.	COLSWEGEN.
ALDGAR.	BRAND.	COLSPEGN, or
ALEF.	BRATMER.	COLSWEGN.
ALEIF.	BRENTIC.	CVIRIC.
ALESMER.	BRINTRED.	DIDRIC.
ALESTMAER.	BRINTWI.	DINNIC.
ALFIR.	BRINTWINE.	DOR.
ALFRI.	BRNFWI.	DRIMAN.
ALISTMER.	BRVMMAN.	DVNINC.

DVNNIC.	† IEGELWERD.	ORGVR.
DVRCGRIM.	IEGELWINE.	ORTHWI.
DVREGRIM.	IEGERINE.	OSBEARN.
EADWEARD.	IEGLRIC.	OSBERTH.
EADWI.	IELFGEARD.	OSWOLD.
EADWINE.	IELFGIET.	OVTHBEORN.
EADWIRE.	IELFRIC.	OVTHGRIM.
EARNWI.	IELFWINE.	OVTHREORN.
EDI.	IELWORD.	REFWINE.
EDWI.	IESTAN.	RESWINE.
ELFSI.	IESTHN.	ROGER.
EORWINE.	LEIGTEN.	ROSFETEL.
ESDERNE.	LEIGTIN.	RVLEWI.
FOLGARD.	LEOFRIC.	RVLFSWI.
FORNA.	LEOFWINE.	RVLFWI.
† GIFEL.	LEOFWOLD.	SDROTT.
GIFWARD.	LIERIE.	SEFRIM.
GODBRIHT.	LIFWORD.	SEFVRE.
GODI.	LINOTH.	SEFWARD.
GODIC.	LIOFRIC.	SEFWARTH.
GODRIC.	LIOWINC.	SEFWIROL.
GODRICI.	LISWINE.	SEGWARTH.
GODSBRAND.	LIVINC.	SEGWINE.
GODSBRINT.	LONSREGEN.	SEWINE.
GODWI.	LVFRED.	SICOD.
GODWINE.	LVFRIC.	SIDELOC.
GOLDMAN.	LVFWINE.	SIDEMAN.
GOLDWINE.	MANN.	SIDEMIN.
GORNOTH.	MANNA.	SIEWI.
GVTHRIEN.	MAREWIL.	SIEWINE.
HARGOD.	MVRFIN.	SIFERTH.
HARMEL.	OD.	SIFFARTH.
HARMIL.	ODBEVRN.	SIFRED.
HARTHOLF.	ODNOTH.	SIGWINE.
HENTHEWVLF.	ODTHNORIN.	SIWIOE.
HVSWAL.	ONTHREORN.	SIWORD.
IECELBRENT.	OPI.	SODRIC.
IECELDINE.	OPITERN.	SPROT.
IEDGWORD.	ORDWI, forsā pro	STIEWIN.
IEGELBRHT.	ORTHWI.	SUETMAN ¹ .
IEGELRIC.	ORGAR.	SWEATLINC.

¹ Domesday Book, vol. I. folio 154.

SWENLINC.	VLFIEL.	WVCSTAN.
SWENTLINC.	VLFRI.	WVFRED.
SWENTLINE.	VVINC.	WVIRERED.
SWEOTINC.	WELFWINE.	WVLFGMET.
SWIRTINC.	WERWI.	WVLFMAER.
SWOTT.	WICVXSI.	WVLFMER.
SWOTTINC.	WIEGELWINE.	WVLFORD.
SWOTTINI.	WIGINC.	WVLFRED.
THEODORIC.	WILTVNE.	WVLFRIC.
THEODRED.	WIMER.	WVLFSWI.
THEOLRIC.	WINE.	WVLFWARD.
THIFREID.	WINERAC.	WVLFWI.
THIODRED.	WINERED.	WVLFWIC.
THORN.	WINERIC.	WVLFWINE.
THORR.	WINFWINE.	WVLFWINI.
THORSTAN.	WINTED.	WVLFWNE.
THREORN.	WINTHBORNE.	WVLGAR.
THVREGRIM.	WINVRIC.	WVNNIC.
VLF.		

WILLIAM RUFUS.

1087. On the death of William I. in this year, his son William Rufus succeeded to the throne. He soon dissipated the immense wealth which his Father had accumulated; and from his poverty^m and the shortness of his reign it is probable that he coined but little Money. I have therefore assigned to him those Coins only which, in imitation of his Great Seal, have a Mullet, or Mullets, on the Obverse. If this appropriation be just, he appears to have coined in many places where his Father had Mints, but not in all, and to have established some others. He employed but few of his Father's Moneyers. From the weight and fineness of his Money it seems that, notwithstanding his necessities, he made no alteration in the Standard.

^m About the year 1095 he raised an immense sum under pretence of lending to his brother Robert Duke of Normandy 10,000 Marcs of Silver, for which he had given his Dukedom as a security. On this occasion the Bishops, Abbots, and Abbesses broke in pieces the gold and silver ornaments of their Churches to supply the King's necessities. [Bromton, col. 992, and Hoveden, who gives the date of 1096, col. 466.] This circumstance seems to warrant a suspicion that the current Coins were not sufficiently plentiful to answer any particular emergency.

His Coins bear on the Obverse his name and title, except in one instance, where the legend is WILLELMVS only, and in another, which is inscribed LVILLEM DVOⁿ. The Reverses have the Town and Moneyer.

In the following List of Mints I have marked with * those names which appear upon his Father's Coins.

BATHAI.	Bath.*	GLEI.	} Gloucester.*
BRIC.	} Bristol.*	GLEWE.	
BRICSI.		GLF.	
BRIGETSO.		GRANT.	Cambridge.*
BRIGTSO.		HAMTVNE.	Southampton.*
BRV.		HARFRD.	} Hartford.*
CANTI.	} Canterbury.*	HIRFRD.	
CANTIEE.		HREF, forsan pro	Hereford.*
CANTVE.		HRTI.	
CANTVI.		HSTI.	Hastings.*
CANTVLE.		HT.	
CNT.*		HVNT.	Huntingdon.*
CNTE.		IEX.	} Exeter.*
CNTLE.*		IEXE.	
CNTNEI.		III.	
COL.	} Colchester.*	L.	
COLI.		LEHR.	Leicester.*
CREEX.	Crewkerne?	LEOF.	Leominster.
DOF.	} Dover.*	LEWI.	Lewes.*
DOFR.		LIC, forsan pro	} Lincoln.*
DOR.	} Dorchester.*	LICOLEN.	
DORCES.		See Mints of	
DORECST.		Henry I.	
EFR.	York.*	LIEC.	
EH1.		LIEWEN.	Lewes?
EI.		LIN.	
EOF.	York.	LINC.	} Lincoln.
GEPI.	Ipswich.*	LINCLN.	
GIFL.	} Ilchester.*	LINCO.	
GIFLC.		LINCOLI.	
GIPI.	Ipswich.	LIND.	

ⁿ See Supplement, Part II. Plate II. The former of these affords the only instance of the Roman w on his Coins. On his Great Seal he is styled WILIELMVS : DEI : GRATIA : REX : ANGLORVM. — VVILIELMVS : DEI : GRATIA : DVX : NORMANORVM. [Sandford and Speed.]

LVN. }
 LVND. } London.*
 LVNDE. }
 LVNDEI. }
 LVNE.* }
 NOR. }
 NORTHWI. } Norwich.*
 ODE. }
 ONWI. }
 OTHEI. }
 OTHRE. }
 OTHRI. }
 OXE. }
 OXNE. }
 OXNEI. } Oxford.*
 OXSNEI. }
 OXSNII. }
 ROFF. }
 ROFI. } Rochester.*
 RVM. }
 RVME. } Rumney.*
 RVMI. }
 SACTI. }
 SAN. }
 SAND. } Sandwich.*
 SC. EA. St. Edmundsbury.
 SCRO. Shrewsbury.*
 SF.

SHIEFI. Shaftesbury ?*
 SINTSTFNI.
 SNT. Nottingham ?*
 ST.
 STNF. Stamford.*
 SV.
 SVD. Sudbury.*
 SVTH. }
 SVTHEVR. } Southwark.*
 SVTHEWI. }
 SVTHEWR. }
 TANV. }
 TANW. } Tamworth.*
 THETF. }
 THTFR. } Thetford.*
 THTFRD. }
 WAL. }
 WALICE. } Wallingford.*
 WALIG. }
 WERH. Warham.*
 WEWH.
 WILTVNEN. Wilton.*
 WIN. }
 WIN. } Winchester.*
 WINCE. }
 WINCESI. }
 WLTVNE. Wilton.

The names of his Moneyers will be found to differ considerably from those which appear upon the Pennies of the Conqueror. Those with an Asterisk occur under both Monarchs.

ALDWINE.
 ALFRAD.
 ALFRED.
 ALFRIED.
 ALTHVROLF.
 BRAND.*
 BRATMIER.
 BRVNIC.
 BRVNIE.
 CEOLI.
 CEOTI.

CINRIC.*
 DILMVN.
 EADWI.*
 EADWINE.*
 EDRILI.
 EDWI.*
 EDWOLD.
 GATHRAD.
 GEGLWINE.
 GLITHRIND.
 GODRAD.

GODRED.
 GODRIC.*
 GODWA.
 GODWINE.*
 GODWN.
 GOLDWINE.*
 GOWI.
 HELDRED.
 HETHEWI.
 HVSVAL.*
 IECIDRD.

IEDGWORD.*	LIOFRED.	SPROT.*
IEGLWINE.*	LVOFWINE.	STICWIN.
IELDRIND.	MAN.*	SWETMAN.
IELFRIC.*	MVNWINE.	SWIGEN.
IELFWIC.	ORDVI.	SWRTIC.
IELFWINE.*	ORDWI.	VLFEIL.
IELGTAN.	OSWOLD.*	VLNOTH.
IELMIER.	OTER.	WELWINE.
IELMIRE.	SDROT.*	WINEWI.
IELNOTH.	SEWI.	WINTRIC.
IELRMIC.	SEWIAL.	WVLDWINE.
ITHSTAN.	SIGHERITH.	WVLFWINE.*
LEOFWINE.*	SIGONEF.	WVLGAR.*
LIFIC.	SIWISEN.	WVLROD.
LIFWINE.	SIWORD.*	

HENRY I.

1100. The sudden death of William Rufus, on the 1st of August in this year, gave his younger brother Henry the opportunity of seizing the throne, in the absence of Robert, his senior, and consequently the lawful heir to the crown. After a slight and ineffectual opposition he established himself in the government; and, in order to secure the possession of what he had so unjustly usurped, he soon after his accession^p ordained, by Charter, wise and politic regulations, evidently calculated for the benefit of his subjects. Amongst these were the abolishing of Moneyage^q, an oppressive Tax, of Norman origin, and unknown to this Kingdom in the time of Edward the Confessor, and the denouncing severe punishment against Moneyers, or

^p 1100, Mat. Paris, p. 46. 1101, Textus Roffensis, p. 51. 1103, Bromton, col. 1022, and Hemingford. Gale, vol. II. p. 470.

^q There was formerly a payment of twelve Pence, every three years, due from each hearth in Normandy for Moneyage, and for Foyage, or the privilege of cutting wood in the forests for firing. It seems to have been almost peculiar to that Duchy, and was paid, or at least one part of it, that the Money might not be changed; for in those times the Seigneurage which was taken upon every alteration of the Coins was highly oppressive, and it was therefore commuted for by this Tax. It was introduced into England either at the time of, or soon after, the Norman Conquest. [See Du Cange, voce Monetagium.]

other persons, on whom counterfeit Coins should be found ^r. In his Laws it was ordained that falsifiers of the Money should suffer the loss of an hand, without redemption ^s.

Such, however, and so powerful were the temptations to the crime of counterfeiting, that this penalty, dreadful as it may appear, was insufficient to prevent the commission of it. Accordingly Henry, on his return from Normandy, in 1105, found it necessary to add to the loss of an hand the further punishment of the loss of sight, and emasculation ^t. Notwithstanding the severity of these ordinances, the Money was in 1108 so much corrupted as to render a new Coinage absolutely necessary. At that time the Coins were picked (probably to select the heaviest for melting), bent, broken, and in consequence were frequently rejected; it was therefore ordained that the former punishments should be continued, and that no Penny, nor Halfpenny (which were commanded to be made round ^u), nor even a Farthing, provided it were perfect, should be refused. These regulations are said to have been productive of great benefit to the whole Kingdom, because they were applied by the King to relieve the land from its burthens ^w.

^r Wilkins, p. 234.

^s Id. p. 244. See William of Malmsbury, p. 158.

^t Knyghton, col. 2376, Bromton, col. 1000, and Hemingford, p. 470, state this Ordinance to have been made in 1103, by the Great Council of the Nation assembled in London. See Henry of Huntingdon, p. 382, and Hoveden, p. 478.

^u By this the prophecy of Merlin, *dimidium rotundum erit*, was thought to be accomplished. [Contin. Anglo-Saxonis Hist. Eccles. Bedæ. Rerum Brit. Scrip. Vetustiores, p. 347.] Mr. Leake says, "some of these small pieces [*i. e.* the Halfpennies and Farthings] are still to be seen in several of the Musea of the curious, having the King's head crowned, as on his Penny, with a pearly diadem, but without any manner of inscription." [Historical Account of English Money, 2d edit. p. 48.] What these were cannot now be discovered, for nothing in the least resembling them is now to be found in any Cabinet. From Mr. Leake's imperfect description I should suspect that they were Pennies clipped down to the inner circle, for the purpose of imposition, and that, when the fraud was detected, they were all destroyed.

^w Hoveden, p. 471. An incorrect statement of the above has led Sperling, a German Author of some eminence, into a most ridiculous error. Simeon of Durham says, "*Et quoniam sæpissime dum denarii eligebantur, flectebantur, rumpebantur, respuebantur, statuit, ut nullus denarius vel obolus, quos et rotundos esse instituit, aut etiam quadrans integer esset. Ex quo facto magnum bonum Regno creatum est, quia ipse Rex hæc in secularibus ad relevandas terræ ærumnas agebat.*" [Sim. Dunelm. col. 231.]

1118. If Prynne be correct in fixing the date of the 18th of this King to that Great Roll which was supposed to be of the 5th of Stephen^x, it was in this year that Algar and Spracheling were amerced at ten Marks of Silver for a misdemeanor [in coining or uttering] false Money^y; and in this year also Godwin Quachehand was fined in four Marks of Gold to be quit of a plea [or accusation] of [falsified] Money^z.

About this time, I presume, or possibly a little earlier, must have been issued a Writ directed to Sampson Bishop of Worcester, Urso of Abetot, and all Barons, French and English, in Worcestershire, by which it was commanded that all Burgesses, and all other persons dwelling in Burghs, as well French as English, should swear to keep and defend the King's Mint in

From these words Sperling concludes that Henry I. was the reviver of Bracteate Money in Europe; which he proves thus:—The words non integer do not mean broken into halves or quarters (as the Coin usually was, by means of a cross deeply impressed on it) but a thin and light Money, stamped on one side only, and consequently of that kind which is now called Bracteate. The magnum bonum terræ was, according to his idea, the impossibility of counterfeiting the Coin, by base metal covered with silver, on account of its thinness, and the removing the necessity of breaking the pieces by providing smaller denominations of Money. This example of our Henry, he says, soon passed into Denmark and Germany, to their great profit likewise. [Sperlingius, *De Nummorum Bracteatorum & Cavorum origine*. Lubecæ, 4to. 1700; p. 79.] Had he been more acquainted with our antient Historians he would doubtless have corrected this wild idea from a perusal of Hoveden's rational statement, which would have led him to suspect some corruption in the text of Simeon of Durham, that might deprive our Monarch of the honour, for such he seems to think it, of having revived the Coinage of hollow Monies. The whole credit of this non integer does not, however, rest with Simeon of Durham, who is only the copier of a copyist, having borrowed it from Florence of Worcester, who took it from the Continuer of Marianus Scotus's Chronicle. This last Author is, as far as I have been able to trace it, the foundation of the misrepresentation.

Absurd as Sperling's comment upon it may be, there are still others nearly as ridiculous; for instance — “Et quia eligebantur boni denarii, et aliquantulum fracti rumpebantur vel respuebantur, statuit ut nullus denarius vel obolus, quos et rotundos esse jussit, aut etiam quadrans, integer esset, *sed aliqua fractura in eis remaneret. In quo facto magnum evenit commodum toti Regno.*” [W. Hemingford, sub anno 1103.] — “Cum nummos fractos licet boni argenti venditoribus non recipi audisset, *omnes vel frangi vel incidi præcepit.*” [Will. Malmesburiensis, p. 162.]

^x Aurum Reginæ Add. Appendix, p. 5.

^y Mag. Rot. 5 Steph. Rot. 15. a. Madox, Hist. Excheq. vol. I. p. 277.

^z Idem. Rot. 15. a. Idem. p. 497.

England, and not to falsify his Money. And if any one should be found with counterfeit Money upon him, and should not be able to clear himself from the crime of falsifying, or to prove from whom he received the false Coins, he should suffer at least the loss of his right hand, and castration. Also it was forbidden that any Moneyer should exchange money, except in his own county, and that in the presence of two credible witnesses of the same county; and, if he should be taken exchanging money in any other county, he should be punished as a false coiner. It was likewise commanded that no person, except he were a Moneyer, should presume to exchange money^a.

The strong hand of the Law having proved ineffectual for the protection of the Coins, the Censures of the Church were, in 1123, called into its aid. At a Council which was holden at Rome in that year, when Callixtus the Second presided, some antient Statutes were revived, by which it was decreed that whoever should knowingly make, or studiously circulate, false money, should be separated from the congregation of the faithful as one accursed, an oppressor of the poor, and a disturber of the state^b.

1125. These ecclesiastical denunciations seem likewise to have been pronounced in vain, for, in about two years afterward, the King sent orders, from Normandy, for the punishment of all the Moneyers in England^c, by inflicting upon them the severest sentence of the Law; because the Money was so corrupted that it would not pass in any market.

In compliance with these commands, Roger Bishop of Salisbury summoned them, throughout all England, to appear at Winchester against Christmas-day. When they arrived there, they were taken apart singly, and

^a Lib. Rub. Scaec. folio 163 b. copied by Mr. G. North.

^b Sim. Dunelm. col. 248 and 249.

^c The number on which this sentence was executed was 94. [Annal. de Margan, sub anno 1124.] In this date of 1124, Ralph de Diceto and Gul. Gemeticensis agree. But Wikes and the Annals of St. Edmund's Bury fix it in 1125; Simeon of Durham and Alured of Beverley in 1126; and Fordun, in his Scotichronicon, so late as 1127. The Saxon Chronicle also, which I have followed, dates it in 1125; and, in the year preceding, it records a fact which I have not found elsewhere, viz. that at a Council held at Chester, between the Feast of St. Andrew and Christmas-day, six persons underwent the dreadful sentence which the Law had denounced against false coiners. [Sub anno 1124.]

underwent the dreadful infliction. The whole was done within the twelve days before Christmas, and indeed (saith the Chronicler) most justly, for they had brought the greatest loss upon the whole nation, by the immense quantity of base metal which they had circulated^d. They were afterwards compelled to abjure the realm, and to go into banishment^e.

Three Moneyers alone, belonging to Winchester, are said to have escaped this cruel execution^f, and to them therefore, says Dr. Milner, was committed the charge of making a new Coinage to supply the whole kingdom, all the base Money being cried down and cut to pieces^g.

For this act of rigorous justice Henry is praised in the highest terms by Historians and Chroniclers, who agree in representing it as a singular instance of uprightness^h.

Immediately afterwards, the Money was changed; the consequence of which, if some Chroniclers may be believed, was such a dearness of provisions, as amounted to an actual famineⁱ.

^d Chron. Sax. sub anno 1125. Gul. Gemeticensis says the Money was so debased with tin, that scarcely one third part was Silver; and that Henry was informed of it by his soldiers in Normandy, who found they could not purchase so much with their pay as they had done heretofore, when the money was made of Silver. [Du Chesne, Scrip. Norman. p. 303.]

^e Wikes, sub anno 1125. He does not speak of this punishment comprehending nearly all the Moneyers, as some other Chroniclers do, but says that all who were found guilty suffered.

^f Annal. Eccl. Winton. Whartoni Ang. Sacra, sub anno 1125.

^g I am at a loss for the authority under which Dr. Milner states this very extraordinary anecdote. He quotes Wil. Malmesbury, but without referring to any page. All that I can find respecting breaking or cutting of money is at page 162, in these words: "*Cum nummos fractos licet boni argenti venditoribus non recipi audisset, omnes frangi vel incidi præcepit;*" but the words in Italicks show that it was not the refusal of base money, but of good, when broken, that this extraordinary measure was intended to remedy.

^h The Author of the Annals of Waverly coolly says it is worth your while to hear how severe King Henry of England was against offenders. [Annal. Waver. sub an. 1125.] Gul. Gemeticensis begins his panegyrick with saying, that the action shewed the severity of his justice against the wicked, and his contempt of gain in comparison of uprightness. He then exclaims, "*O virum defensorem justitiæ, & iniquitatis acerrimum punitorem! O si vellet redemptionem accipere pro tot hominum impiorum membris, quanta nullia talentorum posset inde lucrari! Sed, ut diximus, spreuit pecuniam amore justitiæ.*" [Du Chesne, Scrip. Norman. p. 303.]

ⁱ See the Continuation of Florence of Worcester, sub anno 1125.

Another Chronicler, however, imputes this famine to more probable causes, namely, to the storms and excessive rains which continued through the whole summer of the year 1125, with scarcely the exception of a single day^k.

In this year King Henry founded an Abbey at Reading, in Berkshire, and gave to it, amongst other privileges, a Mint and one Moneyer^l.

The English Goldsmiths seem to have been at this time eminent for excellence of workmanship, and were sometimes invited to practise their art in foreign courts. Anketil, who was afterwards a Monk in the Abbey of St. Alban's, and made the shrine there, resided during seven years in Denmark, by the command and at the request of the Monarch. Whilst he continued there, he was employed in a variety of Goldsmith's work, and was appointed the Keeper of his Mint, and Chief Moneyer^m.

The types of his Coins are as various as those of any Monarch in the English series.

The name and title of Henry I. are variously written upon the Obverse of his Money. On some pieces H. R. only are found; on others, HENRICVS; on others, his name and title; and on others, his name and title as King of the Englishⁿ. The Reverses bear the name of the Mint and Moneyer, which in some instances are placed within two concentric circles^o. One Penny has PAX across the centre of the Reverse, which probably alludes to the Peace which was concluded between him and his brother Robert A. D. 1101, according to the Saxon Chronicle^p.

The following names of his Mints have been collected.

ATLE.		BEDEF.	} Bedford.
BADO.	} Bath.	BEDEFO.	
BATHA.		BISES.	

^k Annales de Margan. sub anno 1125.

^l Monasticon Anglic. vol. I. p. 417. See the Account of Reading Mint.

^m Mat. Paris, p. 1010.

ⁿ His title on his Great Seal is (with the exception of the name) precisely the same, on both sides, as that of William II. [Sandford and Speed.]

^o Supplement, Part II. Plate I. No. 3.

^p Supplement, Plate I. No. 7. As it is without a sceptre, Leake thinks it may be of H. II. coined in the life of Stephen, after he had forced him to an agreement, and secured the reversion of the Crown, p. 47.

BRIST. } Bristol.
 BRISTO. }
 CA. }
 CAN. }
 CANT. } Canterbury.
 CANTER. }
 CANTVA. }
 CES. } Chester.
 CESTE. }
 CICES. Chichester.
 COLEC. } Colchester.
 COLECES. }
 GIPE. Ipswich.
 GLOCE. Gloucester.
 HAM. Southampton.
 HASTI. Hastings.
 HERE. Hereford.
 LE.
 LEI. } Leicester.
 LEIC. }
 LEW. Lewes.
 LICOLEN. }
 LIN. }
 LINC. } Lincoln.
 LINCO. }
 LINDCOE. }
 LON. }
 LVN. }
 LVND. }
 LVNDE. }
 LVNDEE. } London.
 LVNDENE. }
 LVNDN. }
 LVNDO. }
 LVNDON. }
 LVNDONI. }

NE. Newark.
 NOR.
 NORHA. Northampton.
 NORWIC. Norwich.
 OXNE. Oxford.
 RIC. Reading.
 ROFI. } Rochester.
 RVFA. }
 RVMI. Rumney.
 S.
 SEDM. St. Edmundsbury.
 SERBI. Salisbury.
 SNOTN. Nottingham.
 STANF. } Stamford.
 STANFOR. }
 STEN.
 SV.
 SVD. Sudbury.
 SVT.
 SVTHI. } Southwark.
 SVTWE. }
 SVTWVR. }
 TAMEWV. Tamworth.
 TET. } Thetford.
 THTF. }
 THTFR. }
 WARA. Wareham.
 WELLIGL. } Wallingford.
 WELLIGLI. }
 WELLING. }
 WIN. }
 WINC. } Winchester.
 WINCE. }
 WINCESTR. }
 WINTRSIR.
 WIRECEST. Worcester.

His Moneyers were :

AHEMVAL.
 ALARIC.
 ALEN.
 ALFW.

ALFWINE.
 ALGAR.
 ALRICVS.
 ARCIL.

BADOWER.
 BARLIAT.
 BRIETHRIC⁹.
 CHITEL.

⁹ He and Godwine were Moneyers at Oxford. Monast. Ang. vol. II, p. 137.

CINRI.	LEFWINE.	SIGHAR.
COL.	LIFVNE.	SMIENE.
CRISTRET.	MORVS.	SMIERNE.
DERLINC.	NEGELVS.	SMIORNE.
DVNINC.	OC.	SPRACHELING ^t .
EDMVND.	ORDGAR.	TVCRED.
ELFWINE.	ORDGVR.	WALFDORD.
ENGELMAN.	ORIM.	WALFORD.
Qu. the last three letters.	OSBR.	WINEDI.
ETVRI.	OSVLF.	WINTERLED.
FVCRED.	OSWARD ^s .	WINTVRED.
GERAVD.	PAIEN.	WITT.
GLEDWINE ^r .	RAVF.	WVLETHORD.
GODRIC.	RAP.	WVLFINE.
GODWINE.	RICARD.	WVLFRED.
GOEFREI.	RICHARD.	WVLFRIC.
GOL.	ROBERT.	WVLFINE.
GREGOR.	ROLLAND.	WVLFWIN.
HENF - - -	RVNCEBI.	WVLFWINE.
HERMER.	SAIN.	WVLFWORD.
IELFWINE.	SAM.	WVLGAR.
IORDAN.	SEWINE.	
LEFWARD.	SIGAR.	

STEPHEN.

On the demise of Henry, A. D. 1135, the male line of the Normans being extinct, Stephen Earl of Bologne and Montaign, third son of Stephen Earl of Blois, by Alice fourth daughter of the Conqueror, usurped the Government to the prejudice of his Cousin Maude, the only surviving child of Henry; and justified his usurpation by the plea that no female had ever sat on the throne of England ^u. His reign was, in consequence, perpetually disturbed by her claims, and his power so much weakened, that in 1147 the Laws were in so impotent a state, that every man did whatsoever pleased him. The necessities of Stephen had, before this period, induced him, as it was reported, to diminish the weight which the Penny bore in the reign of his predecessor, whose immense treasures he had quickly dissipated

^r He and Robert were Moneyers in Rochester. Mr. North's MS note to Folkes's Tables.

^s Moneyer in Southwark. North's MS note.

^t Spracheling and Algar, Moneyers in London. North's MS note.

^u Sandford, p. 38.

for the maintenance of his armies^w. This, together with other proofs of weakness, had so reduced his authority, that every part of the kingdom was harassed by the lords of castles, who were tyrants in their respective districts, where they assumed the state and privileges of kings. Each castle had its Mint^x, from whence issued so much light and debased Money, that in ten or more shillings the value of twelve pence could scarcely be found^y. It has been asserted, but I believe without sufficient authority, that these castles were erected by special license from the King, in order to be a defence against the Empress Maud, whose coming he dreaded^z.

In 1149, her son Henry Duke of Normandy invaded England with a large army, to which many castles and places of strength were yielded. He then struck a new Coin, which obtained the name of the Duke's Money^a; and not only he coined, but also all the men in power, whether Bishops, Earls, or Barons, made their own Money. But when the Duke himself came, he put down the Coins of the greater part of them^b.

1150. In the following year, Stephen, when at York, exacted from his Nobles sums of money proportioned to their rank and fortunes. The people were at this time extravagantly expensive, for every one at his pleasure debased the Coins both in their value and in their impression^c.

^w Will. of Malmsbury, p. 185. The same author says, that Henry left in his treasury, at the time of his death, nearly £100,000; the "denarii of which sum were exquisitissimi;" and there was besides great wealth, consisting of vases of the precious metals, &c. P. 179.

^x Will. of Newburgh, lib. I. cap. 22. Bromton, col. 1036. Hemingford, p. 487. Trivet says, "erantque in Anglia tot quodammodo Reges, vel potius tyranni, quot castellorum domini, habentes singuli percussuram proprii numismatis, & potestatem dicendi subditis Regio more jura." Annales, sub anno 1148.

^y Will. of Malmsbury, p. 185.

^z Fabian's Chronicle, vol. I. p. 333. Polychronicon. folio 283.

^a Mr. North says: "On this Coin perhaps is Dux instead of Rex." MS note to Folkes's Table. No such Coin, however, has yet been discovered.

^b Hoveden, p. 490. This is so obscurely expressed by Hoveden, that it is difficult to discover whether he intends the Duke's coming in 1149, or his second coming in 1153, when a treaty was concluded between him and Stephen; or indeed whether the expression may not with greater propriety be referred to the following year, when he came to England to claim the sovereignty.

^c Sim. Dunelm. Continuatio, col. 278.

1152. Two years after this, the King attempted to secure the throne to his family, by proposing to crown his son Eustace, and to supersede Henry. But his design was frustrated by the refusal of Theodbald, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was forbidden by the Pope to crown the son of a King who had usurped the throne in violation of the solemn oath which he had sworn to Maude^d. This attempt, however, to disinherit Henry, and to cut him off from the succession to the Crown, brought him immediately to England, in order to take effectual measures for making himself master of the kingdom. After a contest of some months' continuance, the distressed condition of Stephen's affairs induced him to listen to terms of accommodation, and a treaty was concluded at Wallingford in 1153^e. This Convention provided for the succession of Henry upon the death of Stephen, and for the destruction of all the castles which, during this reign, had been illegally erected. They amounted in number to eleven hundred and fifteen. The King also declared that the current Money should be made of Silver, and should be one and the same throughout the kingdom^f.

This latter clause confirms the accounts before given of the wretched state to which the Coin was reduced by the necessities of the King, and by the powers which his subjects had usurped. Historians do not inform us whether the money was restored to purity, in conformity with the provision of this article; but there is every reason to suspect that it was not, because Stephen never carried into execution the preceding article, which required the demolition of the castles where the Mints were situated, from whence a great part of the adulterated Money had issued^g. It is probable that the

^d Chron. Gerv. Doroborn, col. 1371.

^e On this occasion is supposed to have been struck that remarkable Coin, which bears on its Obverse two rude whole-length figures, representing, as it is conjectured, Stephen and Henry. It may have been intended to commemorate this event by those figures; but there is nothing in the legend to authorize the supposition, as it, like the greater part of Stephen's Coins, reads only STIEFNE R. without PAX, or any other allusion to peace, or to the name of Henry, the other party in the treaty.

^f Mat. Paris, p. 72.

^g Will. of Newburgh says that, after this treaty, "Rex Stephanus fastu regio, finis Angliæ lustrans, et se tanquam Regem novum ostentans, suscipiebatur ab omnibus & decenti magnificentia colebatur; & incendebantur ante faciem ejus, & quodammodo liquifuebant sicut cera à facie ignis, munitiones adulteræ, quæ erant improborum receptacula, & spelunca latronum." [Lib. I. cap. xxxii.]

power of Stephen was inadequate to the performance of these covenants, for it cannot be supposed that he willingly suffered the continuance of such usurpations. The castles were destroyed by Henry II. immediately on his accession to the throne^h. None of the Coins which were thus struck by the Barons, in defiance of the King's authority, have yet been discovered, unless that very singular Penny minted at Derby, with the arms of Edward the Confessor on the Reverse, can be admitted as one of that descriptionⁱ. That it is not I am inclined to think, from its being of Standard Silver, and of full weight, circumstances which by no means agree with the accounts which are given of the Baronial Coins. But although we have none of the Coins which were struck by the usurping Barons, yet some are certainly known which were minted by Nobles related to Stephen. Such are the Pennies with the name of his son Eustace, which have on the Reverse either the name of the City of York, or else are marked with unmeaning ornaments instead of a legend, in a manner which exactly resembles some of the Coins of Stephen.

Such likewise is the Penny of Henry Bishop of Winchester, the King's Brother.

And such is that with the name of Robert, the base Cousin of Stephen^k.

These Coins, it is probable, do not come within the meaning of the Historians, when they speak of money which was struck in open defiance of the King's authority; for it may with great appearance of likelihood be presumed that persons so nearly related to him did not usurp the privilege of coining, but enjoyed it by a particular grant; especially as Stephen is known to have conveyed such power by Charter to others, in no way connected with him by blood^l.

His Coins are almost invariably ill struck up, which gives the workmanship an appearance more rude than it will be found upon closer examination

^h Notwithstanding the former extract from W. de Newburgh, he himself speaks of Henry II. as the destroyer of these castles, in lib. II. cap. 1. as does also Walsingham in *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 446, who gives 1115 as the number actually destroyed.

ⁱ See Supplement, Part II. Plate II. No. 15, and also No. 21, which is supposed to be a Baronial Coin.

^k See the account of these Coins at the end of this reign.

^l To the Bishop of Coventry and his successor, for instance. See *History of Lichfield Mint*.

to be. The Derby Penny above mentioned is, however, a very remarkable exception, for it is perfect in all parts, but the execution is most barbarously uncouth.

Although his Coins are scarce, yet a considerable variety of types is to be found. His name on the Obverse is commonly ill-pelled, and occurs frequently without his title. When that appears, it is simply Rex, without any addition. On the Derby Penny his name is given with a Latin termination, STEPHANVS REX, and is the only instance wherein PH are used upon the King's Coins, the name being in all other cases written with an F. On the Penny of Henry Bishop of Winchester the name is also STEPHANVS^m.

The Reverses bear in general the Mint and Moneyer, but it is peculiar to Coins of this reign to exhibit Reverses without any legend, the outer circle being charged with unmeaning ornamentsⁿ.

He had Mints at the following places :

CA.		HEDVA.	Heddingham?
CAN.	} Canterbury.	HERE.	Hereford.
CANT.		LE.	
CARD.	Cardiff.	LEG.	Chester.
CICE.	Chichester.	LEIRE.	Leicester.
CO.		LEWES.	Lewes.
DERBI.	Derby.	LINCO.	Lincoln.
ET.		LV.	} London.
EVERW.	York.	LVN.	
EXC.	} Exeter.	LVND.	
EXCE.		LVNDE.	
GIP.	Ipswich.	NI - - -	
GLOVC.	Gloucester.	NOR.	} Norwich.
GOVE.		NORVI.	
HANTVNE.	Southampton.	NORWIC.	
HEDEN.	Heddingham.	OX.	Oxford.

^m The inscription on his Great Seal does not vary from that of his predecessor. [Sandford and Speed.]

ⁿ I have not been able to detect any practice exactly similar to this on the Money of contemporary monarchs. Le Blanc has given a Coin of Philip d'Alsace, Earl of Flanders, and others of Philippe le Long and Charles le Bel, Kings of France (all at periods subsequent to the reign of Stephen), with ornamented outer circles on the Reverse, but they have all an inner circle which bears a legend.

Reading.
 RISINGES. Castle Rising.
 SANDW. Sandwich.
 S. EDMV. St. Edmundsbury.
 SNOT. Nottingham.
 STAN. Stamford.
 SV.
 SVD. Sudbury.
 Southwark^o.

TETE. Thetford.
 WERE. Worcester.
 WILT.
 WILTV. } Wilton.
 WILTVN. }
 WIN.
 WINC. } Winchester.
 WISINCEST. }

His Moneyers were:

AEL.	GERARD.	THOBI.
AELEM.	G - - - FREI.	THOM.
AELMAR.	HERMER.	TOMAS.
ALFRIC.	LEFREI.	TOVI.
ALFWINE.	LVN P.	WHICHELINVS.
ALL. Qu. AEL? above.	OSFREI.	WILLEM.
ALLEM.	PAEN ^q .	WLLEM.
BOV - -	ROBERD.	WLPO.
DACVN.	ROBERT.	WLPOLE.
EDRICVS.	SIWARD.	WLR.
ERICVS.	SWEIN.	
FERRIS.	SWTIDETS.	

Besides these Coins, which issued from the Royal Mints in this reign, others are known which, as has been before observed, were probably struck by virtue of a license from the Crown.

One Penny of this kind has on the Obverse an armed man, with a large sword in his hand, and this legend, EVSTACIVS, and on the Reverse, EBO-RACI EDOTS^r. This is ascribed to Eustace, the son of Stephen, and was probably struck during his residence at York as governor. The letters which follow the name of the city I am unable to explain, unless they are the blundered name of the Moneyer, which seems probable from the resemblance which they bear to SWTIDETS, the name of one of his father's Moneyers.

Another Coin of the same type, in Lord Pembroke's Collection, differs from this in reading on the Reverse OMHSFIL SVL - ; which also may possibly

^o History of Surrey, vol. III. p. clviii.

^p This name is on a Penny struck at Risinges. I copied it from Mr. Southgate's Collection.

^q Snelling reads this name WAEN, as if it were written with the Saxon w.

^r See English Coins, Plate II. No. 1.

be the Moneyer's name^s. On a third Coin, which bears the impression of a Lion on the Obverse, his name is written *EISTAOHIVS*, and the Reverse is charged with the same kind of devices, within the outer circle, as are to be found upon some of his father's Pennies^t. He is also supposed to have struck Money at Boulogne, a specimen of which may be seen in the Plates^u. It has his name on the Obverse, and on the Reverse *VRBS BONONIE*. But it is by no means certain that this Coin is correctly appropriated, for there were several Earls of Boulogne of that name in the tenth century^w.

There is likewise a Penny, which is supposed to have been struck by Henry Bishop of Winchester, the base brother of the King. This Coin is unique in Lord Pembroke's Cabinet, and is now only known by its representation amongst the engravings of that Collection, or by that which is given in this work. It has on the Obverse a profile head *crowned*, with a crosier before it, and this legend, *HENRICVS EPC.*; the Reverse reads *STEPHANVS REX*^x. The head on this Coin so exactly resembles that on one of Stephen's Pennies, as to warrant a suspicion that it bears the portrait of the King, and not that of the Bishop. The crosier too is probably nothing more than an ill-struck sceptre, whose imperfection has been overlooked, because it was hastily concluded that the sacred staff agreed better than the ensign of sovereignty with the letters *EPC.* Mr. Wise pronounced this to be, in his opinion, one of Stephen's Pennies^y; and Snelling pleaded for its admittance amongst the Coins of that Monarch, and thought it was before excluded on account of its blundered inscription^z. From the circumstance of the King's name and title appearing on the Reverse, and the position of the letters *HEN . VS EPC* on the Obverse (for the letters *RIC* are marked in the engraving as if they were not distinctly to be read upon the Coin, and therefore I put them out of the question); from those circumstances, I say, it appears probable that the Coin, if accurately drawn, was actually struck by the

^s Ducarel's Anglo-Gallic Coins, p. 4, and Plate IV. No. 54.

^t English Silver Coins, Plate I. No. 19.

^u Anglo-Gallic Coins.

^w Ducarel's Anglo-Gallic Coins, page 4, note ^a.

^x English Silver Coins, Plate I. No. 21.

^y Nummorum antiq. scriniis Bodleianis recondit. Cat. p. 237.

^z View of the Silver Coinage, p. 6. See the explanation of our Plates.

Bishop, but under the King's authority and permission, and on the express condition that the effigy and name of the sovereign should be impressed upon it. Ecclesiastical Coins, which bear in this manner the name of the Monarch and of the Archbishop of Canterbury, may be seen on Plate XII. of the Anglo-Saxon series. If they had been stamped with the King's portrait, they would have been exactly similar to this Penny.

There is still another Coin which issued from a private Mint in this reign, but under circumstances which render it extremely difficult to decide by what kind of authority it was struck.

The Obverse is impressed with the figure of a man on horseback, with a large sword in his hand, and with this inscription, *RODBERTESESTV*. The Reverse is precisely similar to those Coins of Stephen, Eustace, and Stephen and Henry, which have no legend, but in its place a border of ornamental figures^a. From its resemblance to these, I have no hesitation in appropriating it to Robert Mellent Earl of Gloucester, the base son of King Henry I. The difficulty which remains is, to determine whether it were struck in defiance, or under the sanction, of the authority of Stephen. I am inclined to adopt the latter opinion, because, although there is but one short period during which he could be truly said to be at peace with Stephen, that is, when he swore fealty to him soon after his accession, yet I think it more probable that this Coin was struck during that interval, than at any subsequent time whilst he bore arms against him; for as he then fought to establish Maud upon the throne, he surely would have coined in her name.

To the letters which follow his name in the legend I am unable to affix any meaning whatever.

Stephen died on the 25th of October, in the year 1154.

HENRY II.

1154. Soon after his death, Henry the lawful heir of the kingdom asserted that right which in the preceding year he had been induced to wave, from the

^a English Silver Coins, Plate I. No. 20, where the legend is incorrectly given.

consideration of the evils which his pursuing it at that time must bring upon his people. He took possession of his Crown in the month of December following; and, immediately after his coronation, consulted with his Nobles concerning the measures proper to be adopted for repressing those disorders which had risen to so alarming an height during the Usurpation of Stephen. For this purpose he resumed the Grants which that monarch had lavishly and improvidently bestowed (on the ground that Grants made by an Usurper ought not to be retained, to the prejudice of the lawful Sovereign^b), and destroyed the castles which had been illegally erected^c. From those dens of thieves issued the greater part of that base Coin which was circulated in such abundance during the late weak and turbulent reign, and which brought incalculable mischiefs upon the people.

At this time the Money was reduced to so wretched a state by adulteration and other methods, that commerce was greatly obstructed, and a new Coinage was become absolutely necessary. Historians differ as to the time when the new money was issued; some placing it in 1156^d, others in 1158^e, and one even so late as in 1159^f. At the same time the Moneyers were punished. According to one historian, they were mutilated, and the more wealthy of them fined^g.

From this variety of dates I am inclined to adopt the earliest for the actual renovation of the Money, because it best agrees with the pressing importance of the measure, and with the acknowledged activity with which

^b Will. of Newburgh, lib. II. cap. 2. As this resumption was general, it doubtless extended to the Mints which had been granted by Stephen; but it may be doubted whether it was so general as to comprehend the grants of former times, as Mr. Pegge conceives that it did. [Assemblage, p. 82.]

^c Idem. lib. II. cap. 1. Bromton, col. 1043. Hemingford, p. 491. Hoveden, p. 491. It should seem that a few of these castles, which were held by persons not likely to disturb the public peace, were spared from this destruction.

^d Hoveden, p. 491.

^e Capitula Ymaginum Historiarum. Rad. de Diceto. Annal. Waverlienses. Chron. Prioratus de Dunstaple: Caxton's Chron. printed by Julian Notary 1515, as quoted in Lewis's Life of Caxton, Preface, p. xiii. Holinshed says that, at this time, he abrogated certain pieces called Basels, vol. II. page 67. I know not what they were.

^f English Chronicle MS., quoted by Lewis as above, note ^e.

^g Chron. Johannis Abb. S. Petri de Burgo. Sparke, p. 78.

Henry urged on the correction of other abuses^h. But whenever it took place, and to whatever extent it was carried, it appears not to have been sufficient to secure it from adulteration; for in about twenty years afterward [A.D. 1180] it was found expedient to introduce a foreign Artist into the Mint, for the improvement of the Money. Philip Aymary, a native of Tours; was commanded by the King to come into England, and to undertake the work. Accordingly, in the Winter, at the Feast of St. Martin, the old Coins were called in, and new round Money was issued. Whether the whole of this Coinage was conducted under the inspection of Aymary is somewhat doubtful; for instead of attending, as it was his duty to do, to the increase of the revenue, and to the restraining the arts of Counterfeiters, he was heavily suspected of conniving at the frauds of the Moneyers, and having narrowly escaped punishment by Henry's lenity, he was dismissed by him to his own countryⁱ. The Moneyers also were severely punished for adulterating the Coins. Besides other sufferings, they were bound two and two, and carried in carts to the King's Court^j.

The necessity for this new Coinage seems to have been generally admitted; but the manner in which it was conducted is represented as extremely burthensome to the people, and especially to the poor^k.

Previously to this time, that is, in his seventeenth year, he was invited into Ireland by Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, when he settled colonies in different parts of that Island, and, by degrees, introduced therein the Laws and Customs of England. It does not, however, appear that he struck any Money there, though the express assertions of Historians, that King John, his successor, was the first who coined Money in Ireland of the same standard with that of England, seems to hint that Coins had, before

^h That the above date of 1156 is nearly the true one is made probable by this circumstance — in the 4th of Henry II. the Sheriff of London accounted for xij lb. by Tale pro commutatione Monetæ. [Mag. Rot. 4 H. II. Rot. 1. a. Lundonia: Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 278.] This must have been in 1157 or 1158.

ⁱ Rad. de Diceto, col. 611. Bromton. Wikes. Gerv. Dorob. Annal. de Waverley, and other Chronicles, all mention this Coinage. Mat. Paris fixes it in the following year, 1181, as does also Chron. Ab. de Bermondsey in Bibl. Arundel. quoted by Mr. North, MS. penès Autor.

^j Hoveden says only that they were fined on account of the corruption of the old Money, p. 597.

^k Stow, p. 149. Hemingford, p. 506. Will. of Newburgh, lib. III. cap. 5.

his time, been struck of a different standard¹. The standard of John's Coins may, however, have been mentioned merely because it was superior to that of the Irish Mints, when under the control of their native Monarchs.

An Assize was fixed, probably after the issuing of the Coinage above-mentioned, respecting the currency of the old Money; for in 1184 the Sheriff of Devonshire paid in at the Receipt of the Exchequer eight Shillings and nine Pence in blank Silver, examined, of the old Money, which was forfeited to the King, because Richard de Stokes had exchanged it contrary to the Assize^m.

By this term I understand either a certain rate, at which the old Money was to be exchanged, or a fixed time, beyond which it was neither to be taken nor received. At a subsequent period, however, the currency of the old Coins was absolutely prohibited; for in the first year of Richard I. Robert de Vallibus owed to the King one hundred Marks, because, amongst other things, he had, whilst he was Sheriff of Cumberland, suffered the old Money to be current after a general prohibitionⁿ.

Thus it appears that there were two Coinages, at least, in this reign.

The appropriation of the Coins usually given to Henry II. is now established with so near an approach to certainty by one of the first Medalists in this Kingdom, that I shall, without apology, lay his arguments before my Readers.

“The circumstance of so great a number of Coins [more than 5700] being discovered together, all of them having the same type, though minted in towns situated at a great distance from each other, is a proof that the whole were struck by the same King, and that the King, whoever he was, used only one device upon his Coins. As the Pennies of Henry III. are sufficiently known, it is evident that these Coins must belong either to Henry I. or II. If we were to assign the present Coins to Henry I. it would follow that all the other Coins which have been usually appropriated to that King, and which are distinguished by the diversity of their types, must have been struck by

¹ Simon, p. 10.

^m Madox, Hist. Excheq. vol. I. p. 280. In 1158 he issued an Ordinance for the regulation of the Money in Normandy, by which the Mark of Silver was raised to 53 Sols 4 Deniers Tournois, from 40 Sols, at which it was valued in 1144. Le Blanc, Monnoyes de France, p. 153.

ⁿ Id. vol. II. p. 382.

Henry II. which is not at all probable. Henry I. was much more likely to have struck Coins with different types than Henry II. He reigned after William II. and before Stephen; and the Coins of William II. and Stephen, as well as those of William the Conqueror, are remarkable for a great variety of types. It is nearly certain, therefore, that these Coins were struck in the reign of Henry II.; who, differing in this respect from his predecessors, determined to have only one pattern represented on his Coins; in which particular usage he was followed, with very few exceptions, by his successors." ^o

It cannot now be ascertained whether any Coins belong to the Son of Henry II. who was crowned in 1170 at London ^p, and again in 1172 at Winchester ^q, with the title of *Henricus rex Angliæ regis Henrici filius* ^r. As he had a Great Seal, it is probable that he coined Money. Mr. North thought that the Penny with three Stars before the Bust might possibly be his ^s. I have given an engraving of one, with a remarkably young face, and of peculiarly fine workmanship for that time; in which respect it differs so entirely from any of those ascribed to his Father, that I am willing to persuade myself it was struck by his command ^t.

On the Coins of Henry II. his name, which is written *HENRI*, appears on the Obverse, with his title of King of England; but upon an Anglo-Gallic Penny, struck in Aquitain, it is *HENRICVS REX* ^u. The Reverses, as usual, have the name of the Mint and Moneyer. No circumstance relating to any part of his history is to be found upon them.

^o Description of a large Collection of Pennies of Henry II. discovered at Tealby in Lincolnshire. By Taylor Combe, Esq. Director, Sec. R. S. *Archæologia*, vol. XVIII. p. 2.]

^p Will. of Newburgh, lib. II. cap. 25. *Benedict Abbas Petroburgensis*, p. 4.

^q *Ben. Abbas Petroburgensis*, p. 33. He died A. D. 1183. *Id.* p. 393.

^r Carte, vol. I. p. 620. On his Great Seal, which has no Reverse, his title is

HENRICVS REX ANGLORV, DVX NORMANNOR, ET COMES ANDEGAVOR.

Sandford, p. 54. He was sometimes called Henry III. [Sparke, p. 93, note 7.]

^s *English Silver Coins*, Plate II. No 7.

^t *Supplement*, Part II. Plate II. No 7.

^u On his Great Seal he is styled

HENRICVS : DEI : GRATIA : REX : ANGLORVM.

HENRICVS : DVX : NORMANNOR : ET : AGITANNOR : ET : COMES : ANDEGAVOR.

[Sandford and Speed.]

His Coins were rare, until a large quantity of them happened to be found at Royston, about the year 1721^v; and a still larger hoard, to the amount of more than 5700, at Tealby in Lincolnshire in 1807^w. They are commonly very ill struck up^x.

His Mints^y were situated at

BR.	}	Bristol.	DVN.	}	Durham.
BRI.			DVNHE.		
BRIS.			DVNO.		
BRISTO.			DVRA.		
CA.	}	Canterbury.	EVE.	}	York.
CAN.			EVER.		
CANT.			EVERW.		
CANTO.			EVERWI.		
CATO.			EVEWI.		
CAR.	}	Cardiff.	EVEWIC.	}	Exeter.
CARD.			EXC.		
CARDIC.	}	Carlisle.	EXCE.		
CARDV.			EXCES.		
CARDVL.			EXCS.		
CES.	}	Chester.	EXSE.		
CEST.			XSE.	}	Ipswich.
CESTE.	}	Colchester.	GI.		
COL.			GIP.		
COLC.			GIPE.		
COLE.			GIPES.		
COLEC.			GIPEV.		

^v Mr. North's MS.

^w Archæologia, vol. XVIII. p. 1.

^x This imperfection is so general that, although the Coins found at Tealby "were as fresh as when they first issued from the Mint, yet their execution was so very bad, that on many of them scarcely two letters could be discerned."—"Yet it is deserving of attention, that the weights of them, though apparently regulated by a pair of shears, were adjusted with extraordinary accuracy;" so that 5127[†] weighed 19 lb. 6 oz. 5 dwts.; only 14 dwts. 18 gr. less than the proper weight; which, divided amongst the whole number, makes each Coin deficient no more than about $\frac{1}{15}$ of a grain. [Archæologia, vol. XVIII. p. 6.]

^y The publication of the XVIIIth volume of the Archæologia, just before this sheet went to the press, has enabled me to add the two Mints which are marked *, and several varieties of spelling to the names of the other Towns. It is remarkable that amongst so large a number of Coins as 5700, not one should occur of Shrewsbury or Worcester Mint. The List of Moneyers is greatly enlarged from the same source.

[†] The number that was melted at the Mint.

GLOCE.
GLOE.
GLOECE.
GLOECES.
GLOV.

} Gloucester.

HEREF.
HEREFOR.

} Hereford.

IVE.
IVEL.
IVELCE.

} Ilchester.

IVLCE.
*LANST.

} Lancaster.

LERC.
LERE.

} Leicester.

LI.
LIN.
LINC.
LINCO.
LINCOL.

} Lincoln.

L.
LV.
LVN.
LVND.
LVNDE.
LVNDEN.
LVNDENE.
LVNDI.

} London.

NE. Newark.

NEVCAS.
NIVC.

} Newcastle.

NIVCA.
NOHA.
NORAM.
NORHA.

} Northampton.

NOR.
NOREC.
NOREV.

} Norwich.

NOREWIC.
NORW.
NORWI.
NVCAS.

} Newcastle.

OXEN.
OXENE.
OXENF.
OXENFO

} Oxford.

S. ED.
S. EDM.
S. EDMV.
S. EDMVN.

} St. Edmundsbury.

SC. ED.
SAL.
SALE.

} Salisbury.

SALEB.
SALOPES.

} Shrewsbury.

STA.
STAF.
STAN.

} Stamford.

TC.
TE.
TED.
TEF.
TEFF.
TEFFO.
TEFO.
TETFO.
THETFO.

} Thetford.

TI.
TIEF.
*WAIN.

} Wainfleet.

VALL.
WALI.

} Wallingford.

VILT.
WILT.
WILTV.

} Wilton.

WI.
WIN.
WINC.
WINCE.
WINCEST.
WINCS.

} Winchester.

WIW.

} Worcester.^z

^z North's MS note to Folkes's Table.

His Moneyers were :

ACHARD *.	GVNCELIN.	S
ACHETIL.	HENRI.	SA
ADAM.	HERBERD.	SHVATE.
AGELHAN.	HERBERT.	SIWAT.
AILWINE FINCH *.	HEREBERT.	SIWATE.
ALWIN.	HVMF. .	STE . . .
ALWINE.	HW.	SVEIN.
ANDR. .	HWE.	SWETMAN.
ASC . . .	INGERAS.	T D.
BIRES.	IOHAN.	THVRSTAN *.
COLBRAND.	IORDAN.	TVRST.
COT.	LAFRAM.	TVRSTAIN.
DANIEL.	LANTIER.	TVRSTEIN.
DE	LEFWINE.	W
EDMVND.	LEFWINE BEZANT *.	W
EDRED ^a .	LEVRIC.	WALTER.
EDW. .	LIWINE.	WALTIER.
ELAF.	LVD . . .	WERES.
EII . . ND.	MARTIN.	WICOT.
FVLCH.	NIC. .	WID.
FVNERE.	NICOL.	WIERES.
FVNERI.	NICOLE.	WILELM.
GEFF . . .	RADVLF.	WILER.
GEFFREI.	RAVL.	WILL. fil. DEREWOLDI *.
GILEBERT.	RAVEN.	WILL. DE WICLEWVD *.
GODEERE.	RE . . .	WILLAM.
GODEFEI.	REIN . . .	WILLELM.
GODEFFI.	RIC . . .	WILLELME.
GODEFRE.	RICARD.	WILLEM.
GODEFREI.	RIRES, forsan pro BIRES.	WILLEME.
GODRIC.	RO	WILLIAM *.
GODWIN.	ROBERT.	WILLIM.
GOLDHAVC.	RODBERD.	WIRES.
GOLDHAVCE.	RODBERT.	WIT.
GOLDHAVOC.	ROGIER.	WIVLF.
GOTHA.	ROVLF.	WVLFSl.

* The Moneyers' names marked thus* are copied from Mag. Rot. 14 H. II. Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. pp. 589, 590.

^a Mag. Rot. 4 H. II. Rot. 9. b. Madox's MSS. vol. LXIX. p. 87.

RICHARD I.

1189. Richard the First began his reign, on the demise of his Father, upon the 6th of July in this year^b.

His martial disposition proved highly injurious to the interests of his people, who were impoverished by the expences of his warlike establishments, and the heavy ransom which was extorted from him as the price of his release from unjust captivity^c.

It has been insinuated that his necessities induced him to corrupt the Coins^d; but there is as little foundation for that assertion as there is for the

^b In the same year he went to Salisbury, and caused the treasure of the late King to be weighed and enregistered, to the amount of more than 900,000 pounds of Gold and Silver. [Bromton, col. 1156.] Hoveden says, greatly exceeding 100,000 Marks. [p. 656.] £900,000 after his debts and legacies were paid. [Chron. Johannis Abb. S. Petri de Burgo. Sparke, 86.]

^c The first payment exacted from his subjects, on this account, not being sufficient, a second and third collection were made, in which the sacred vessels, crosiers, and rings, were not spared. [Bromton, col. 1256.] When Richard heard, after his return, that the property of the Church had been thus destroyed, he ordered others to be made immediately, and distributed to those Churches which had need of them. [Bromton, col. 1258.] It is not easy to reconcile these accounts with an anecdote which is also related by Bromton, and which goes to prove (if it be well founded) that the poverty of the Nation was only pretended, the greater part of its wealth having been concealed. The story is this: — On the publick entry of Richard into London, in March 1193, there appeared such a display of riches that the German Nobles who accompanied him, and had been taught to believe that England was totally impoverished, were struck with wonder, and one of them exclaimed, “O King! wonderful is the prudence of thy subjects, who now securely show that wealth which, during thy captivity, they lamented the loss of! Had the Emperor been aware of the great riches of the English, he would not have believed that this Country could have been so easily drained of all its Money, and would have exacted a much heavier ransom.” [Col. 1257. See also Will. de Newburgh, lib. IV. cap. 39.]

^d This I have found only in Tindal's Notes to Rapin, vol. I. p. 258; in Leake's Historical Account of English Money, p. 58; and in Nicolson's English Historical Library, p. 254; where, as I believe, the insinuation originated. No authority is referred to by any of the above-quoted Writers.

Mr. Clarke, in Conjectures on an antient Piece of Money found at Eltham, p. 16, says, that the Jews and Flemings, in the reign of Richard I., corrupted and debased the Money that had been made by Henry II. so much that when this Coin was called into the Mint the people received but twenty Shillings for thirty.

supposition that he introduced the Easterlings into the Mint, to bring the Money to perfection, for Sterling is mentioned in a publick Record of the latter end of the reign of King Henry II.^e

By what means the Authors quoted in note ^d discovered the fact that Richard was represented as the corrupter rather than the refiner of the Money cannot now be ascertained, as neither of them has produced any authority, nor is there any Indenture of the Mint or other Publick Record to shew that the Coins were debased in his reign; nor have any of the Coins themselves ever been discovered. Those usually attributed to him are either mis-read Pennies of Edward the Confessor ^f, ill struck, or double-headed Coins of Henry III.^g, or of Edward I. II. or III.^h, or notorious Counterfeitsⁱ. But although no Coins of his English Mints have ever been found, yet there are proofs remaining of his attention to the preservation of his Money, and of the conduct of his Workmen.

In an Ordinance which he framed for the regulation of his Soldiers, whilst he was at Messina, A. D. 1190, it was commanded, amongst other things, that no one should refuse the King's Coins, in which the form of Money could be distinguished, unless it were cracked within the circle ^k.

Mr. North, in his Remarks upon Mr. Clarke's Conjectures, p. 24, observes, that the former part of this account, respecting the Jews, cannot be supported by the authority of any Historian or Record; and that the latter part relates to the reign of King Henry III., according to Matthew Paris's history of his 32d year.

^e North's Remarks upon Clarke's Conjectures, p. 27.

^f See Vertue's Portrait of Richard I. engraved for Rapin's History of England; and Withy and Ryall's Plates.

^g Rapin and Speed.

^h Leake, Fleetwood, and Withy and Ryall's Plates.

ⁱ English Silver Coins, Plate II. N^o 8, and Supplement, Plate I. N^o 14. These two Pennies, which are also to be found in Snelling's and Withy and Ryall's Plates, are now well known to be the fabrication of a late Dealer in Coins, who pretended to have discovered them amongst some which were found upon Bramham Moor in Yorkshire. He sold one of them for thirty Guineas; the other remained in his possession, and was disposed of, with the rest of his collection, after his death. [From the information of the late Rev. Richard Southgate.]

^k Bromton, col. 1183. His words are, "*Et ne aliquis sonet monetam Regis in qua moneta apparebit, nisi fracta fuerit infra circulum.*" In this passage sonet has the sense of respuat. See Du Cange, in verbo *sonare*, who thinks it derived this meaning from the custom of trying Money by sounding it. If that derivation be admitted, it must be remarked, that the intro-

At the latter end of his first year he granted to the Citizens of Winchester the privilege that they should not be impleaded without the City; from the enjoyment of which provision the Moneyers are particularly excepted¹.

1194. In his fifth year, immediately after his second coronation at Winchester, Bromton says that he ordained one kind of Money to be current through the Realm, and carried it into effect, to the great advantage of his people, who had been much aggrieved by the diversity of Coins^m. Could the accuracy of this statement be relied upon, it would go a great way towards ascertaining the fact of a Coinage in this reign; but it is a statement which, so far as I can discover, is to be found in this Historian only. Matthew Paris mentions the regulation of Measures in the year 1197; at which time, according to Hoveden, and the Annals of Burton Monastery, an Assize was made respecting the Measures throughout England. It is given at large in those two Collections of Annals, but nothing relating to Money appears in it.

It is true that no authentick publick documents have hitherto been discovered to prove the issuing of Money from the Royal Mints during his reign, except, as Mr. North observes, the *Compoti Cambii*, in his 3d, 5th, and 7th years, can be admitted as satisfactory evidenceⁿ.

But it by no means follows, that because there was a *Compotus Cambii*, there must necessarily have been a Coinage; for the profit of the Exchange, with which the Exchanger charged himself, might have been nothing more than that which arose from the purchase of imported Bullion. The dealing in which, the same Antiquary observes, was from the time of Henry I. the sole privilege of the Master of the King's Cambium, by whom it was rented^o.

duction of the term, in the passage before us, is particularly unfortunate, as the word, in its primitive meaning, cannot be applied to Coins which are cracked; and yet to those alone the Ordinance restricts the application. I know not whether I have given the exact meaning of the words in *qua moneta apparebit*; but I have rendered them upon the authority of Du Cange, who has *Moneta* in the meaning of *Monetæ ipsius character & figura*.

¹ Milner's History of Winchester, vol. II. p. 202, Appendix; and Brady on Burghs, Appendix, p. 45.

^m Bromton, col. 1258.

ⁿ Remarks on Clarke's Observations, p. 36. See these Accounts in Madox's History of the Exchequer: 3 R. I. vol. II. p. 132; 5 R. I. vol. II. p. 189; 8 R. I. vol. I. p. 280.

^o North's MS.

It will, however, appear highly probable that he coined some Money, if we add to the circumstances which have been before recited the consideration of the following facts. These are, the length of his reign, which continued nearly ten years; the Licenses to coin which he granted to different Prelates and Churches^p; and an actual charge for various utensils for blanching Silver, which appears in the *Compotus Cambii* of his eighth year^q.

That he could not have wanted Bullion for that purpose, is evident from his being able to replace the sacred vessels in many Churches from whence they had been taken for the payment of his ransom^r.

But although it be not difficult to assign plausible conjectures for the probability of his having coined Money, yet it will not be so easy to account for the total disappearance of it, provided any were actually struck in his Mints. Folkes says^s, "it is very reasonable to think that the King's long absence out of England, his expedition to the Holy Land, his captivity, and the large sums paid abroad for his ransom, together with his wars in France after his release, must have occasioned great scarcity of Money at home, and small Coinages during all the time of his reign."

But surely all these causes combined are not sufficient to account for the absolute annihilation of his Coins. If any were struck, how happens it that none remain, though those of all his predecessors on the throne of England (and some of them in sufficient plenty) are to be found?

The payment of his ransom did not necessarily take any coined Money from his Kingdom, for it was to be discharged by a certain weight of Silver. Or if it had taken any, would not some of it be met with in Germany?

The error, with respect to the ransom, seems to have arisen from considering the Mark either as an actual coin, or as a term which always expressed a certain weight of the current Money; neither of which was exclusively the case, for it was frequently used to signify weight alone. Caxton is, I believe, the earliest Chronicler who speaks of the real coining of the sum paid for this ransom^t. His mistake is so clearly pointed out, and the

^p To the Church of Lichfield A. D. 1189, and to the Bishop of Durham A. D. 1196.

^q Mag. Rot. 8 R. I. Rot. 1. b. Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 280.

^r Bromton, col. 1258.

^s Table of English Silver Coins, p. 6.

^t Signature L 2. b. He says the plate "was molte and made into money."

notion so ably refuted by Mr. North, in a critique upon Stow's account, which appears to have been borrowed from Caxton, that I think I cannot do better than to lay before my Readers the words of that most able Numismatic Antiquary : " Stow, in his Chronicle, does indeed tell us, that all the plate collected for the redemption of this King was coined into Money; but the very nature of the thing shews it to be a mistake. For what necessity of this additional charge to a burthen so heavy of itself? The terms of the composition did not require it; the words of which, from Hoveden, a contemporary historian, were, *Nuntii Imperatoris recipient Londoniis centum millia marcarum puri argenti ad pondus Colonie; quæ pecunia à Nuntiis accepta & ponderata, in conductu Regis per Regni sui terminos ducetur.* This sum was the whole he could ever make any shift to pay, by severe taxes, and even stripping all the Churches of their plate, though he gave hostages for the future payment of 50,000 Marks more. Under this general distress of the Subject, and poverty of the King, what probability of its being coined at the King's Mints, which could have added no value to it with the Emperor, to whom it must be more acceptable in Bullion for his own proper Mints? Besides, whatever part of it was collected in Coin might probably, by the Embassadors, be demanded to be melted down, in order to prove its coming up to the covenanted Standard *puri argenti.* Therefore, whatever expressions " Stow met with to occasion such a notion, they could mean no more, as the learned Author of the Historical Account of English Money most judiciously observes, than *coining in the sense that Tin blocks are said to be coined in Cornwall; and perhaps had some stamp like them, to denote their goodness; and in this respect may be said to be coined into Money, as it answered all the purposes of Money,* p. 59; which is the very notion that

" " In the place where Stow relates this he has put in the margin the names of Gervasius Dorobernensis, and Chronicon Radulphi de Coggeshall, as evidences. The first of these uses only the word *conflata*; when speaking of the Vasa, et alia argentea, collected for the King's Redemption. As to the second, which is in MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, an obliging friend, a Fellow there, consulted it at my request, and assures me, there is not a word concerning coining into Money. Mr. North.

In an Extract from this Chronicle, taken by Mr. Gough, nothing more is said respecting the nature of this payment, than that it should be *argenti ad pondus Coloncencium.*

the words of Polydore Vergil, in his History, convey to us: *Priæter cæteras privatas opes, Vasa etiam sacra aurea seu argentea ex Templis sublata fuerunt; ex quibus multo plus Pecuniæ conflatum est, quam principio fuerat imperatum.* The word *conflatum* can mean no more than that it was melted down together into bars or ingots. If any part of the ransom was paid in English Coins, Germany might be a more likely place to meet with them than England ^x.

In whatever way we examine the question, whether he coined in his English Mints, or not, it appears to be a point of very difficult decision; for the evidence on either side is strong, but not conclusive. We are not, however, without specimens of his Money, the produce of his Anglo-Gallic Mints, which bear his name as King of England, though they were struck by him either in the quality of Earl of Poitou, or as Duke of Aquitain ^y.

^x Remarks on Clarke's Conjectures, p. 34.

Though the chief of our Chroniclers agree in such a general manner of expression as well warrants the idea that this ransom was not paid with coined Money, yet do they differ very materially as to the mode in which they state it, and even, in some instances, as to the precise sum which was to be paid.

Ralph de Diceto calls it, *argenti centum milia librarum, ad pondus Coloniae monetæ publicæ probatæ.* col. 670.

Sprotti Chron. c. m^l librarum. p. 1118.

Otterbourne, 100 millibus librarum. p. 73.

Chron. Gerv. Dorob. Centum millia marcarum. col. 1582.

Annal. Waverl. c. m. marcas argenti. p. 164.

Knyghton, Centum millia librarum argenti. col. 2408.

Hoveden, Centum millia marcarum. p. 722.

K. Richard's Letter to his Mother, &c. Septuaginta millia marcarum argenti. Hoveden, p. 726.

Chron. Prioratus de Dunstaple, Centum millia librarum ad pondus Coloniae. p. 45.

In Forma Compositionis inter Henricum Imperatorem & Richardum Regem Angliæ A. D. 1193, Centum millia marcarum puri argenti ad pondus Coloniae. Quæ pecunia, à nunciis Imperatoris accepta & ponderata, &c. &c. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 84.

Fuller says that the ransom was £.100,000, being calculated at ten years purchase of the then revenue of the English Crown. [Worthies, Oxfordshire, 329.] I know not from whence he derived this, as he quotes no authority for it.

There are two Walls (of Vienna), the one old and inward, little considerable at present, built at first with the ransom of our King Richard I. Brown's Travels, part II. p. 74. North's Remarks on Clarke's Conjectures, p. 35, note.

^y His Great Seals bear the same inscription as that of Henry II. [Sandford and Speed.]

Those of his Dukedom have on the Obverse his name and title of King of England, and on the Reverse, AQTIVANIE, or DVX AQTIVANIE^z.

The Poitou Coins have his name with the title of King on the Obverse, and on the other side PICTAVIENSIS^a.

These are all that can be attributed to him; but it should seem that a considerable quantity of Coins of some sort or other must have been current during his reign, as diminishing them by clipping appears to have been practised; and that mode of deteriorating the Money requires no small degree of circulation, on account of the very diminutive portion which can, with safety, be taken from each. In his eighth year Henry de Casteillon accounted, at the Exchequer, for the ministry or office of the Chamberlainship of London, for two years; and one article of his account is — sixteen Shillings ten Pence, the Chattells of certain Clippers^b.

It appears, from the authorities quoted below for the names of his Moneyers, that he had Mints at

WARWICK.

ROCHESTER.

CARLISLE.

His Anglo-Gallic Money was struck at Poitou, and, according to Mr. North, at Bourdeaux also.

Richard received his death's wound at the siege of Chalons, and died on the 6th of April 1199.

The following names of his Moneyers have occurred:

BALDRED, } in Warwick Mint^c.
EVERARD, }

GELDWINE and ROBERT, in Rochester Mint^d.

WILHELMVS, Monetar. apud Carlile^e.

^z See Anglo-Gallic Coins.

^a Id.

^b Mag. Rot. 8 R. I. Rot. 1, b. Madox, Hist. Excheq. I. p. 775.

^c Rous, Hist. Regum Angliæ, p. 194.

^d Textus Roffensis, p. 184.

^e North's MS Note to Folkes's Tables.

JOHN.

1199. Upon the decease of Richard, his brother John immediately usurped the throne, to the prejudice of his nephew Arthur, who was the lawful heir, in right of his father Geffrey the fourth son of Henry II., whereas John was the fifth. The youth of Arthur rendered him unequal to a contest with his Uncle, and a fruitless opposition terminated, as is usual in contests for a crown, in the murder of the weaker party.

John had, at a very early age, been declared by his Father Lord of Ireland^f; a title which seems to have invested him with regal power, as was manifest from his using a Great Seal^g, and striking Money with his name and title impressed upon it. He appears to have had Mints in Dublin and Waterford; but whether the Coins were struck there during the life of his Father, or in the reign of his brother Richard, cannot now be ascertained. The Coins themselves are of peculiarly barbarous workmanship, bearing on the Obverse a rude face, resembling the form in which the full moon is usually drawn, with his title, IOHANNES DOM.; and on the Reverse the name of the Moneyer, and the place of Mintage. Of this Coinage, Halfpennies only have, hitherto, been discovered^h. They were probably struck in 1185, the only year in which John was in Ireland during the life of his Father.

1199. On his accession to the Crown of England he assumed the title of King upon the Coins which were struck in his Irish Mints, although upon

^f He was born A. D. 1166 [Sandford, p. 81], and created Lord of Ireland in 1177 [Carte.] This title was probably derived from a Bull of Adrian IV., in which he gave permission to Henry II., in the year 1155, to subdue Ireland, and made use of these words: "Et illius terræ populus te recipiat, & sicut DOMINUM veneretur." [Matthew Paris, sub anno.]

^g See it in Sandford. It is inscribed,

SILILLV∞ : IOHANNIS : FILII : REGIS : ANGLIE : DOMINI : HIBNIE.

[Sandford and Speed.]

^h English Silver Coins, Plate II. No 9. The Coin of this type, which is engraven in Wise's XIXth Plate of the Bodleian Coins, is of the Penny size; nor is that representation contradicted by the description which is given in p. 237. It appears, however, from the Catalogue, p. 99, that this Coin did not form a part of the Bodleian Collection; but no notice is given of the Cabinet in which it was then contained.

his Great Seal he continued the style of *Dominus Hiberniæ*ⁱ. This Money is somewhat less rude than that which he had issued before he was King, and the head on the Obverse, and the devices on the Reverse, are included in a Triangle, for which various reasons have been assigned, but none that are satisfactory^k.

It is probable that this alteration of the type did not take place until his 11th year, when he went into Ireland, and caused new Coins to be made, as will be seen under that year.

1205. The regulations of his English Mints were of an earlier date. On the 9th of November in his sixth year Proclamation was ordered to be made that no one, after the Feast of St. Hilary in the next year, should receive, or have in his possession, clipped Money. And if after that time such should be found upon man or woman, being inhabitants of a Borough, it should be seized, and bored through, and put into a chest to be kept for the King's use, and the man or woman to be held by sufficient bail, and their chattels to be attached at the King's pleasure.

If such Money were found in the hands of a Jew, or Jewess, it should be seized, and put into the chest, and the body of the Jew or Jewess, and their

ⁱ This style, of *Dominus Hiberniæ*, continued to be used by our Monarchs until Henry VIII., in 1541, assumed the title of King.

^k Nicolson says that the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Pembroke judiciously observed to him, "that the Triangle on the Irish Coins of this King (as well as those of his son and grandson, Henry III. and Edward I.) was intended to represent a Harp; which is more fully impressed on the Coins of their successors." [Irish Hist. Library, p. 75.]

Leake, it is probable, borrowed his idea of the Harp from this passage in Nicolson. [Hist. Account of Eng. Money, p. 63.]

As also did Wise, who, in illustration, says, "*Lyræ Hiberniæ insigne denotat: nam Lyræ forma vetustissima erat Δ litera.*" [Nummorum antiq. Serin. Bodleianis recondit. Catalogus, p. 237.]

Simon found the like Triangle on the Coins of Biorno, King of Sweden, A. D. 818; of Charles the Simple, A. D. 893, of Philip the Fair, A. D. 1286, of Charles the Fair, A. D. 1322, Kings of France; of Eric, A. D. 1232, of Abel, A. D. 1250, Kings of Denmark; and of Peter, King of Portugal, 1377; and therefore thought it probable to suppose, that, as the English and Irish Coins were now first made of the same standard, the Triangle was intended only as a distinction between the two kinds of Money.

From this Triangle, says he, perhaps proceeded the Arms of Ireland—the Harp, which we do not find represented on any of the antient Irish Coins extant, except it be what has been taken for a Hand; which he thinks is more like an Harp. [Irish Coins, p. 13.]

chattels, should be taken, and held in replevin, until the King's order to the contrary.

Should such Money be found in the hands of a Servant, inferior Tenant, or Peasant, it should be seized, bored, and returned to him from whom it was taken.

Four men were appointed in every Borough, &c. wherever a market was held, who were to be sworn to be faithful to the King, and then they were to take the said Money, and, having bored it, to place it in the chest, under their seals, and the seal of the Parson, or of their Bailiff, or of both, to be kept to the King's use¹.

In the same year, on the 26th of January, an Assize was made for the preservation of the Money, and for the putting an end to clipping and counterfeiting. William de Wrotham and Reginald de Cornehull were appointed to carry this Assize into execution throughout the Realm. By its provisions that old Money was to be current which wanted at the utmost two Shillings and six Pence in the Pound; and those Pennies which were more deficient were to be bored through, and returned, as it had been otherwise provided.

The Jew Goldsmiths and Foreign Merchants were, however, allowed to purchase food and cloaths with the light Money, but they were not to lend nor to merchandize with any other Coins but those which were large and weighty, as the Penny Sterling legally ought to be. And for the discovering of this lack of weight in the Money there was issued, from the Mint Office, a Penny-poize, wanting one eighth of a Penny, to be delivered to any one who would have it, to be used until Easter in the next year. If any of the Pennies which should be made after Christmas in the sixth year of the King should be found clipped in any person's hands, then they were to be bored through, and he in whose possession they were taken was to be attached as a thief.

The re-blanching of the old Pennies was forbidden; and whoever should be guilty of that crime was declared to be at the King's mercy for all his goods, and was likewise to forfeit all that he had re-blanchied. It was declared that a Penny should be hereafter made of just standard, with an outer circle, beyond which nothing should appear; and whenever it was found in

¹ Pat. 6 Joh. m. 6.

any other state than that, the maker and clipper of it should be at the King's mercy for all his chattels.

If any person should exchange Penny or Silver in any other place than the King's Exchange (with reserve of the Archbishop's Exchange at Canterbury), both the exchanger and the receiver should suffer imprisonment. And it was ordained that no one should take for the exchange of a Pound of fine and pure Silver more or less than six Pence by law:—

That no Penny should issue from the King's Mint, or from that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, except it were *LEGALIS DE VINTEULOR*^m:—

That inquiry should be made by free and lawful men, in Cities, Burghs, and Vills, whether any one, either Christian or Jew, did clip the Money; and if any clipper should be found, whether Christian or Jew, all his goods should be seized, and his body committed to the King's prison, to be at his pleasure, that justice might be done.

And if any Money not of lawful weight should be found in the hands of a Jew Goldsmith, or of a Merchant, whether foreigner or strangerⁿ, for the purpose of merchandizing, or of lending upon use, it was ordained that they, in whose hands such were found (not being intended for the buying of their victuals or cloathing, as aforesaid), should be attached^o.

These provisions show that the practice of diminishing the Coins had been carried on to an alarming extent; and indeed Stow says, "the Money was so sore clipped, that there was no remedie, but to have it renewed." ^p

—1208. In this year he granted the privilege of a Mint to the Bishop of Chichester^q; and, three years afterward, the same, together with an Exchange, to the City of Winchester^r.

About this time the Moneyers, Assayers, and Keepers of the Dies, of London, were commanded, by Writ, to appear at Westminster, on the Quinzime of St. Denis, to receive there the King's commands, and to bring

^m The Glossaries do not notice this word, nor am I able to affix any meaning to it.

ⁿ The words are, *mercatoris forinseci vel extranei*. If there be no error in the Record, it is possible the latter term, *extranei*, may mean the Merchant Strangers who had license to trade within the Realm.

^o Pat. 6 Joh. m. 7. dors.

^p Stow, sub anno 1205.

^q Claus. 6 Joh. m. 3. n. 3. See account of Chichester Mint.

^r Milner's History of Winchester, vol. II. p. 253. See account of Winchester Mint.

with them all their Dies (which they were required to seal up with their own seals immediately on receipt of the Writ), and to summon all the Workers of Money in their City, and those who were skilled in the art of making Money, to be present at the same time.

The like Writs were issued to the Moneyers, &c. &c. of Winchester, Exeter, Chichester, Canterbury, Rochester, Ipswich, Norwich, Lynn, Lincoln, York, Carlisle, Northampton, Oxford, St. Edmundsbury, and Durham ^s.

It appears, from this Writ, that no less than sixteen different Cities and Towns possessed, at this period, the privilege of coining; that Dies had been actually delivered out to them; and there is proof, on record, that Money was coined at one of them between the years 1209 and 1212; when Eimeric Archdeacon of Durham and Philip de Vlecote accounted to the King for £.18. 11s. 0d. as the profit of the Episcopal Mint at Durham, for three years following 1209. The See was then void, and in the King's hands, and these two persons were Custodes Episcopatus ^t.

But, notwithstanding these proofs of a Coinage having taken place, during this reign, in the English Mints, no genuine Coin, issued from them, has yet appeared: all those which have been produced being gross counterfeits ^u.

The Coins which he struck in Ireland, after his accession to the throne of England, are, probably, not of earlier date than his eleventh year, 1210, when, to quiet that part of his dominions, he went thither, in person, with a large army, and established there the execution of English Laws ^x.

^s Pat. 9 Joh. m. 5. Madox, Hist. of Exchequer, vol. I. p. 290, note zz. The Quinzime of St. Denis is the fifteenth day after the Feast day of that Saint.

^t Mag. Rot. 13 Joh. Rot. 4. b. Madox, Hist. of Exchequer, vol. I. p. 644, note o.

^u About 30 years ago one was exhibited at a shop in Southwark. The owner kept himself concealed, and the Coin was to be disposed of by an auction of a peculiar kind, in which each bidder was to deliver in the highest sum he was inclined to give, in a sealed note. The same person who is well known to have forged the English Pennies of Richard I. was declared to be the purchaser; and my informant hesitated not to say, that he was also the framer of it, and that he bought it in, because there was no other bidder, at least no other person was ever known to have made an offer. Indeed it was not likely that any one else should have bidden for it, as it was pronounced to be spurious by every Medallist who saw it. [From the information of the late Rev. Richard Southgate.]

^x Holinshed, vol. I. Chronicles of Ireland, p. 61. In August 1210 he went into Ireland, where he made new Money, et subjecit sibi Reges & Regnum. [Chron. Prioratus de Dunstaple, p. 55.]

At that time John de Gréy, Bishop of Norwich, whom he had appointed Lord Justice of Ireland, caused the Pennies of that Kingdom to be coined according to the Standard of England, as were also the Halfpennies and Farthings, which he ordered to be made round. This Money was, by the King's command, to be equally current both in England and Ireland^y; and the Coins of each Kingdom to be received into his Treasury without distinction. Merlin thus prophesied, says Matthew Paris, concerning this roundness of the smaller Coins: the representative of Barter shall be divided, the half shall be round^z.

A curious circumstance, which happened towards the latter end of his reign; is highly characteristick of that pusillanimity and irresolution which so often involved him in extreme difficulties. Immediately after sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him, at Northampton, A. D. 1212, by Pandulph and Durand the Pope's Nuncios, he commanded the Sheriff to bring before him all the prisoners which were in his custody. Some of these he ordered to be hanged, some to be deprived of their eyes, and the feet of others to be cut off. All this was executed in the presence of Pandulph, to his great dismay [and was probably intended by the King to intimidate him from continuing his interdict].

Amongst these prisoners was a Clerk, who had counterfeited the Money, whom the King commanded to be hanged. When Pandulph heard this, he immediately threatened those who should lay hands on him with excommunication, and went out in search of a candle for that purpose. This alarmed the weak Monarch, who followed him, and delivered the Clerk into his hands, that he might do justice upon him; and so, saith my Author, he was set at liberty^a.

There seems to have been a considerable Coinage about this time^b.

^y Does not this provision justify a suspicion that no Coinage, to any extent, had as yet taken place in England?

^z Mat. Paris, sub anno. We have seen before, in the reign of Henry I., another supposed accomplishment of this prediction. Merlin having very wisely affixed no dates to his prophecies, they were ready to be fulfilled at any æra. See also under the year 1278.

^a Annales Waverlienses, p. 175. Caxton gives this anecdote, in his Chronicle, with very little variation. Sig. L 6. b.

^b See the account of Durham Mint.

1215. In his 17th year he granted to Savaricus de Malaleone, and his heirs, the privilege of making their own Money, in their own land, of the same value as that of Tours, and that such Money should be current through all the Duchy of Aquitain ^c.

His title upon his Coins is only IOHANNES, or IOHANNES REX, without any notice of England, or even of Ireland, where they were minted ^d. The Reverse has the Mint and Moneyer as usual, but with Devices which appear on his Money only. The Penny has a Crescent and blazing Star, and the Halfpenny a Crescent and Cross Patée, with a small Star in each Angle of the Triangle; the Farthing has a blazing Star only. The Bust on the Obverse, and these Devices on the Reverse, are placed within the Triangle before-mentioned.

His English Mints were in the following Towns :

CANTERBURY.	LONDON.
CARLISLE.	LYNN.
CHICHESTER.	NORTHAMPTON.
DURHAM.	NORWICH.
ST. EDMUNDSBURY.	OXFORD.
EXETER.	ROCHESTER.
IPSWICH.	WINCHESTER.
LINCOLN.	YORK ^e .

No Coins from these Mints have ever been discovered. Mr. North says, "the Earl of Pembroke has an Halfpenny coined at London;" ^f but of this nothing is now known. It does not appear in the Engravings of that Nobleman's Irish Money; and therefore it is probable that Mr. North was misinformed respecting it.

He likewise states that LEFWINE was a Moneyer at Lincoln in his fourth year ^g; but I know not on what authority he asserts it.

^c Pat. 17 Joh. m. 16.

^d On his Great Seal he is styled

IOHANNES : DEI : GRATIA : REX : ANGLIE : DOMINVS : HIBERNIE.
IOH' S : DVX : NORMANNIE : ET : ACQUITANNIE : COMES : ANDELAUIE.

[Sandford and Speed.]

^e Pat. 9 Joh. m. 5.

^f MS.

^g MS Notes to Folkes's Tables, penes Autor.

His Irish Mints were at

D.	}	Dublin.
DI.		
DIV.		
DIVE.		
DIVEL.		
DIW.		
DW.		

LIM.	}	Limerick.
LIME.		
WA.	}	Waterford.
WATER.		

In which the following Moneyers were employed :

ALEXAND.
 ARKENWALD ^h.
 NORMAN.
 ROBERD.
 RODBERD.

TOMAS.
 WHILELMVS.
 WILLEM.
 WILLIAM FITZ WILLIAM ⁱ.

HENRY III.

King John died A. D. 1216, and his son Henry III. was placed on the throne at the tender age of nine years. At his accession the Treasury was exhausted, and the greater part of his Kingdom in the possession of his foreign Enemies. His Father, immediately before his death, had collected a considerable army, with the intent of fighting one great battle for his crown. But a sudden inundation destroyed his forces, and deprived him, by the anxiety which this loss occasioned, of his life. The loyalty, however, and good conduct of the Earl of Pembroke, the guardian of Henry, and the Protector of the Kingdom, quieted the distractions of the Realm; and the wisdom and virtue of one of his successors in the Protectorate, Hubert de Burgh, High Justiciary, whose counsel was chiefly followed, at length placed the youthful Monarch firmly on the throne.

Simon says, that Money was struck in Ireland in the year 1217, which must have been the first or second year of the King. But, contrary to his usual accuracy, he has given no authority for this assertion; and I have not met with the fact in any other Author. He supposes that the Coins were of the same standard as those of the 11th of John ^k.

^h Brand's Hist. of Newcastle, vol. II. p. 385.

ⁱ Id. *ibid*.

^k Irish Coins, p. 12.

1220. In his fourth year a Writ issued for changing the legend of the Coins from the name of King John to that of Henry III.¹ This should seem to imply a Coinage at that time; I do not, however, think that it took place then, but that the turbulence of the early part of his reign directed the attention of the Government chiefly to the arts of War. Accordingly, notwithstanding the reduced state of the Treasury, no notices occur of any attempt to supply it by working the Mint until his sixth year, when preparations were made for a Coinage, as it should seem, of considerable amount. At that time, on the morrow of Ash-Wednesday, the following persons were sworn, before the Justiciary [Hubert de Burgh]^m in the Court of Exchequer — Ilger, the King's Goldsmith, and three others, as Custodes Monetæ of the City of London; Adam Blund, and seven others, Custodes Cuneorum; Michael de St. Helen, Reparator Cuneorum; and Robert de Grettone and Geoffrey de Frowe, Assayers. On the same day eight Dies for making round Halfpennies and Farthings were delivered to them. And, afterward, on the Thursday before Easter, eight Dies for Pennies, eight for Halfpennies, and the same number for Farthings, over and above the eight before-mentionedⁿ.

The number of the Custodes Monetæ, and of the Custodes Cuneorum, which is much greater than I have met with in any other instance, warrants the inference that a Coinage of large extent was at this time projected. The Dies, also, seem to have been sufficient for impressing a considerable quantity of Coins.

Those Pennies which are generally distinguished by the appellation of The Short Cross, in reference to the Impress on the Reverse, are appropriated to this and the succeeding Coinages until the 32d year of this Monarch, when, as will be seen, a considerable change in the type took place.

¹ Pat. 4 H. III. m. 1. Mr. North.

^m The Mint and Exchange of London had been delivered into his hands, by a Writ directed to the Mayor, &c. of London, under the Seal of the Earl of Pembroke, Protector of the Kingdom, because the King's Seal was not then made. [Pat. 1 H. III. m. 3.] The Exchange was afterward granted by the King to William Marsescall, jun. the son of the Earl of Pembroke, during pleasure, on condition of paying to Hubert de Burgh 500 Marks, to sustain the Castle of Dover. [Pat. 2 H. III. m. 5.] In the same second year the Archbishop of York was allowed to have a Mint in his City, as his predecessors were accustomed to have. [Claus. 2 H. III. m. 6. See History of York Mint.]

ⁿ Memor. 6 H. III. Rot. 3. b. Madox, Hist. Excheq. vol. II. p. 87.

These Coins have been given, by some Authors, to Henry II.; but a comparison of them with those which were struck in the 32d year of Henry III., and which are distinguished, by numerals, from those of any other King of the same name, will compleatly justify their present position.

None of the Halfpennies or Farthings have yet appeared. Mr. Folkes is of opinion, that few only of them were struck, because he had never met with any; and says, "I should even think they were discontinued several years before his death, or his son and successor King Edward I. could hardly have been so generally taken for the first of our Princes that added Halfpennies and Farthings to his Coin."^o

But it should seem, from the Record quoted above, that a greater quantity of the smaller pieces than of the larger was struck, or at least was intended, as the number of Dies was nearly double. It should likewise seem that the necessity for the inferior sort of Money was the most urgent, because the Dies for the larger Coins were not delivered so soon as the others, by a space of several weeks.

If Mr. Folkes had consulted the early Chroniclers and Historians, he would have learned that Henry I. was, by many of them, supposed to be the first who coined Halfpennies and Farthings; in course this part of his argument falls to the ground. The most probable conjecture is, that the smaller pieces, being disliked ^p, were called in, and struck with a new type at the great Re-coinage in 1248.

1221-2. That these round Halfpennies and Farthings were actually coined, in sufficient quantities for the purpose of circulation throughout the Kingdom, is evident from a Writ, bearing date on the 25th of February in his sixth year, which was directed to all the Sheriffs, and commanded them to make proclamation that, within fifteen days after Easter, no Halfpenny or Farthing should be current unless it were round; and that no others should be paid, or received, on pain of forfeiture ^q.

^o Folkes's Tables of English Coins, p. 7, the Antiquaries' edition.

^p See under the year 1229.

^q Claus. 6 H. III. m. 14. dors.

These small Coins were not taken willingly, or at least payments in Pennies were considered as more advantageous ^r.

In 1221 or 1222 it was thought necessary, in order to procure a supply of Bullion for the Mints of London and Canterbury, to confine the exchange of Plate, &c. of Silver entirely to the Exchanges in those Cities ^s.

1227. About this time, says Grafton, a Parliament was holden at London, in the which it was ordered that the English Grote should be coyned at a certaine weighte, and of the one side the King's Picture, and on the other side a Cross, as large fully as the Grote, to aduoyd clippyng ^t.

1228. In his 12th year he ordered his Money of Bourdeaux to be coined according to the Standard and weight of Tours ^u.

1229. The payment of Tenths to the Church of Rome was now exacted with such severity that people were compelled to borrow Money of the Usurers, who came over with Stephen the Pope's Nuncio, at "the rate of one Noble for the loane of twentie by the moneth ^w." This was the first introduction of the Caursini in England, who were excommunicated by the Bishop of London in 1235 ^x.

1232. Another attempt to prevent private exchanges of Silver Bullion was made in the 16th year of this King, when it was commanded, by Proclamation in all Cities, Boroughs, &c. &c. that no persons, either Christians or Jews, as they valued themselves and their chattels, should in future presume to exchange Money, either new or old, that is to say, new for old, or old for new. And that no one should buy or exchange any Silver, except in the

^r Thus in 1229 the King commanded the Treasurer, &c. to pay to A. B., on account of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, 500 Marks of good Money, without Halfpennies. [Liberat. 13 H. III. m. 11.]

^s Stow's Survey, p. 351.

^t Chronicle, part II. sub anno 1227. See a more full description of this Coin, from the same Chronicle, under the year 1249.

^u Pat. 12 H. III. m. 2. Aug. 2d.

^w Holinshed, vol. II. p. 211.

^x Id. p. 219. See Matt. Paris, sub anno 1235, who calls them *pestis abominanda*; and says, in allusion to the name by which they were called, "*vere Caursini, quasi causantes, vel capientes, & ursini nuncupantur.*" They were banished about the year 1240, but, being the Pope's Money-changers, were suffered to return in the year 1250, and were again expelled in a short time afterward.

King's Exchanges. And that all persons offending should forfeit body and goods, and the money and silver which should be found upon them ^y.

1237 or 1238. About six years after this it became convenient to raise some Money from the Jews, and therefore a suspicion of unlawful practices about the Coin was hinted. They appear to have understood the intention of the hint, and therefore, as a body, were charged with a fine of one hundred Pounds, that all Jews, who by inquest taken upon the oath of lawful Christians and Jews, or in other due manner, should be convicted of clipping, robbing, or harbouring of clippers or robbers, might be banished out of the Realm, never to return thither again ^z.

As no further proceedings are on record, it is to be presumed that the fine was the principal, if not the only, object in this transaction ^a.

1238. The frauds which had been practised by the Workers in Gold and Silver made it necessary to prescribe some regulations for their trade; because the mixing too much alloy in the composition of these wares naturally tended to encourage the melting down of the Money. It was, in consequence, at this time ordained that no one should use any Gold of which the Mark was not worth one hundred Shillings at the least; nor any Silver worse than the Standard of the Coins. There were likewise some restraints put upon gilding, intended, no doubt, to lessen the consumption of the precious metals ^b. This is the first instance, on record, of an attempt to reduce Goldsmith's work to a certain standard, and to prevent the waste occasioned by gilding. It was frequently repeated in succeeding reigns.

^y Pat. 16 H. III. m. 2.

^z Mag. Rot. 22 H. III. Londonia & Midd. Madox, Hist. Excheq. vol. I. p. 245.

^a The suspicions which have been expressed concerning the nature of the above transaction are greatly justified by a fact which was first brought to light by Dr. Tovey. In the 25th of Henry III. Writs were directed to the Sheriffs of each County, commanding them to return before him, at Worcester, upon Quinquagesima Sunday, six of the richest Jews, from every town, or two only from such places where there were but few, to treat with him as well concerning his own as their benefit. When these unhappy people appeared, in consequence of this summons, they found that the business which was to be for their as well as the King's benefit was, that they were to furnish him with 20,000 Marks, which were afterwards most rigidly exacted from them. [Anglia Judaica, p. 110.]

^b Claus. 22 H. III. m. 6.

In 1242, if my authority be correct, the clipped Money was called in, and renewed under a certain form ^c. Of this Coinage I have not met with any other notice whatever.

In the same year the King is said to have taken with him into Normandy a large sum of his Sterling Coin, amounting to thirty barrels, each barrel containing one thousand Marks ^d.

1245. This Money being expended, he commanded the Mayor of London, by a Writ dated on the 24th of June in his 29th year, to assemble all the Italian Merchants ^e, who exchanged Money for gain, and to inform them that the King required a large sum of Money to be paid by them, in consideration of the profits of that trade which they carried on in England, and their gain by exchanging. If they refused this, they were to quit the Realm, with all their chattels, within a certain time appointed. The Mayor, together with the other persons commissioned with him to conduct this business, were to return to the King an account of the progress they had made, on the Vigil of St. Peter and St. Paul ^f.

The King's necessities appear to have been very urgent; from so short a period as five days only having been allowed before the return to the Writ.

1247. Soon after this, however, we find him giving large sums of Sterling Money to his half-brother Guy de Lucignan ^g, and to Baldwin Emperor of Constantinople; at which time the Money was so extremely reduced by the vile practice of clipping, that in the Order to the Treasurer for the payment of the latter gift it was expressly commanded to be made of the best Money he had ^h.

The persons who had thus diminished the Coins were chiefly Merchants of those countries which bordered upon England, and more especially of

^c Pat. 26 H. III. This fact is taken from Vincent's MS References to the Rolls, and is inserted in the text, although I have not been able to find the passage upon the Roll, because I have no doubt of the accuracy of his extract, from the general correctness which I have found in tracing his references. It is more probable that he should have erred in the date, than in the fact.

^d Holinshed, vol. II. pp. 229 and 337.

^e They are called in the Record *Mercatores ultramontanes*.

^f Claus. 29 H. III. m. 7. June 24.

^g Holinshed, vol. II. p. 240.

^h Liber. 31 H. III. m. 8. April 30. Madox, *Hist. Excheq.* vol. I. p. 391.

Flanders. By them the Money was so clipped that the whole of the letters was cut away, and even the inner circle was scarcely left entireⁱ. Their offence had hitherto been more noticed in foreign Countries than in England, and had been more severely punished in France than in the country whose Coin was thus corrupted. But the crime had now grown to such an height that it became absolutely necessary to apply some remedy to check the evil. A General Council, therefore, of all the Nobles of England, Bishops, Earls, and Barons, which was held before the King, at Oxford, deliberated whether it would not be expedient to alter either the form or the fineness of the Money; when it was determined, by those who were skilful in such affairs, that, as the matter of the Money, and not the form, had been debased, the most effectual remedy would be an alteration of the Standard: of which there were many examples in the Money of France, and of various other Countries^k.

About the middle of the same year the King granted to his brother the Earl of Cornwall the privilege of making new Money, in the King's name, in England, Ireland, and Wales, for the term of twelve years; on condition that the King and his Heirs should have one half of the profit of the Exchange and Money; the Earl and his Assigns, or Executors, to take the other moiety. It was also provided that, before any division of the profit should be made, the said Earl should receive so much in number of the new Money as he had caused to be made of his old Money. The King likewise engaged that a compliance with the Laws, &c. relating to the Money should be enforced during that period^l.

It was also commanded by Proclamation, which the Mayor, &c. of London were ordered to make, that the King's common Money should be

ⁱ It was so clipped that in 20 Marks scarcely 20 Pennies could be found which were not so diminished that three of them were not equal in weight to two unimpaired ones. [Annal. Waverl. p. 207, Anno 1247.]

Wikes says, that the old Money was so clipped that it was of no value; and that the taking it was forbidden. [1247, p. 47.]

Stow, that it was so sore clipped that it was thought good to change the same, and make it baser, and that new stamps were cut and sent to all the Mints. [sub anno 1247.]

^k Mat. Paris, p. 639.

^l Pat. 31 H. III. m. 1. Mat. Paris and Wikes speak of this Grant as if it were made in the following year, 1248.

current, and on no account be refused. And that if any one should offer, either in buying or selling, any clipped Penny or Halfpenny, it should immediately be bored through, in whosoever hands it should be found^m.

Although the Grant to the Earl of Cornwall bears date on the 27th of July, 1247, yet it appears that nothing was done until the following year, when the Coins were found to be so corrupted and debased by the Clippers and Counterfeiters, that neither the English themselves, nor even their foreign neighbours, could any longer endure itⁿ. Proclamations were therefore made in Cities, Boroughs, Fairs, and Markets, that no one should give or receive, either in buying, selling, or exchanging, any Money not of lawful weight, or not round; and that they who transgressed this order should be punished^o. These Proclamations seem to have been but little attended to; for Letters Mandatory were directed to all the Sheriffs on this side Trent, except the Sheriffs of Hereford, Salop, and Stafford, which stated, that, notwithstanding the King's command to the contrary, they had suffered (as the King had been informed) the clipped Money to be current in their jurisdictions. By these Letters the King's orders were again enforced, and the Sheriffs were commanded to make Proclamation, throughout the whole of their Bailiwicks, that no clipped Money should be current after that time. If any should be found, the Sheriff was ordered to bore it through; and he was ordered to cause all Exchangers of the same to be arrested, that their bodies might be forthcoming at the King's command^p. Diligent search was made for the discovery of falsifiers, that they might suffer condign punish-

^m Claus. 31 H. III. m. 5. dors.

ⁿ Mat. Paris, p. 648. His account of the state of the Coins in 1248 so precisely resembles that which has been given by other Historians under the date of 1247 [see p. 353], that there can be little reason to doubt but that the same facts are intended. He says it was clipped nearly to the inner circle, the legend being either entirely destroyed or greatly defaced.

^o The Proclamations alluded to by Matthew Paris commanded that no clipped Money should be current, and that if any should in future be found, it should be bored through, and returned to the owner. It also was ordered that all heavy and good Pennies and Halfpennies of the old Money, not being clipped, should be current and have course with the new Money, and not be refused. The bodies of offenders to be attached, in order to their being punished. [Pat. 32 H. III. m. 4. and Claus. 32 H. III. m. 17.]

^p Claus. 32 H. III. m. 16. Mat. Paris has given one of these Letters, dated in the following year, p. 1090.

ment according to law. On inquiry it appeared that the Jews, the infamous Caursini, and certain Flemish Merchants of the Staple, were guilty of that crime. The King of France also caused all offenders in this kind, who were found within his dominions, to be hanged, and their bodies exposed on gibbets ^q.

This corruption of the Money, and the distresses of the people in consequence of it ^r, unquestionably hastened on the new Coinage, for which the poverty of Henry's Treasury was but ill prepared. But this step, and the crying-down the old Money, which were intended to relieve his subjects from the evils necessarily attendant on the circulation of light and base Coins, brought upon them others almost equally grievous. The Proclamations which forbade the currency of the old Money raised the Quarter of Wheat to the enormous price of more than twenty Shillings; and when the new Coins were issued it was extremely difficult to obtain them, as Exchanges were established in very few Cities. Nor was the mode of exchange, when it could be effected, less oppressive; for only an equal weight of new Money was given for the old, and from every pound was deducted thirteen Pence for Moneyage, or the expense of Coinage: to which, if the labour and loss of time in waiting many days at the Tables of the Exchangers be added, scarcely twenty Shillings were gotten where thirty should have been received, to the great injury of the people ^s.

This Money differed from the old in two respects ^t; namely, that the double Cross was extended to the outside of the circle which contained the legend, and that it was distinguished either by Roman numerals, or by

^q Mat. Paris, p. 648.

^r By reason of the embasing of the Coin a great penury followed. Stow's Summarie, p. 99. London, 1598.

^s Mat. Paris, p. 649.

^t The Annals of Waverley give a somewhat different account of these Coins. They were made out of the clipped Money; and the Circle, Cross, Letters, and Portrait, extended every way to the extremity of the circumference, so that it could not be diminished without the loss being evidently apparent [sub anno 1247.] It is extraordinary that both the Author of these Annals, and also Matthew Paris, should have omitted to state the most remarkable particular in which these Coins differed from all which had preceded them; I mean the distinction of numerals, or words equivalent, to show to which King of the name of Henry they belonged.

TERCI, from the Money of the two preceding Monarchs of the same name ; but in weight and type it remained nearly as before.

Richard Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, perceiving what immense advantage accrued from the mode of exchange now practised, was eager to partake of the profit, and therefore (like another Jacob, a supplanter, as my Author calls him) demanded of the King the re-payment of a large sum which he owed to him. It was in vain that the King pleaded his poverty, and the occasion which he had for Money to protect his foreign dominions; for the Earl continued obstinately to press for payment, until, by persevering importunity, he obtained a Grant, for seven years, of two thirds of the profits of this Coinage, in full satisfaction of what was due to him. By this he gained twenty thousand Pounds^u.

He afterwards obtained from the King Letters Mandatory that no clipped Money should be received, and that all such as was diminished should be bored through ; and if any Exchanger, in any place, should be found giving two Pennies for one, or three for two, that he should be seized, and punished by fine and bodily chastisement, as a transgressor of the King's command^w.

^u According to Wikes, the King, perceiving how much his People suffered from the want of current Coin, borrowed of his brother, Earl Richard, a large sum of Money, and appointed an Exchange, and caused Money to be coined, not only in the larger Cities, as had been usual, but also in every Town throughout the Kingdom. To Earl Richard he gave a Grant, by which he was to receive the whole of the Money he had advanced out of the profits of the Exchange, not by weight only, but in number, and beside this a moiety of the yearly income, by which the Earl gained very considerable sums. [p. 47, anno 1248.]

The Mints for this great Coinage were at Bristol, Winchester, Hereford, Newcastle, Nottingham, Carlisle, Shrewsbury, Wilton, Wallingford. [Mr. North's MS.]

I know not Mr. North's authority for these Mints. If his List were taken from the Coins, it is very imperfect, and may be thus enlarged. Those marked † are omitted by Mr. North.

† Canterbury.	Carlisle.	† Lincoln.	Shrewsbury.
† London.	† Durham.	Newcastle.	Wilton.
† St. Edmundsbury.	† York.	† Northampton.	Winchester.
† Biddeford.	† Gloucester.	† Norwich.	† Hedley.
† Taunton.	Hereford.	† Oxford.	† Exeter.
Bristol.	† Ilchester.		

I have never seen a Penny of the Nottingham or Wallingford Mints, nor does any such appear in Mr. North's two Plates.

^w Mat. Paris, p. 649.

These Letters were farther enforced by a Writ directed to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, commanding them to inquire throughout the Kingdom for any persons, either Clergy or Laity, who had held Exchanges of the King's Money without license, to the injury of his Exchange; and to apprehend all who should be found guilty, and bring them before the King, wherever he might be, on the morrow of the Holy Trinity ^x.

The newly-made Money, notwithstanding what was determined in the General Council held in the year 1247, respecting the alteration of the Standard, appears to have been of the fineness of Sterling, and of the old weight. A Trial both of that, and also of the old Money, was ordered to be made, before the Barons of the Exchequer, about the beginning of this year ^y.

In the following year, 1249, according to Grafton, "the King summoned a Parliament at London, in the which it was enacted, that a Coyne of a certeine weight of Silver called a Grote should be stamped, and that it should have on the one syde the Picture of the Kinges face, and on the other a Crosse extended in length to the extreme parts therof, to the entent there should be no deceyt used by diminishing or clipping the same." ^z

1250. About this time the King extorted Money from the Jews without mercy; taking from them even all that they had deposited in their Treasury, so that, apparently, they were entirely and irremediably impoverished. But, says Matthew Paris, though he could make them wretched, yet he could not make them poor, for they were counterfeiters of the Money and of Seals ^a.

In 1251 the Grant to the Earl of Cornwall was renewed, so far as respected Ireland, for twelve years, from the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin ^b. And in consequence there were Pennies and Halfpennies struck in that Kingdom,

^x Claus. 32 H. III. m. 12.

^y Claus. 32 H. III. m. 13. dors. See the Trial of the Pix, sub anno.

^z Chronicle, sub anno. See an account nearly similar to this in the year 1228. I have preserved both these, in the hope that they may lead to the illustration of a Coin much exceeding the Penny in size, which Mr. North has represented in the second of two Plates engraved by him to accompany a Dissertation on the Money of Henry III., which he intended, but never executed. I have copied the figure in Plate II. of the Supplement, Part II. No 23, but have not been able to discover the Coin itself, nor is it known to any Medalist.

^a Matt. Paris, p. 674.

^b 1 Pat. 35 H. III. m. 9.

in order, it is thought, to pay the large and frequent subsidies then demanded of the Irish by Pope Innocent IV.^c

1257. His 41st year is remarkable for the first Coinage of Gold in this Kingdom, of which any authentick records can be found, and it is extraordinary that it took place in the height of his distress for want of Money. This event is related in a MS Chronicle preserved in the Archives of the City of London, which was probably written at the time, as the transactions are brought down only to the year 1267. The Writer says that in this year the King made a Penny of the finest Gold, which weighed two Sterlings, and willed that it should be current for twenty Pence^d.

On the 16th of August a Writ was issued commanding the Mayor of London to proclaim in that City, that the Gold Money which the King had caused to be made should be immediately current there, and elsewhere within the Realm of England, in all transactions of buying and selling, at the rate of twenty Pennies of Sterlings for every Gold Penny; and that the King's Money of Silver should be current, as it had been heretofore^e. But scarcely had this been proclaimed, and the Coins begun to circulate, when the City of London made a Representation against them^f, on Sunday the 4th of November, and obtained from the King another Proclamation, to declare that no one was obliged to take them, and that whoever did might bring them to his Exchange, and receive there the value at which they had been made current, one Halfpenny only being deducted from each; most probably for the expense of Coinage^g.

But, notwithstanding the dislike of the Citizens of London to this new Money, it continued to be current for some years afterward, as appears from Records of the 44th, 49th, 51st, and 54th years of this reign^h. In the 49th

^c Simon's Irish Coins, p. 13.

^d De antiquis Légibus Liber, extracted by Dr. Ducarel.

^e Claus. 41 H. III. m. 3.

^f Carte says the reason for this is not stated. It was probably on account of their great value, which must have made them highly inconvenient.

^g Carte, vol. II. p. 3.

^h Snelling's Introduction to a View of the Gold Coin of England, p. 11. He quotes Liberat. 44 H. III. m. 11. and 7. Id. 49 H. III. m. 1. Id. 51 H. III. m. 10. Id. 54 H. III. m. 3. In all these, except the first, the Gold Penny is valued at two Shillings.

year it was raised from its original value of 20 Pence, to 24 Pence, or two Shillings.

I have not been able to trace its circulation any lower, or to ascertain whether further alteration in its current value took place after the 54th year. This piece was properly a Ryal, and the first of the sort coined in Europe, the petit Ryal of Philip le Belle being much in imitation of it, and he was the first King of France who coined Ryals. He began to reign in 1285ⁱ.

Dr. Pegge imagined that he had discovered these Coins in a Jewish Instrument dated in the 46th year of this reign, under the name of Jaku, which he considers as equivalent to pure or sterling. The Jews, he says, used denarim and jaku just in the same manner as the Christians applied their words denarius and sterlingus; and as jaku was no denomination of Money, but a real Coin, it necessarily follows that the Gold Jaku, in that Instrument, were the Gold Pennies of Henry III.^k

Although Gold was not coined by Henry until the 41st year of his reign, yet Gold Coins were current in his dominions prior to that time. In his 35th year he commanded Philip Luvel to pay the whole Sum of Gold which he owed to the King, on the Feast of St. Edward, in Gold Money, in Bézants, or Ob. de Mus', and other Gold Money. Provided, however, that the aforesaid Money should answer to the King at the value of Leaf Gold, that is, I presume, fine Gold^l.

In 1264 the rate of interest was more than forty *per cent.*; for it is related that 500 Jews were slain by the Citizens of London because one of them

ⁱ Snelling's Introduction, p. iv. note (b). Philip's Coin resembles this only in bearing a Sovereign seated on the Obverse.

^k Gentleman's Magazine, 1756, p. 465. He produces no authority for the indiscriminate use of denarim and jaku. See the Instrument in Gent. Mag. 1812, p. 331.

^l Claus. 35 H. III. m. 3. The meaning of Ob. de Mus' I have not been able to ascertain. An eminent Antiquary thinks it may be Money of Messina. But qu. whether it may not be the same as Oboli de Murtz, which occur at p. 30 of the Wardrobe Account of King Edward the First, and which was of Gold, and of the value of twenty Pence Sterling, agreeing with the Quarter Noble of Edward III. In the Glossary it is queried whether these Oboli de Murtz were not the same with Ob. de Marchia, Money struck by the Earls of March; but similarity of sound would rather lead to the conclusion that they were Coins of Murcia, a Kingdom of Spain. Ob. de Murc' occur in the 54th year of Henry III. Liberat. m. 3.

would have forced a Christian to pay more than two Pence for the usury of twenty Shillings for one week^m; which sum, of two Pence, they were allowed by the King to take of the Scholars in Oxfordⁿ.

Grafton dates in the year 1265 the Statute of Weights and Measures, by which it was ordained that the Penny Sterling should weigh 32 Grains of Wheat round and dry, and taken from the midst of the ear; twenty Pence one Ounce, and twelve Ounces one Pound^o.

1270. In his 54th year he ordered a general proof and assay of his Coins to be made throughout the Kingdom, and gave the person appointed for that purpose authority to seize corrupt Money, and to keep it for the King's use^p.

At the latter end of his reign offences against his Mints and Exchanges appear to have been frequent. In his 38th year several persons belonging to the Abbot of St. Alban's were amerced two Marks and an half for not coming to appear at Cestrehunt, which is out of the Liberties of the Town of St. Alban's, to make inquisitions concerning a trespass of the Exchange or Mint. But the Abbot pleaded that, by Charters of former Kings, his men ought not to come out of the said Abbot's Liberties, upon any summons or occasion, before any Justices or Inquisitors, and the fine was remitted^q.

In his 49th year, Gervase de Essewell was amerced at ten Pounds for a trespass of the Mint; the Town of Storteford ten Marks for a contempt in not coming to an Inquest to be taken concerning a like trespass; and several other Towns in the same manner^r.

Hearne talks of having in his possession a base Coin of this King^s; and Harding, in his Chronicle, speaks of payments made in Nobles round^t; but

^m Cooper's Chronicle, p. 225. Stow, p. 278.

ⁿ Claus. 32 H. III. m. 9. Tovey, p. 122.

^o Chronicle, sub anno. In Runnington's Edition of the Statutes at Large this is placed under 51 H. III; and again in the 31st E. I. In the Statutes of the Realm it is classed with those of uncertain date.

^p Pat. 54 H. III. m. 11. See the account of the Exchange under that year.

^q Rot. Claus. 38 H. III. m. 7. Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 761.

^r Memor. 49 H. III. Rot. 19. b. Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 568.

^s His words are, "certe nummus apud me est Henrici III. subæratu, quem e nummis adulterinis esse nemo negaverit, utpote perinde corruptum ac si esset vel æreus vel etiam ferreus. [W. Hemingford. Preface, p. xlv.]

^t Folio 154. b. ——— "fifty thousand Pound

Be paid of Nobles whole and round."

These lines occur soon after the account of the Battle of Chesterfield.

Hearne's remarks on our antient Coins are but little to be depended upon, for he had not studied them with any degree of accuracy; and Harding's lines contain a palpable anachronism.

The alteration of type which was introduced upon the Money in this reign forms a kind of æra in the Numismatick History of England. From the Conquest until this time, with the exception of the Coins of Henry II., and the Obverse of those of John, a great variety prevailed in the impressions both of the Obverse and Reverse of the Coins. The Portraits of the Monarchs were represented either in full or in profile; and the Crosses were exhibited under almost every possible form. But the Portrait of Henry III. is invariably full-faced; the Cross consists of double lines; and the only difference between his earlier and later Coinages is, that in the former the Cross is bounded by the inner circle, and has four pellets in each quarter; whilst in the latter it extends to the outer circle, and the number of the pellets is reduced to three. To this description his Gold Penny forms the only exception.

Rude as this ornament of the Reverse may appear to modern taste, it however seems, for some reason or other, to have been highly satisfactory to those who conducted the operations of the Mint, for it kept entire possession of the Coins until Henry VII. introduced heraldick bearings. It then began gradually to give ground, but was not entirely lost before the latter end of the reign of James I., at the termination of a period of nearly 400 years.

His style upon his Money is sometimes *Henricus Rex* only; at others the number III, *TERCI*, or *ANG*, with *TERCI* on the Reverse, is added. The Reverse has, beside the rude impress described above, the name of the Mint and Moneyer, excepting N° 15 in the first Supplemental Plate, which has only *CIVITAS LVNDE*, and N° 16 in the same Plate, which reads *TERCI LONLIE*. N° 14 likewise of the Supplement, Part II. Plate I. has in a similar manner *TERCI HEDLIE*^u. His style on his first Great Seal is,

HENRICVS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINVS PYBERNIE.

HENRICVS DVX NORMANNIE ET AQUITANNIE COMES ANDELAUIE.

On the second it is on both sides,
HENRICVS: DEI: GRACIA: REX ANGLIE: DOMINVS PYBERNIE: DVX: AQUITANNIE.

[Sandford and Speed.]

^u His Irish Money differs from the English chiefly in the Bust being placed in a Triangle, and in a Rose which is on the left side of the Neck. See it in Plate II. of English Silver Coins, N° 19. Simon has given a representation of an Irish Halfpenny in his second Plate, N° 49, which in type exactly resembles this.

His Gold Penny, as has been before observed, is of a very different type from that of his Silver Money. On the Obverse the Sovereign is represented crowned and sitting on a chair of state. In his right hand is a sceptre, in his left a globe. The Reverse has the long Cross of his later Coinage, with a Rose and three small pellets in each quarter. It is the only Gold Coin which is stamped with the name of the Mint and Moneyer ^w.

His Mints were numerous, and were placed in the following Towns ^x:

ANT.		ECCE.	} Exeter.
BID.	Biddeford.	ECETRE.	
BRVST.	} Bristol.*	EISI.	
BVRST.		EMN.	
C.		ESER.	
CA.		EV.	} York.
CÆ.		EVE.	
CAN.	} Canterbury.	EVER.	
CANT.		EVERVIC.	
CANTA.		EVERW.	
CANTE.		EVERWI.	
CANTER.		EVERWIC.	
CANTERB.		EVI.	} Exeter.
CANTERD.		EX.	
CAR.	} Cardiff.	EXC.	
CARD.		EXCE.	
CARDS.		EXE.	} Exeter.
CARDV.		EXEC.	
CARL.	} Carlisle.*	G.	
CARLEL.		GIPE.	Ipswich.
CICE.	Chichester.	GLO.	} Gloucester.
DAIVELL.	} Dublin.	GLOV.	
DIVE.		GLOVCE.	
DIVELI.		GLOVCEST.	
DIVELY.		GLOVCET.	
DVR.	} Durham.	GLOVCIT.	
DVRA.		HEDLIE.	Hedley, or Hadley.
DVRH.		HEREAF.	Hereford.*

^w Three of these Pennies are now known, a description of which will be found under the Explanation of the Plates.

^x Those marked * are said by Mr. North to be the Mints for the great Re-coinage in his 32d year. MS Note to Folkes. But see the Annals, under that year, for a fuller List of the Mints then worked.

HEREF.	} Hereford.*	NORT.	} Northampton.
HEREOF.		NORTH.	
IL.	NORTHA.		
IVE.	NORTHE.		
IVEREH.	NORTHT.		
LENC.	} Lincoln?	NORW.	} Norwich.
LENCE.		NORWI.	
LENE.	NORWIC.		
LENNE.	NORWICH.		
LINC.	NORWICK.		
LINCOL.	} Lincoln.	NORWIK.	} Nottingham.*
LINCOLN.			
LIND.		OC.	
LINDE.		ORK.	
LON.	} London.	OXEN.	} Oxford.
LONDON.		OXENE.	
LV.	OXN.		
LVA.	OXON.		
LVN.	OXONFO.		
LVND.	} London.	RIVST.	
LVNDE.		RO.	
LVNDEI.		RONCE Y.	
LVNDEN.		RVFA.	Rochester?
LVNDI.		RVLA.	Rhuddlan?
LVNDON.		SADMVND.	St. Edmundsbury.
MANLA.		SAN.	
NEWEC.	} Newcastle.*	SAND.	
NEWECAS.		SANDL.	
NIC.	} Lincoln.	SANDRE.	
NICO.		SANT.	
NICOL.		SANTAD.	
NICOLE.		SANTEA.	
NNOR+T.		SEDM.	} St. Edmundsbury.
NO.		SEDMVND.	
NOR.		SEINTED.	} St. Edwardsbury,
NORA.		SENTED.	
NORH.	} Northampton.	SROS.	Shrewsbury.*
NORHA.		TANDE.	} Taunton.
NORHATON.		TANDO.	

This Coin has OF before the name of the Mint, instead of ON.

TANTE. Taunton.

VGIE.

VND.

----- Wallingford.*

W.

WELLIOL.

WI.

WIL.

WILT.

WILTON.

WILTV.

} Wilton.*

WIN.

WINC.

WINCE.

WINCHE.

WINE.

WIRCE.

WIRI.

WIRIA.

WIRIC.

WN.

WV.

} Winchester.*

} Worcester.

His Moneyers were,

ABEL.

ADAM ^z.

ADBETIL.

ADRETIL.

AIMER.

AIMES.

ALAIN.

ALEIN.

ALENRE.

ALIN.

ALISAN.

ALISAND.

ALLEN.

ALLWINE.

ALWINE.

AND.

ANDRE.

ANDREW.

ANDREWS.

ARION.

ARNALD.

ARNAVD.

AVOL.

BARTELME.

BARTELVE.

BENEIT.

CALDWINE.

CELDWINE.

CLEMENT.

CO -- WINE.

COLWEIN.

COLWINE.

DAVI.

DAVION.

DOCELM.

DODELM.

EADMVND.

EDMVND.

EDRICH.

EINADI.

EINEDI.

ELIS.

ELISON.

ERNAVD.

EVERARD.

FILEMER.

FILIP.

FIMER.

FINIER.

FVLKE.

FVLRE.

GEFARD.

GEFREI.

GERARD.

GICELM.

GIFFREI.

GIFRE.

GILBERT.

GILEBERT.

GOCELIN.

GOCELM.

GOEAWN.

GOLDVINE.

GOLDWIN.

GOLDWINE.

GRIFREI.

HALLI.

HE.

HELIS.

HEN.

HENRI.

HENRIC.

HENRY.

HERNAVD.

HICONE.

HIE.

HIVN.

HVB.

^z In the 14th year of Henry III. Adam de Bedleia and Richard de Neketon, Moneyers of London, took an oath of fidelity in the Exchequer of the Jews. [Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 317.]

HVE.	IVN.	RANDVLF.
HVGE.	IVRDAN.	RAVF.
HVGO.	IVRDEN.	RAVFE.
HVGON.	LEDVLF.	RAVLF.
HVMFREI.	LENELF.	RAVLFE.
HVNFREI.	LENOLF.	REICE.
HVNTREI.	LENVLF.	REGINALD FITZ
IACOB.	LVCAS.	HENRY ^c .
IACOR.	MEINIR.	REICV.
IEFREI.	MELNIR.	REINALD.
IEREMIAH.	MELVIN.	REINAVD.
ILGAR.	MILES.	REINAVLD.
ILGE.	MILES. M.	RENER.
ILGEH.	NICHOL.	RICARD.
ILGER.	NICHOLE.	RICARD. B.
IOA.	NICO.	RICARD. T.
IOAN.	NICOL.	RICHARD.
IOAN. CHIC.	NICOLE.	RICHARD. B.
IOAN. F. R.	NORMAN.	RICHARD LE ESPEE ^d .
IOAN. I. R.	O.	RICHARD DE NEKE-
IOANAS.	OBCIT.	TON. See ADAM.
IOAS.	OSBER.	ROBERD.
IOB.	OSBERN.	ROBERT.
IOH.	OSGPIEF.	RODBERT.
IOHAN.	OSMVND.	ROGER.
IOHAN. B.	OSMVNDE.	ROGER. T.
IOHAN. F. R.	OSNVND.	ROGERS.
IOHAN. M.	OWEIN.	ROGERS. F. R.
IOHAS.	PAVL.	RORERD, forsan pro
IOHN.	PHELIP.	ROBERD.
IOHN. CHIC.	PHILAIMER.	SALEMVN.
IOHN. F. R.	PHILIP.	SAMVEL.
IOHS.	PICRES, } or rather	SIMON.
IOLIE.	PIEBES. } perhaps	SIMOND.
ION.	PIERES.	SIMVN.
IONONS.	PIERS.	STIVENE.
IORDAN.	PIERS. M.	TÉRIRI.
ISAC.	RANDEL.	THOMAS.
IVH.	RANDRE.	TIPRIL.
IVLIE.	RANDVL.	TOMAS.

^c Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. II. p. 89, St. Edmundsbury Mint.

^d Madox, vol. II. p. 89, Canterbury Mint.

TVRRIL.	WARD.	WILLEM.
VIARD.	WATER.	WILLEM. TA.
VLARD.	WICION.	WILLEN.
VLERD.	WILLELM.	WILLER.
W.	WILLELM. B.	WILLERA.
WALTER.	WILLELM. L.	WILLM.
WALYIN.	WILLELM. T.	WILLOM.

A Record, dated in his 12th year, and which has been already quoted in the year 1228, shows that Money was struck by him in Gascony; and possibly that Coin may be his which Dr. Ducarel has appropriated to him^e. It is an Aquitain Halfpenny, resembling in type one of Richard the First; it reads, on the Obverse, ERICVS REX ANG. and on the Reverse, DVX AQTITANIE.

There are also Coins, apparently Ecclesiastical, which were probably struck in this reign, but with the history of which we are entirely unacquainted. The Obverse has the Bust of St. Paul, with SANC... .VIS. The Reverse, the Short Cross, with four pellets in each quarter, precisely as the first Coinage of Henry III., and this legend, HENR. O.N.

Another has the same Obverse, and is impressed, on the Reverse, with the representation of a building, round which is MO.....VM. There is an Halfpenny of the same type and legend, on both sides, as the last of these. I have given a representation of them in Plate II. of the Supplement, Part II. Nos 24. 25. 26.

EDWARD I.

The turbulent reign of Henry was closed by his death on the 16th of November A. D. 1272, and his son Edward succeeded to a throne the power of which was so much reduced, and the revenue sunk so low, that it required all his wisdom and vigour to recover, without an intestine war, those parts of the Royal prerogative on which the balance of the Constitution depended.

^e Anglo-Gallic Coins, p. 92.

Though the lust of conquest seems to have been the ruling passion of this Monarch, yet he is deservedly celebrated by Historians as a Statesman and Legislator. Immediately after his coronation, which on account of his absence from England was deferred until the 19th of August 1274, he applied himself to reform the various abuses which had accumulated during his Father's long and unquiet reign. Of these no one was more generally grievous than the adulteration of the Coins, for its mischievous effects extended even to the lowest of his subjects^f. The unsteady power of Henry III. in the latter years of his government, was so much enfeebled by the rebellion of the Barons, that the corruption of his Money was carried to an height unknown before in this Kingdom. The legal produce of his Mints was clipped, and otherwise diminished, to less than half its legal weight, insomuch that foreign Merchants would not bring over their commodities, and every thing that was sold became more dear^g. Immense quantities, likewise, of foreign base Coins were brought into the Realm, to the impoverishment of his people.

This was the state of the current Money when Edward ascended the throne. His first step for its improvement was the enacting, in his third year [1275], that such as were taken for false Coins should not be bailed^h: he then proceeded to inflict severe punishment to the offenders.

Amongst the sufferers on this occasion the wretched Jews (as it had ever been the case when heavy fines were to be imposed) were the most numerous. They had been forbidden, not long before, to lend Money upon usuryⁱ; and now, being suspected of diminishing the Coins, they were seized in every City and Burgh in England upon the same day [the Octave of St. Martin 1278] their goods, &c. forfeited to the King; and shortly after the following Christmas Justices were appointed to try them, and the Christians who were apprehended with them.

^f It was probably on account of the excess to which this practice was carried, that the Pope's Nuncii enumerated the following amongst other articles which the Apostolical Power had authority to inquire into — De Falsariis & de falso convictis. [Annal. Waverlien. sub anno 1273.]

^g Wikes, p. 107.

^h Stat. 3 E. I. cap. 15.

ⁱ The Statute de Judaismo passed in the year 1275, and in its first clause forbade usury. See Tovey's Anglic. Judaica, p. 200.

The King is said to have been satisfied that they were the offenders previous to their being apprehended, and that they had taken that method to make up to them what they had lost by being prohibited usury. That he was determined to find them guilty is evident from the confiscation of their property before any trial took place; and it is probable that in this, as in many preceding instances, their wealth was their greatest guilt^k.

To heighten the atrociousness of this deed, the Justices, with the King's permission, stopped their proceedings during Lent, out of respect to that sacred season; but immediately after Easter they resumed them with fresh vigour, and condemned to death an infinite multitude of the miserable Jews^l. Some few of the Christians likewise were hanged; but the Goldsmiths, and other suspected persons, after inquisition had been made upon oath, were set at liberty, and escaped the punishment of death; I know not (says my Author) whether justly or unjustly^m.

In this year some of the Chroniclers place the new Coinage, which did not take effect until 1279; they also represent it to be a Coinage of Halfpennies and Farthings only, which were made round, thus, as they say, fulfilling the prophecy of Merlinⁿ. It will be seen, however, under the next year, that Sterlings also were coined, and were, likewise, by the Indenture to be made round.

^k The Annals of Waverley alone record a circumstance, which, if true, would justify this treatment of the Jews. They relate that, when their houses were searched, an immense quantity of clippings was found. Sub anno 1278.

^l 280 in London, and in other Cities a great multitude. Many Christians were accused by the Jews of having consented to the same, and these were chiefly of the Nobility in London. [Chron. Priorat. de Dunstaple, p. 450.] The rank of the English Clippers is not mentioned in any other Chronicle.

297, of whom three only were English [Fabian]. 300 [Caxton].

267 Jews [Stow]. Trivet says only, "Judæi pro tonsura monetæ in magna multitudine ubique per Angliam suspenduntur." Sub anno 1278.

^m Wikes, sub anno 1278.

ⁿ Knyghton, col. 2463; Wikes agrees in the same date of 1278; but Hemingford, Trivet, and Walsingham, place this Coinage in 1279. The former of these says, that new Money was made *incisibilis*, and round Farthings and Halfpennies, which were prejudicial to the poor. The words of the two latter are, "Moneta Angliæ per tonsuram nimis deteriorata, ex mandato Regis renovatur, obolusque qui prius formam semicirculi habebat, tanquam pars denarii in medio divisi, fit rotundus, juxta vaticinium Merlini dicentis: Findetur forma commercii, dimi-

1279. This was followed by a Proclamation, throughout the Kingdom, forbidding the currency of clipped Money, and ordering that no one should be obliged to take it against his will. At the same time Exchanges of Money were appointed in divers places, a few Cities and Boroughs alone being excepted, where the light Coin might be exchanged for that of full weight, on paying fourteen Pence for every Pound. This regulation took place about Easter; and in a short time afterward scarcely any one would take the diminished Coins °.

At the same time orders were sent to the several Ports, that strict search should be made to prevent all persons, whether Merchants native or alien, or any other Christians or Jews, from taking out of the Realm Plate of Silver, clipped Money, or broken Silver, without special license from the King; and to seize the persons on whom any such Plate, &c. should be found, and to take into custody the Plate, &c.

The clipping of the Coins appears at this time not to have been confined to the lower orders of the people, but to have been practised even by Ecclesiasticks of the higher ranks. Guy the Prior of Montacute was convicted of that crime, but was pardoned by the King, on condition of the payment of a fine of sixty Marks in this year. It should seem that he was again convicted, not only of the same crime, but of counterfeiting also, in the 13th

dium rotundum erit." See other supposed accomplishments of this prophecy under the years 1108 and 1210. Matthew of Westminster, under 1279, says, "*Nam quia denarius findi in duas partes pro obolis, & in quatuor partes pro quadrantibus, consuevit: ordinatum fuit ad tollendam occasionem defalcationis monetæ, quod rotundi essent denarii, oboli, & quadrantes.*"

° Wikes, p. 108. Chron. Priorat. de Dunstaple contains some particulars which are not in Wikes. On the Octave of the Trinity the King commanded the Sheriffs of England, that no false or clipped Money should be any longer current. And the King sent, of his own proper revenue, good Money, not clipped, to ten Cities of England, to make exchange with until the new Money should be made. Afterward, on the fourth day following the Calends of August, the first exchange of the new Money commenced, that is, of Pennies and round Farthings; and the old Money was current with the new during the following year, and then the old was totally prohibited. In the mean time new Halfpennies also were made, and began to be current upon the day when the prohibition of the old Money took place. In the same year, in the month of July, the King's Justices met at Bedford, to inquire who were Clippers of the Money, and who had given consent and assistance to the Jews in that matter. [p. 453.]

year of the King; for which he again received a pardon, but paid a fine of 200 Marks ^p.

No Ordinances respecting the Standard of the Coins have been preserved from the Norman Conquest until the eighth year of this reign, when, according to Stow, Gregorie Rokesley, Mayor of London, being Chief Master or Minister of the King's Exchange or Mints, a new Coin being then appointed, the Pound of Easterling Money should contain (as afore) [*i. e.* 51 Henry III.] 12 Ounces, to wit, fine Silver, such as was then made into Foil, and was commonly called Silver of Guthuron's Lane ^q, 11 Ounces 2 Easterlings and 1 Ferling, or Farthing, and the other seventeen Pence Halfpenny Farthing to be lay. Also the Pound of Money ought to weigh 20 Shillings 3 Pence, by account; so that no Pound ought to be over 20 Shillings 4 Pence, nor less than 20 Shillings 2 Pence by account; the Ounce to weigh 20 Pence, the Penny 24 Grains; which 24, by weight then appointed, were as much as the former 32 Grains of Wheat. A Penny force, 25 Grains and an half; the Penny deble or feeble, 22 Grains and an half ^r.

The Coinage which took place at this time, and on these principles, was conducted under an Agreement between the King and William de Turnemire of Marseilles, which bears date on Thursday the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Mary in the eighth year of the King [*i. e.* December 8, 1279] ^s.

It began with stating the appointment of Turnemire to the office of Master of the Mint in England, and that he was to make Money, for the present, in four places, *viz.* in London, where he was to have as many furnaces as he could employ; in Canterbury, where he should cause to be worked and maintained eight furnaces, besides the three belonging to the Archbishop; in Bristol and York, twelve furnaces each. In every one of the three latter places he was to have under him a Master to take charge of the

^p Abbreviatio Rot. Orig. Scaccarii, pages 33 and 49.

^q A small lane leading out of Cheapside, East of Foster Lane. It took its name from him who was once owner thereof, and was antiently inhabited by Goldbeaters. [Fuller's Worthies, London, p. 200.]

^r Survey of London, folio, 1633, p. 45. By eleven Ounces, two Easterlings, and one Farthing, must be understood eleven Ounces, two Pennyweights and a quarter.

^s It is nearly in the form of the Indentures of succeeding reigns.

Mint, and all things thereunto appertaining. He was to bear, at his own cost, the expenses and charges of his servants; that is to say, of the aforesaid Master of the Mint, of the Keeper of the Bullion^t, of the Assistant in the Melting House, and all other persons by him employed; so that he should discharge all burthens and expenses in the aforesaid four places, and deliver the Money to the King, purified by fire^u, blanchèd, and prepared at his own cost. The King was to give to him for every Pound of Sterlings seven Pence; that is to say, three Pence and one Farthing for wages to the Moneyers for striking and working the Money; one Penny Farthing for the loss of Silver in the fire; and one Penny Halfpenny for adjusting^w the Coins in every Pound of Money. So that, for sizing of the Coins, and for the loss by the fire, there should be allowed to him, in every Pound, eleven Farthings, as is aforesaid. One Penny, in every Pound, was allowed to the said Master for his wages and expenses, and for those of the other Masters under him, and for all his other Servants, as well in meat and drink as in their liveries and other things, and for charcoal, for the repairing of dies, for meltings, and other charges about the Money.

It was also agreed that the King should provide for the said Master, in every of the aforesaid four places, houses convenient for his working, and take upon himself the payment of the fee which the Lord Hugh Fitz Otho, guardian of Otho his nephew, claimed for keeping the dies, or otherwise to satisfy the same Hugh for that fee.

The utensils which the King had in his houses in London were to be delivered to the aforesaid Master in the state they then were; and he was bound to restore them, at the end of the year, or when he should quit his office, in the state they should then be.

It was also agreed with the said Master William, that he should make a great Sterling^x, to be of the value of four lesser Sterlings throughout Eng-

^t *Custos Platarum*, which, according to Ducange, means *argenteum metallum*.

^u *Coctus*. See Ducange.

^w In *emendatione*. *Emendatio panis & cervisiæ*, means the power of correcting and supervising the weights and measures of Bread and Beer. [Kennet's *Paroch. Antiq. Glossary*.] In this place it probably means the proper and equal sizing of the pieces of Money.

^x *Grossus Sterlingus*. This has been supposed to be the first time that Groats occur in the History of English Coinage, but see under the years 1228 and 1249. In Plate II. of

land, at the same rate, and on the same condition, that he should make the aforesaid smaller Sterling; with this further provision, that, as the said great Penny^y would be more easily made than the common Sterling, whatever advantage might accrue should be yielded by him to the King's profit.

It was further agreed that he should make Farthings throughout England (which at that time were round, and were called Lundrenses^z) in such manner as that the King should have of every Pound the same profit as he received from common Sterlings, that is to say, twelve Sterlings.

And it was ordained that every Pound should contain twenty-four Londrenses, and three Shillings for the Assay beyond the number appointed for Sterlings, on account of the great expenses which must be incurred in making the said small Money. And it was estimated that in every Pound of that small Money there should be allowed to the Master ten Pence Half-penny for the making, and all charge in working the said Pound; and then should remain to the King twelve Pence, at the least, for his profit out of every Pound.

The said Master was to begin to work on the morrow of the Circumcision, in the year above-mentioned, according to the form inrolled in the Exchequer, upon all the Coins before recited^a.

The Dies for this new Money were delivered to Gregory de Rokesley, Mayor of London, and Rolandine de Podio, the Keepers of the Mint, on the 17th of May A. D. 1280, who took an oath before the Barons of the Exchequer for the due performance of their office^b.

English Silver Coins, No 23, and Supp. Plate I. No 19, are given the representations of (as it is generally supposed) these Groats. Their weight should be 96 Tower Grains, or about 89 Grains Troy, but Mr. Folkes found the weight of eleven of them, which he had met with, to run from 80 to 85, 92, 116, and 138 Troy Grains. [Table, p. 8.] Those of the two lowest weights may possibly have been these Groats intended to be current; but the heaviest must have been merely trial pieces. See the Explanation of the Plates.

^y Grossus Denarius.

^z These were, I presume, the Farthings which have Londoniensis on the Reverse. See Plate III. No 26. In a Coinage Roll, written in French, and preserved in the British Museum, they are called Lundreis, or Londreis. It is singular that they should derive their title from the French, rather than the English, name of the place where they were struck.

^a Lib. Rub. Scaccarii, fol. 247.

^b Pas. Commun. 7 E. I. Rot. 6. a. and Trin Com. 7 E. I. Rot. 6. b. Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. II. p. 90.

The peculiarities of this Coinage, and also the severe punishment which Edward inflicted upon the debasers of his Money, are related in various Chronicles. Langtoft says,

“Now turnes Eduard ageyn to London his cite,
 & wille wite certeyn who schent^c has his mone.
 Of clippers, of roungers^d, of suilk takes he questis.
 Olde used traitoures ilk at oþer hand kestis.
 Ilk thefe oþer out said, ilk a schrewe oþer greues,
 Of fele wer handes laid, & hanged þer as theues.
 Eduard did smyte rounde peny, halfpeny, ferthyng,
 þe croice passed þe bounde of all þorghout þe ryng.
 þe kynges side salle be þe hede & his name writen.
 þe croyce side what cite it was in coyned & smyten.
 þe pouere man ne þe preste þe peny prayses no þing.
 Men gyf God þe lest, þe fesse^e him with a ferþing.
 A þousand & tuo hundred & fourscore zeres mo,
 On þis mone men wondred fist^f whan it gan go.”^g

It is observable that Robert of Brunne, the translator of this Chronicle from the French, has omitted that part which speaks of the Coinage of Groats, which are there called Gros Tournais Englays^h, a name that strongly marks the derivation of this Coin, in England, from the early French Gros; and it is remarkable that so much of the original French term was retained as was sufficient to corrupt the English word Great into Groat.

The accounts of this Coinage by other Chroniclers, which will be found to differ considerably from each other, are given belowⁱ, and in noteⁿ to the year 1278.

^c Spoiled, corrupted.

^d Gnawers, nippers.

^e Feoffe, endow.

^f First.

^g Langtoft's Chronicle, edited by Hearne, vol. II. p. 238, under the year 1280. Langtoft is supposed to have flourished in the reign of Edward I., and Robert of Brunne, his translator and improver, not long after him. Hearne's Preface, p. lxiii.

^h The words of the original are, “Et gros Tournais Englays qe valent verayment quatre esterlinges en achate & vent.” [Hearne's Langtoft, vol. II. p. 238, note 1.]

ⁱ “I read that King Edward the first, in the eight yeare of his reigne, did first coine the penie and smallest peeces of siluer roundwise, which before were square, and woont to beare a

Soon after this Coinage a Writ was issued for a Trial of the Pix, which is the first instance on record of this kind of publick examination. The practice, however, is unquestionably of a much more antient date, as the Barons were now commanded to make the Assay according to the accustomed manner^k.

From an Account of the Masters of the King's Exchange in Dublin it appears that the Mints in Ireland were regulated according to the terms contained in the Agreement with Turnemire; and a new kind of Money was ordered to be struck there under the government of Stephen de Fulborn, Bishop of Waterford, Lord Deputy of that Kingdom; which, according to Sir James Ware, were Groats, at four Pence, Halfpence, and Farthings, to be current through England and Ireland^l.

1282. In his tenth year the Welsh were totally subdued, their warlike Prince Lewellyn being defeated and slain; an event which obtains a place in this History because it is related that he was deceived by a Prophecy of Merlin, which declared, that whenever the Money of England should be round, the Prince of Wales should be crowned in London. This prediction

double cross with a crest, in such sort that the penie might easilie be broken, either into halfe or quarters: by which shift onelie the people came by small Monies, as halfe pence and far-dings, that othervise were not stamped nor coined of set purpose." [Holinshed, vol. I. Description of England, p. 218.]

"The King then did great right and justice
upon clippers and peirers of the coyne,
And newe money made, that then might suffice
Of Syluer plate, made out of Boloyne.
The Grote, halfe grote, all in new coyne.
He coyned *fast* *, peny, half peny, and ferthyng, (* Sic.)
For porayll to bye with theyr lëvyng." [Harding's Chronicle, fol. 157.]

Harding is, I believe, the only Chronicler who mentions the coining of half Groats at this time. Ruddiman, in his Introduction to Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*, says, that a half Groat of Edward I. was then in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. [Translation, p. 130.] In this I apprehend some mistake. The collection in that Library has been examined by an eminent Scottish Antiquary, but the Coin could not be found, and it must, I fear, be ranked with the Penny of Edward I. which was supposed to bear *SCOTIE PROREX*, but which turned out to be nothing more than a mis-read counterfeit Sterling. See *Gent. Mag.* 1797, Sept. p. 739.

^k Trin. Commun. 9 and 10 E. I. Rot. 15. b. Madox, *Hist. Exch.* vol. I. p. 291.

^l Simon's *Irish Coins*, p. 14. He dates this Coinage in 1279.

was supposed to be accomplished when the head of this unfortunate Prince was crowned with ivy and fixed upon the Tower ^m.

From this time it is to be presumed that the English Money began to be current in Wales, and entirely superseded the Coins of her native Princes, which must have been studiously collected, and sunk in the Coinages of succeeding English Monarchs, as it seems impossible to account for the total disappearance of Welsh Coins upon any other supposition. That the Welsh Princes did actually strike Money in their respective districts may be concluded from the enumeration of the right of coining amongst the incommunicable powers of Sovereignty ⁿ; and that Coins did really circulate in their dominions is evident from the nature of the fines which are imposed in their laws, for they sometimes are rated in money alone, and sometimes in cattle and money jointly ^o.

“No Coins, however, which can be supposed to have issued from their Mints are at this time known to exist; nor have I met with more than one instance of any person who pretended to have seen them, or to know him who had seen them. In the Philosophical Transactions it is recorded that Mr. Edward Lluyd was very inquisitive about Welsh Coins, but could never see one of them, although the then Bishop of Bangor told him that a Coin of Lhywelyn ap Iorweth (who was contemporary with Richard I. and King John) had been kept by a relation of his for several years in his

^m Annal. Waverlienses, p. 235. This prophecy, and its completion, are somewhat differently stated in other Chronicles. Knyghton does not mention the name of the Prophet, but says that Lewellyn's head was carried through West Chepe with a silver crown upon it; and that the prophecy which misled him was, that he should ride crowned through the Chepe. [Col. 2463 and 2464.]

Holinshed says that the King appointed an ivy crown to be set upon Lewellyn's head, in token that he was a prince; and so being adorned, a horseman carried it upon the end of his staff through Cheapside, holding it, as he rode, on high, that all men might see it, &c. &c. Thus was the prophecy fulfilled, which was told to him by an old woman taken for a south-sayer, of whom he required to know how he should speed in this war; whereunto she answered, that he should boldly go forward, for he should ride with a crown on his head through Cheapside: and so by the deceivable prophecy he was deluded, and brought to destruction. [Holinshed, vol. II. p. 281.]

ⁿ Leges Wallicæ, p. 71.

^o Id. p. 33. In the more antient Welsh Laws the Pound, the Penny, and its parts, occur; afterwards the Mark and the Shilling.

pocket, and that he had shewed it to many of the Bishop's acquaintance, still living, who confirm it." ^p

As this Coin has never appeared, it is probable that the Bishop's relation had mis-read some piece with an imperfect legend.

In the year 1283 the following Regulations respecting the Money were promulgated :

It was proclaimed in the City of London, that no one, either foreigner or native, should make use of English Money for exchange beyond the seas ^q.

The Monies which had been collected in the Diocese of Durham for the support of the Army in the Holy Land were ordered to be thus paid — Such as was new Money to the Merchants de Luka, and the old to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Newcastle-upon-Tyne ^r.

In the same year the King demanded a Tenth of the Clergy, who alledged the change of the Money of England, which had been lately made, as one of the many causes which rendered them incapable of complying with the demand ^s.

A Writ of this date, directed to John de Burn ^t, stated, that an horrible rumour had reached the King's ears, with information that in certain parts

^p Abridgement by Jones, vol. V. part II. p. 121. The above account is copied from a MS note by the late Daines Barrington, in his copy of the first volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 280. A vague account of triangular Silver Coins, with a hole in the centre, and a circular inscription, is given in Meyrick's *History of Cardiganshire*, p. 197, and there conjectured to be, perhaps, the Money of some Welsh Prince. This was followed up, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1810, p. 24, by a statement, equally vague, of similar Coins said to have been found in Caermarthenshire. At some period prior to the year 1282 [11 E. I.] a servant of the Constable of Penlyhyn was fined by the English six Shillings and four Pence because he refused to take the old Money for new. Powell's *Hist. of Wales*, Appendix, p. 379. This, I presume, was English Money, but must confess myself to be ignorant of the precise nature of his offence. Had any notice existed that a diminution of the weight of the Coins took place prior to the above date, I should suspect that the words old and new ought to change places, and that the crime consisted in a refusal of the diminished Money; but the earliest instance of an alteration in the Standard occurs in the 28th year of this Monarch.

^q Claus. 11 E. I. m. 2. dors.

^r Claus. 11 E. I. m. 9.

^s Chron. Priorat. de Dunstaple, p. 477.

^t He occurs as one of the Custodes of the Abbey of St. Augustine in Canterbury during the vacancy. [Mag. Rot. 11 E. I. in Rot. Comptorum, m. 1. b. Madox, *Hist. Exch.* vol. I. p. 313.]

beyond the seas divers persons (inflamed with desire of gain, and not regarding any injury they might do to the whole world, provided temporal advantage accrued to themselves from their deeds) did corrupt the King's Money of England and Ireland — some by clipping; others with false dies made Coins resembling those of the King in form and inscription, but of which twenty-three Shillings and more, in number, scarcely equalled one Pound in weight; others formed them of sufficient weight, but wanting in fineness, as was apparent, from sight, touch, or trial by fire; others struck Coins with a small die, which although they might be lawful in their own country, yet differed from the King's Money in form, weight, inscription, and fineness. Which Coins, if they were by degrees mingled with the Money of the Realm, would in a short time corrupt it, to the great loss and disorder of the Kingdom. In order to check these dangers, before it should be too late, the King appointed the said John de Burn to the care of the Ports of Dover and Sandwich, and the parts adjacent, with authority to seize, either in ships or on shore, all Money brought from foreign parts, under the protection of any person whatsoever, and to inspect and examine the same as to form, weight, and fineness, by the view of twelve just and lawful men of the parts aforesaid, and to apply the clipped and counterfeit Money, from whatsoever quarter it might come, to the King's use. And to keep in custody the bodies of those in whose power, or in whose hands, such Money should be found, provided they were persons liable to suspicion, until the King's pleasure should be known ^u.

In consequence of strict inquiry into these abuses of the Coins, more than 300 persons were convicted, of whom some were hanged, others drawn and hanged, according to the nature of their crimes. This happened soon after the conquest of Wales, when Edward, in a Parliament which was holden in London, commanded the Money to be changed, on account of the shameful manner in which it was clipped and diminished ^x.

A Commission was appointed in the next year, 1284, to inquire, amongst other things, concerning those Merchants and Jews who sold, bought, or exchanged Silver Money, and false Coins, cast, of Tin and of other metals,

^u Pat. 11 E. I. m. 4. October 28.

^x Knyghton, col. 2463.

and to report accordingly^y. A Proclamation was in consequence published within the City of London, and the parts adjacent, which thus described the various kinds of false Money that had been brought into the Realm, or had been made in England, to the great loss of the King and his People, and the corruption of the current Coins.

It stated, that some men used one manner of Money of Silver with a Mitre, the Pound whereof weighed but 16 Shillings and 4 Pence of the Money of England.

Others made two different sorts of Money with Lions, whereof there were Bends in one kind, but not in the other. These were as light as the Money with the Mitre.

Likewise there was current, as well in England as beyond the sea, a false Money of pure Copper, which was white, and when new resembled the Money of England.

Another kind was made in Germany, under the name of Edward King of England, some of which weighed more and some less than the Money with the Mitre. These could be known only by the weight.

Another deceit was made in the Money by some who took Plate of Pewter or Lead, in the form of a Penny, and put it between two leaves of Silver, and so imitated Coins, well forged and made.

Lawful Money, much clipped, was also circulated.

The above Coins, which were made or clipped out of England, were brought in by Merchants and others at various Ports.

The Proclamation therefore commanded that no one should presume to spend, exchange, or receive any Money but the Coins of the King of England and of Ireland, and of Scotland; and that the Money brought in should be examined by persons appointed by the King^z.

^y Pat. 12 E. I. m. 4. in cedula.

^z Pat. 12 E. I. m. 5. in cedula, dors. At this time Silver seems to have been plentiful in England; for Florence Earl of Holland, intending to improve his Money by a new Coinage, obtained Silver in England for that purpose. But when it was loaded in waggons to be taken to the sea-side, it was plundered by thieves, who murdered some of the persons who were conducting it; and the Sheriff, hearing of this, seized the Silver, to the amount of nine hundred and sixty Pounds Sterling. The Earl petitioned the King that it might be restored to him. [An. 12 E. I. infra Turr. Rymer, V. p. 192.]

Whilst these steps were taken, by the King's command, to preserve the integrity of his English Coins, the state of the Money which circulated in his foreign possessions was by no means neglected.

In the year 1285 William de Turnemire, the King's Moneyer, was sent into Gascony to be Master of the Mint there, that the Money might be better made ^a. And about four years afterward, 1289 or 1290, the Mayor of Bourdeaux, or his Locum Tenens, was ordered to make Proclamation, respecting the Coins which were current there, to the following effect: — That bread, wine, meat, &c. should be rated according to the new Money, and the petit Tournois; and that until the Feast of St. Martin next ensuing, the Chapotenses ^b, and other old Coins, which were circulated in that Duchy, should still be current, at the rate of five Chipotenses, or five Pence of old Money, for four new Pennies, or the same number of petit Tournois. After that day the Chipotenses, and the other old Coins, were not to be received by any one, on pain of body and goods ^c.

1290. In his 18th year Proclamation was made, throughout the Realm, to prohibit the clipping of the new Money, on pain of life and limb, and the forfeiture of all lands, &c. ^d

This year was made remarkable by the banishment of the Jews from England ^e.

Knyghton, who places this event under the year 1285, says that the King convened a Parliament, in which the Jews were convicted of clipping and corrupting the Coins, and that they were banished never to return, principally on account of their unbelief, and the falsifying which the Christians harshly imputed to them. The Commons gave to the King the fifth Penny of all their moveables, that this measure might be carried into execution without delay ^f.

^a Rot. Vascon. 13 E. I. m. 2. Aug. 2.

^b I cannot discover where this Money was struck. In 1312 eight Chipotenses were reckoned to be equal to one Sterling. Rot. Vasc. 6 E. II. m. 15. Rymer, III. p. 359.

^c Rot. Vascon. 17 E. I. pt. 2. m. 5.

^d Leake, p. 76.

^e This date is fixed by Tovey from the Red Book in the Exchequer, and from Mat. Westminster. Anglia Judaica, p. 232.

^f Knyghton, col. 2466.

According to another Historian, who wrote in the reign of Edward III., this banishment of the Jews was occasioned by a complaint from the Lords in Parliament, to the King, of the malice and perfidy of that people, their usury and forgeries, and their corrupting the Money throughout the Kingdom. It was therefore determined by the King and his Council, that, on a certain day, between the first and third hour, they should be apprehended in every city, and banished from the land. Part of their property was confiscated, and the remainder they were allowed to carry away with them. Some of the wealthiest of them, in consequence of this permission, loaded a ship with immense wealth. When they had sailed nearly to the mouth of the Thames, the Master of the ship cast anchor, and, it being low water, the ship rested upon the sand. He then persuaded the Jews to go upon the sand with him, telling them the tide would not flow for a long time. Having led them as far as he could from the ship, and finding the tide was coming in, he stole away from them, and ascended the ship's side by a rope. The wretched Jews, when they discovered their situation, called to him for help; but he, mocking them, bade them call upon Moses, who conducted their Fathers through the Red Sea; and so left them to perish. He then returned to the King, to whom he told all that had happened, and obtained favour and reward ^g. In such abhorrence was that miserable people held, that the infamy of this transaction is passed unnoticed by the Historian. A contemporary Chronicler, however, has given a statement much more favourable to the character of Edward; for he relates that, when the King heard this, he condemned to the gallows all that were concerned in the robbery and murder ^h.

The severity with which offenders against the Mint were punished, and this banishment of the Jews as partakers of that crime, appear to have been exercised in vain; for in two years afterward it was found necessary to issue, under the authority of Parliament, now for the first time exerted in that behalf, Regulations for the Preservation of the Coins.

They are to be found in the Statutum de Monetâ, Statutum de Monetâ parvum, and Articuli de Moneta, all of the 20th year of Edward, 1292. Though these are printed as Statutes, yet it appears that the first alone can

^g Hemingford, sub anno 1290.

^h Wikes, p. 122.

have any pretensions to that title, the second being no more than a Proclamation, and the last only Articles of Regulation. By the Statute it was ordained that no one should presume to pay or receive any Money but the Coins of the King of England, of Ireland, and of Scotland, on pain of forfeiture.

That no man should bring Money into the land, except for his expenses; nor be so hardy as to land in England (unless driven by force of tempest, according to good testimony), except at Dover, Sandwich, London, Boston, and Southampton; and other common Ports. And that when he should come to any of those places, he should well and truly shew his Money to him who should be appointed by the King, without any concealment, upon pain of forfeiture in body and goods. And that he should not remove thence, nor carry away the goods by himself or other, until the Money should be viewed and examined by him whom the King should appoint.

That no person should be so hardy as to put Money among cloth in Fardels, or in Bales, or in any other manner, to cause suspicion of concealment, upon pain of forfeiting body and goods; and that he who should discover the same should have four Pence in the Pound, and the remainder to go to the King.

That if any one should find Money of other Coin than of England, Ireland, and Scotland, or clipped Money, he should bore it through; and that no one should be so hardy as to prevent the same, under heavy penalty. The bored Money to be restored to the owner thereof, and the false to be broken without restoring; and that the body of him in whose hands the false or clipped Money should be found should be taken and kept, until he should find surety, if he were a person suspected.

And because many people, poor and rich, could not distinguish the light and clipped Coins, it was ordained that the Money should from that time be received and paid by weight of five Shillings in amount and five Shillings in value, by the Tumbrel, which was to be delivered by the Warden of the Exchange, being marked with the King's stamp, as the measures were. And every person might at his pleasure bore the Money which would not weigh the Tumbrel; and also all other Money, not being the Coin of the King of England, Ireland, and Scotland. And that the Weights should be delivered and marked by the Warden of the Exchange, as well as the Tumbrel.

The Viewer and Warden of the Monies, that should come from abroad, as soon as he had viewed them, was to weigh them; and if he should find new Money whereof the Pound did not weigh twenty Shillings, by the number of four Pennies, then he should examine by the Tumbrel where the fault was. And if he should see Pennies that had been much worn, which should fail only of six Pennies in the twenty Shillings, he should nevertheless deliver them to him who brought them, without denial. But if the failure should be of more, he should do with them as of the rest.

And the Warden was charged not to receive any gift or reward for doing any kind of favour; and that he should not commit any extortion, nor cause any manner of delay, as he had regard to himself and his goodsⁱ.

The Articles are precisely the same as the Proclamation of his 12th year, which described the false Coins at that time current, and therefore need not to be repeated in this place^k.

At the same time a Writ was issued which stated that several Merchants, both natives and aliens, brought into the Realm, from foreign parts, the lawful Coins clipped, and other Money of various Mints, being counterfeits of the Coins of England. Proclamation was therefore commanded to be made, forbidding the practice, and the use of such Money in buying or selling. For the first offence the Money was to be forfeited; for the second, the same, together with all goods found upon the persons offending; for the third, imprisonment, and forfeiture of all goods and chattels to the King. All other persons, not Merchants, who should have such Money in their possession, were commanded immediately to bore it through, and bring it to the King's Mint, there to be coined anew with the King's die, on pain of forfeiture. And all the forfeited Coins were in like manner to be re-coined^l.

As this Proclamation was not obeyed, a Commission was issued from the Exchequer upon the 20th of May, A. D. 1294, which recited the Proclamation, and empowered John de Gloucester, and John de Lincoln Merchant of Hull, to survey all Money that should pass in payment between Mer-

ⁱ Statute 20 E. I. Stat. 4. From Tottel's Edition of the Statutes [1556], compared with Runnington's.

^k Statute 20 E. I. Stat. 6.

^l Statute 20 E. I. Stat. 5. and Claus. 19 E. I. m. 4. dors.

chants throughout the Realm, and to arrest and examine it, and to do all other things which in the afore-recited Proclamation was provided. The Commission to continue in force during the King's pleasure^m. I have not found when it was revoked; nor have any proceedings under it been discovered. The practices, however, which it was intended to check, continued notwithstanding, and it became necessary to apply some more effectual remedy to the disorders of the Money. This was done, about five years afterward, by a Statute which was then passed at Stebenheth, the provisions of which will be found under the year 1299.

Towards the latter end of this year, the King convened the Archbishops and all the Clergy, who were to be represented by two Procurators from each Diocese, to come before him at London on the Feast of St. Matthew the Apostle. When they appeared, he stated to them that, in justice, they who could not expose their bodies in the war, should assist with their wealth, and called upon them to contribute toward the losses he had sustained by counterfeit Moneyⁿ.

It is not recorded whether the Clergy complied with this request, but it is probable that they did, and that the King was satisfied with their donations, as no farther demand seems to have been made upon them.

About this time it appears that a kind of base Money, called Lano niger, was commonly current in some parts of England^o.

The Statutes which had hitherto been made, were now found to be insufficient for the restraint of those practices by which the Money was debased, and it became necessary to check them by a new law, which was enacted at Stepney^p on the 15th of May A. D. 1299. It began by prohi-

^m Pas. Com. 22 E. I. Rot. 3. b. Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 293. Notice was given of this in Gascony, from which it appears that the Commissioners had authority to seize Money even in Churches and Religious Houses, for the purpose of examination. [Rot. Vasc. 22 E. I. m. 13. in cedula. Brit. Museum, 111. 1. b.]

ⁿ Hemingford, p. 52.

^o Memor. Scacc. Mich. 22 E. I. Cowel's Dictionary, sub voce.

^p In the house of Henry Wallis Mayor of London. [Stow's Survey of London, as quoted by Leake, p. 79.] It appears to be so extraordinary that a Statute should be enacted in a private house, that I suspect this to be no more than a Proclamation, although, in the manner of its promulgation, it bears the form of a Statute. It is called a Proclamation by Holinshed, vol. II. p. 309.

biting the bringing of Pollards and Crokards, and other base Coins of whatever denomination, into the Realm, on forfeiture of life and goods, and whatsoever else could be forfeited; so always that all persons, of whatever land or country they were, might safely bring to the King's Exchange all sorts of Money of good Silver, of any foreign Coin, or of whatever value, without the same being forfeited.

And whereas this establishment would not avail if it were not well maintained, it was ordained that good and strict watch should be kept in all places upon the sea coast, at the ports, and elsewhere where there was any arrival, by good and lawful men, sworn to arrest those who should bring in such or other bad Money, together with the same Money, and all that belonged to them, and to send them to him or them who should have authority from the King, to do justice upon them. But this authority the King at that time retained to himself, as not having then been advised what manner of judgement he should ordain.

In respect of the arrest aforesaid, it was commanded to be made in this manner: the Commonalty of each port were to choose two good and lawful men of the same port (for whom the electors should answer), who, with the Bailiffs of the same ports, should arrest and search, truly and without favour, all such as should arrive within their wards, and all that they brought; and should send the bodies of all whom they should find to have brought such or other bad Money, to the King's chief prison of the County where they should arrive. And the keeper of the same prison was commanded to detain and safely keep them, until the King should be informed of the manner of the fact, and should make known his will thereupon. The said Wardens to send the Money and other Silver, if any there should be, and deliver the same to the King's great Exchange, and to charge themselves with the rest of the goods, to answer at the Exchequer.

And because the King had received information that beyond sea the good Sterling was counterfeited with bad and false metal, to the greater injury of his realm, he therefore further ordained that all those who should bring Sterlings from beyond sea into the said realm, or elsewhere within the King's power, should deliver the same unto the said Wardens of the ports where they should arrive. And the same Wardens, under their seals, and the seals of those who brought them, and by lawful testimony of good men of the

same ports, were to send them forthwith to the next Assayers, who should be appointed by the King to make assay of Money. And the same Wardens were commanded to send the bodies with the Money safely and courteously.

And if the Assayers should find the Money good and true, in weight, in Silver, and all other things, according to the old Standard of England, they should immediately free the persons, and deliver to them the Money which they had so brought; and if they should be found false, they were to be forfeit, and the bodies to be at the King's pleasure.

It was also ordained that from that time none of the realm, or within the King's jurisdiction, should sell or barter wools, woolfells, leather, lead, or tin, except for good and true Sterlings, or for Silver plate assayed and marked at the King's great Exchange, or in exchange for good, lawful, and sufficient merchandize; and that whoever should do the contrary, and be thereof attainted by the said Wardens, or by others of the King's officers, the things so sold or bartered should be forfeited to the King.

It was further ordained that no good Money of Silver, of the King's Coin or other, nor any Silver in plate or otherwise, should go forth or be carried out of the realm, or out of the King's power, into foreign parts, without especial leave from the King, upon the pain aforesaid. And for the due observance of all these points, the Wardens were ordered to use diligence and pains, by all proper means in their power; and before they received the charge aforesaid, they were to swear before the Sheriffs, or before their Chief Wardens where they were not answerable to the Sheriff, that they would do and observe truly, and without any deceit, as much as in them lay, all that belonged to that charge, according to the form aforesaid; and if they gave release or favour to any for gift or reward, or in any other manner, and should thereof be attainted, they should incur forfeiture of life, and of all that they had. And whereas it had been ordained that there should be a Table at Dover and elsewhere, where the King should ordain fixed passing places, to give change for necessary expenses to those who should go and come, the King therefore appointed John Bellard, John Galeys, and their fellows, to keep the Table at Dover, on the King's behalf, for all manner of Monies. And it was the King's pleasure that they should there give change for necessary expenses to those who should go abroad, and come from thence, by

the view and testimony of the Comptroller, who was to be placed there by the King.

And all persons that should come from abroad, bringing with them Money current in the dominions of the King of France, were required to take the same to the said Table, where they were to receive the amount in the current money of England; and if they should be found elsewhere with such Money, then the same should be forfeited to the King, and the forfeit be taken to the said Table for the King's use. It was therefore commanded that Proclamation should be made in cities and boroughs, market towns, ports, and all other places where the Sheriffs should think fit, of all the articles and points aforesaid, and that the Sheriffs should establish Wardens, and give them the oath to keep and observe the King's ordinance, upon the pains aforesaid^q.

The Crocards and Pollards were likewise decried by Proclamation in Ireland; and in consequence of so much defaced and mixed Money being stopped, it was found necessary about this time to erect four new furnaces in the Mint of Dublin to supply the great demand for good Money; and Alexander Norman de Luic was constituted Master of the Coiners^r.

The calling in these counterfeit Coins, at half their current value, and the re-coinage of them, produced some profit to the King. Of this several instances appear in the Wardrobe Account of his 28th year^s; the profit amounted sometimes to nearly one twentieth of the sum, but varied, no doubt, according to the baseness of the Money. These Coins were brought into the Country by foreign merchants in large quantities; they were made of the basest metal, and distinguished by the names of Pollards, Crocards, Scaldings, Brabants, Eagles, Leonines, Sleepings^t, and various other deno-

^q Statutum de falsa Moneta, 27 E. I. In this Statute there is no mention whatever of Gold Coins.

^r Davys's Reports, folio 26.

^s Lib. Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ, pp. 5, 53, 57, 58, 60, 158, and Topham's Observations, p. xxiii. It appears from a Mint Account, still preserved in the Exchequer, that the Double Pollards, mentioned here and at page 67, approached very nearly to the weight and fineness of the Sterling. Five hundred pounds of Double Pollards weighed, after they were refined, cccxxxii li. xs. vii d. ob.

^t Leoninarum, Dormientium.

inations. They were all white Money, resembling Silver, and were artificially compounded of Silver, Copper, and Sulphur, so that in four or five of them there was not the weight of one penny of Silver^u. By the King's command, they were allowed to be current until the Easter following, at the rate of two for a Sterling. After that time, they were totally prohibited, and Exchanges were appointed in most places, where five or six of them were given for one Sterling, men not caring for them on account of their baseness. But in the space of a year a method was discovered of refining them with lead, and then two of them were found to be equal to a Sterling, and many became rich who had exchanged them at the time when they were thought to be so very base. These persons did not however long enjoy the advantage which they had gained, for the King made inquiry concerning those who had exchanged or bought Money without special license, and fined them very heavily^w.

From the Conquest to the 28th of Edward, the Penny weighed 24 grains Tower, or one pennyweight, so that a pound of Silver Money was a pound both in weight and tale. But now the first variation from this rule took

^u This must mean the baseness which was supposed before they were scientifically tried. It appears that two of them were actually worth one penny.

^w Hemingford, p. 170. Other Historians add Rosaries to the above list of names. See Polychronicon, Fabian, &c. In the year 1299, Matthew of Westminster says, "corrupta insula Angliæ de falsa Moneta, quæ dicitur Crokard & Pollard, in Natali Sancti Stephani protomartyris findebatur, id est, pro obolo habebatur. Hinc quidem Lathomi filius, considerans opera patris sui, dum fabricaret Ecclesiam metrice & eleganter dicebat.

Laude decoreris, nostris Sterlinge gereris,

Crokâr es, æsque peris, fugias as rite teneris."

Walsingham, who dates this event a year later, gives some additional particulars: "Infra præsentis natalis solemnia prohibita est Moneta alienigenarum surreptitia & illegitima, quam Pollardos & Cocodones, atque Rosarios appellabant, qui paulatim & latenter loco irrepserant Sterlingorum. Hanc Monetam primo Rex Edwardus jusserat valere obulum, deinde omnino exterminavit. Gallici nempe hanc Monetam fabricaverunt; quæ non erat argentea, sed superficialiter deargentata, & currebat in locis plurimis loco Sterlingorum, multique decepti fuerant per eandem." Hist. Angl. p. 77. The Rosaries are supposed by Mr. North to have derived that title from their Legend, *Ave Maria*, and, probably, were not designed for money, but only a sort of Tesseræ Sacræ, for the use of Monks, Pilgrims, &c. to travel with from one religious house to another. [Remarks on Clarke's Conjectures, p. 30.]

place, and the Penny was reduced to 23,7073 Grains Tower^x. This appears from an Indenture in Lowndes's Report, which recites that an indented Trial-piece of the goodness of old Sterling was lodged in the Exchequer, and every pound weight of such Silver was to be shorn at twenty shillings three pence. According to this, the value of the Silver in the Coin was one shilling and eight pence farthing an ounce^y, and the debasement amounted to $1\frac{1}{8}\frac{9}{11}$ per cent.^z

1299, 1300. There seems to have been at this time a Coinage of considerable extent, for, according to the Red Book of the Exchequer, it was ordained, upon the 29th of March, that there should be in London thirty furnaces, in Canterbury eight, in Kingston upon Hull four, in Newcastle upon Tyne two, in Bristol four, and in Exeter two^a. The Mints at Bristol, Newcastle upon Tyne, Kingston upon Hull, and Exeter, were now either worked for the first time, or considerably enlarged, for a Writ was issued in this year which ordered houses to be built for the workmen, and made provision for bringing expert artificers in that line from beyond the seas^b.

Some important regulations of Goldsmiths' work were enacted in this year, by which they were restrained from using any Gold which was worse than the Touch of Paris^c, or any Silver inferior to the Alloy of Sterling. No

^x This weight is taken from a Table drawn out by Mr. Rowland Rouse, and printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LXVII. p. 395.

^y Report, p. 34.

^z Lord Liverpool's Letter to the King, p. 32. The calculations in that work are stated by his Lordship to have been made by a Professor * of great eminence in every branch of the Mathematics, p. 112.

^a Folio 259.

^b Claus. 18 E. I. m. 9. The Mint of Kingston upon Hull does not appear upon any Coin, nor have I met with it in any Record, prior to this reign.

^c It is probable that the Touch of Paris was referred to in this Statute, because there were no English Gold Coins which could be made a Standard for the Goldsmiths' work. The French Coins of that time were of fine Gold. The Silver is regulated according to the fineness of the lawful Coins of England, evidently to prevent the melting of the Money, which would have taken place, provided a coarser alloy had been permitted. In later times various Touches were used, as "London Towch, Parish Towch, and Bruggs Towch," all which occur in the Will of Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, which is dated upon the 6th of August in the year 1500. [Hearne's Lig. Nig. Scaccarii, vol. II. p. 676.]

* Abraham Robertson, D. D. F. R. S. Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford.

vessel of Silver to be delivered from the hands of the workman until it had been assayed by the Wardens of the Craft, and marked with a leopard's head. The Wardens of the Craft were to go from shop to shop amongst the Goldsmiths, to assay whether their Gold were of the proper Touch, and if they found any other, such Gold should be forfeited to the King.

All the considerable towns in England where any Goldsmiths dwelt, were, according to this Statute, to be ordered as the Goldsmiths of London were, and that one person should come to London from each town, as a representative of all who lived there, to be ascertained of their Touch.

Every Goldsmith, who should be attainted of offences against this Statute, to be punished by imprisonment and ransom, at the King's pleasure^d.

These regulations show that Gold and Silver were not scarce, and that luxury began to display itself at this period.

The Statute of Stebenheth seems to have been but little regarded, and many Proclamations to enforce it appear on record in the Rolls of the years immediately following its enactment^e.

1303. In our Collections of the Statutes at Large is inserted, under his 31st year, an Ordinance for regulating the weights in the same terms as that of the 51st of Henry III. by which the Penny being round and not clipped, was to weigh thirty-two grains of wheat taken from the middle of the ear^f. I am unable to decide to which of these Monarchs the regulation properly belongs. Possibly, however, it may have been promulgated by each of them, for, provided there is no inaccuracy in the Statute of the 12th of Henry VII. this Ordinance seems to have been compleatly independent of any other by which the weight of the Penny was fixed. In that year, when the Sterling was reduced to nearly half the number of grains which it held in the reign of Henry III. and Edward I. we still find it ordained to be equal to thirty-two grains of wheat that grew in the midst of the ear, according to the old laws of this land^g.

^d Articuli super Chartas, 28 E. I. Stat. 3, cap. 20.

^e Claus. 28 E. I. m. 10. dors. Claus. 29 E. I. m. 16. dors. &c.

^f It is observable that the Roman weights are in like manner derived from the seeds of a vegetable, viz. the Lentil.

^g In the dilemma occasioned by the contradiction of the first two dates, I applied to an antiquarian friend, the nature of whose pursuits particularly qualified him to decide upon the sub-

1304. In this year, William de Wymundham, Comptroller of the King's Exchange in England, by command from the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the King's Treasurer, sent to William de Essenden, Treasurer of Ireland, twenty-four Stamps for coining Money there, viz. three piles, with six crosses, for pennies; the same for halfpennies; and two piles, with four crosses, for farthings. These he sent by John le Minor, Thomas Dowle, and John de Shordich, Clerks, members of the Company of Minters in London, to be by them used in the coinage of Money. And an express entry was made, before what witnesses the said Stamps were delivered^b.

1306. The regulations of the Statute of Stebenhith, respecting the exportation of Money, were considered to be of such importance, that, in the 34th year of Edward, a Writ was directed to Robert de Burgersh, Constable of the Castle of Dover, and Warden of the Cinque Ports, wherein it was stated that, although the King had commanded that the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had received a summons to attend the Pope, should be permitted to pass out of the kingdom with his attendants, yet the King would not allow the said Statute to be infringed by the Archbishop, or any person belonging to him, under pretence of such license, but commanded that it should be strictly observed. At the same time it was ordered that the said Statute should be more rigidly enforced than it had hitherto beenⁱ.

The Coins of Edward, and indeed of all his successors until Henry VII. represent him full-faced, and crowned with an open crown fleurie, consisting of three fleurs de lis, with two rays or lesser flowers, not rising so high as the others, placed between them. During the period above mentioned,

ject. His answer was, "I incline to attribute it to Edward I. because in the Patent Roll of 2 Rich. II. Part 2, there is a copy of an exemplification of it, where it comes in company with a clause of one of the Acts of this King (Edw. I.), which is referred to as such by Stat. 14. Edw. III. ch. 12." In a folio edition of the Statutes, dated 1577, the Statute of Bread and Ale, 51 H. III. has not that clause respecting the weight of the Penny; neither does that Collection contain the Ordinance of 31 Edward III., but it has the Statute of 12 Henry VII. referred to above. In the Red Book of the Exchequer, this regulation is ascribed to Edward I. in the following title:—"De Compositione Monetæ & Mensurarum, tempore Regis E. filii Regis H." Copy from a transcript by W. Lambard, 1588. [Lansdown MSS. in the British Museum, No. CXCVIII. folio 403. b.]

^b Simon quoting Lib. Rub. Scacc. Dublin. Davis's Reports, p. 26.

ⁱ Pat. 34 E. I. m. 16.

there does not appear to have been so much as an attempt to preserve any similitude of the several kings, in the impression of their heads. They are all alike, and even those that are represented on their broad seals and monuments as wearing beards, do nevertheless appear smooth-faced upon their Coins; nor are the variations of age, which must have taken place during a long reign, in any way expressed, but the monarch bears as youthful an appearance upon his latest Coins as he does upon those which were struck when he was a child^k. Mr. Folkes thinks that this particular, however odd it may appear, is not entirely chargeable on the want of skill in the several workmen that engraved these Coins, some of which, he says, are in other respects not ill executed; but he supposes that some custom of those ages required the King to be represented on his money as in the prime and vigour of his years, and that this effigies of him was to be considered rather as his political than as his natural likeness. John Anstis, Garter King at Arms, informed him that he had himself taken notice of something very like this in the sepulchral monuments of those times, upon which even children who deceased in their infancy, were nevertheless often represented as perfect men and women, in the flower and strength of their age; a very remarkable instance of which is still to be seen in the chapel of St. Edmond within the Abbey Church of Westminster, where, upon a monument erected for William of Windsor and Blanch of the Tower, two children of Edward III. that died in their earliest childhood, they are both, notwithstanding, carved in alabaster, he like a knight, in robes and full dress, with his sword buckled on, and she in a strait-bodied gown and head attire, agreeably to the fashion of the age^l.

^k Folkes, Table of English Silver Coins, p. 9. One slight variation from the uniformity of these portraits, during a short proportion of the period stated by that author, should not have been omitted. The faces on the Pennies of Edward IV. and of Richard III. are remarkable for an appearance of age and ugliness which is not to be found on the Coins of any of the preceding Kings, although Edward was the handsomest man of his time; and neither he nor Richard had much exceeded the age of forty years at the period of their decease. It is clear, therefore, that notwithstanding the engraver of the dies then thought fit, for some reason now unknown, to vary from the mode so long established, yet he had no intention to form a correct portrait of the monarch.

^l I rather suspect that Mr. Anstis has inferred too much from these monumental figures. The

This inattention to costume, and to the advances of age, are, no doubt, distressing to the Antiquary, who attempts to form his chronology from the representations of the artists of early times; but there is an inattention of which early Moneyers have been guilty that is infinitely more perplexing, I mean the omission of numerals, by which the different kings who bore the same name ought to have been distinguished. This occasioned some trouble, and has possibly produced some errors in the arrangement of the Money belonging to the Edwards of the Saxon periods. But there the difficulty was in some measure relieved by the interval between the successive reigns of the monarchs so named, which gave an opportunity to arrange their Coins with some degree of precision from the occurrence of the names of Moneyers who had been employed by preceding kings. But the three Norman Edwards followed each other in immediate succession; and their Coins being, with only one exception, undistinguished by the Moneyers name, it was for a long time supposed that no rule could be devised for the appropriation of them.

Archbishop Sharpe, the first who wrote professedly upon the subject, was able to arrive at no more than this, that it was easy to know the Coins of the first two Edwards, because they were all Pennies, or less Monies, and larger than any that followed after. They wanted *DI. GRA.* and *FRANC.* in the style, but *DNS. HYB.* was always there, even upon the Halfpence, which none of the other smaller Coins had; *REX* also in these Coins was always abbreviated by *R.*

“But it is not so easy,” he observes, “to distinguish the first Edward’s Coins from the second’s; for the weight, style, face, and reverse, are the same, only there is one difference observable in the Coins, and that is in the putting of the name; for, in some of the Coins, it is contracted *EDW.* and in some it is put at length, *EDWARD.* But where you meet with *EDWARDVS* in a penny, I take it, it belongs to Edward the Third or Fourth. In some Pennies it is likewise put *EDWA.* and in others *EDWAR.*”

very early age at which the children of the 16th century were habited like men and women, warrants a suspicion that these infants might, in like manner, have been encumbered with the habiliments of age, especially when they were to appear in full dress. The prints which illustrate Plot’s History of Staffordshire afford many instances of children habited in such a manner as to be distinguishable from their parents only by their size.

“ All that I dare affirm with confidence is, that all the Coins where only the first three letters of the name are put, viz. EDW. belong to the first Edward. My reasons for this are two: first, these Coins are in much greater plenty than the other. I dare say, I have met with five of these for one of the other. Now every body knows that Edward the First coined abundantly more Money than his son; and therefore, in reason, that must be his of which there is most remaining.

“ Secondly, Edward I. is famous for setting up four Mints at Dublin, and coining a great deal of Money there. Now, in all the Irish Coins that I have seen (and I have seen a great many), the name is always put EDW. and never otherwise.

“ Now, if these be Edward the First's Coins, as in reason we must think they are, it is a good argument that the Coins of England where the name is so writ do belong to him likewise^m. ”

Leake agrees with the Archbishop in every respect, excepting his reasoning upon the Irish Coins, for he says that Edward the Third's Irish Penny has the name in like manner EDW. and therefore that observation falls to the groundⁿ.

Folkes thinks that the common opinion (which is that of Archbishop Sharpe, as stated above) is at most but a probable conjecture, because though it should be allowed that all those of the first sort [viz. with EDW.] were struck by Edward I. yet we should still be at a loss for arguments to prove that he did not coin some of the others also. He adds that he had seen some of the Pennies of the last sort [viz. with EDWA or EDWAR], upon which the letters were braced into one another, much like those on the Pennies of Henry III. and which therefore seem to have been minted but little after his time^o.

^m Observations on the Coins of England, Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, No. XXXV. p. 25. I have given the Archbishop's arguments at length, because the publication which contains them is become very rare.

ⁿ Historical Account of English Money, p. 81. I know not where Mr. Leake found these Irish Pennies of Edward III. Mr. Simon says, that although it is beyond all doubt that a good deal of money must have been coined in Ireland during his reign, yet he could not, with any certainty, produce any of it. P. 17.

^o Table of English Silver Coins, p. 10. I have never met with any Coin that answers this description.

Snelling has adopted the Archbishop's rule, without any observations upon it^p.

It remained for the sagacity of Mr. Bartlet to reduce this subject to a greater degree of certainty, by arguments drawn from the Coinage of the Bishops of Durham, who presided over that See in the reigns of Edward I. II. and III.

According to his statement, Anthony Beck was made Bishop in the eleventh year of Edward I. His arms were Gules, a cross moline Argent, which cross appears on his robe upon his Great Seal, and on the left side of his chair.

He continued Bishop until his death in 1310, the third year of Edward II. There are Coins with this cross which read EDW. and others which have EDWAR.

He was succeeded by Bishop Kellow, who, having no pretension to family arms, placed upon his Coins a pastoral staff turned to the left, upon the upper limb of the cross. He died in the ninth year of Edward II. and the Pennies thus distinguished bear EDWAR.

Lodowic Beaumont was appointed his successor. His arms were Azure, semy of fleurs de lis, a lion rampant Or; and accordingly his Money is charged with a lion, which is sometimes accompanied with fleur de lis.

These Coins have EDWAR, as the former.

On his death, in 1333, the seventh year of Edward III. Richard Bury was promoted to this See, which he held until 1345, when he was succeeded by Thomas Hatfield, who distinguished his Coins, as Bishop Kellow had done, by a pastoral staff, but turned to the right. They are inscribed EDWARDVS, and the head^q and weight fix them to Edward III. and to his third Coinage in 1353, when the weight of the Penny was reduced to eighteen grains^r.

Mr. Bartlet's account of these various episcopal Coinages, when brought together in one view, will stand thus :

^p Silver Coinage, p. 11.

^q What can be here intended? The King's head upon the Coins of Edward III. does not differ from those of Edward I. or II.

^r Bartlet on the Episcopal Coins of Durham. Archæologia, vol. V. p. 335.

Anthony Beck, - - XI Edward I. cross moline, - - - EDW.

III Edward II. - - - - - EDWAR.

Richard Kellow, - III Edward II. crozier to the left, - EDWAR.

Lodowic Beaumont, ix Edward II. lion, and fleurs de lis, EDWAR.

Richard Bury - - vii Edward III.

Thomas Hatfield, -xix Edward III. crosier to the right, EDWARDVS.

The Coins ascribed to Bishop Beaumont should probably have been read EDWA, for none are at this time known which are marked either with a lion or a fleur de lis, and the letters EDWAR. It is a remarkable circumstance that Bishop Hatfield should have distinguished his Money by a crosier only, when he might have done it by the insertion of part of his family arms^s.

From the foregoing considerations, Mr. Bartlet was induced to arrange the Coins of Edward I. II. and III. in this manner:

Those with EDW. he assigned to Edward I.; those with EDWAR. to Edward II.; and those with EDWARDVS to Edward III. This arrangement is, I believe, generally adopted.

The style of Edward, upon the Obverse of his Coins, is, Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, which latter title he first introduced upon the Money of England^t, though it had appeared upon the Great Seals of our Monarchs from the accession of King John.

Upon his Great Seal his style is the same as that of Henry III. and the name is given at length, EDWARDVS.

The Reverse of his Money is ornâmented, if that term be applicable, with the unmeaning Cross and Pellets.

The name of one Moneyer only, Robert de Hadley, is to be found in this reign, and that, according to Leake, on those Coins alone which were struck

^s At the Siege of Calais he bore, Ermine, a chevron Sable. Names of the principal Captains, &c. who were with Edward III. at that Siege. See Rowe Mores's *Nomina & Insig. Gentil. Nobil.* &c. sub *Edwardo Primo militantium*, p. 91.

^t John's Coins, which were struck in Ireland before he was King, have the title of Dominus; but that was omitted when he became King of England. It should be observed that No. 20 in Plate I. of the Supplement, contradicts Mr. Bartlet's assertion, that all the Pennies with EDW. only, have Rex abbreviated to R; for it has the word at length.

prior to his seventh year; but I know not on what ground the assertion was made, as he has quoted no authority for it^u.

His Anglo-Gallic Coins have on the Obverse his name spelled EDWARDVS, EDVARDVS, or EDOARDVS, with the addition of REX only. They were all struck, as appears from the inscription on the Reverse, in his Earldom of Ponthieu. It must be confessed, however, that, although these Pennies are usually ascribed to this King, they afford no certain marks of appropriation to him rather than to the two succeeding Monarchs of his name.

His Irish Money is distinguished from the English by the Triangle which encloses the head. As the name on all these Coins is written EDW. it affords no means of discovering to which of the three Edwards it belongs. Some of them have one dot under the bust, others two, which Simon thinks were intended for distinction^w. But he has overlooked a third kind, of which there are two varieties, one with three dots under the bust, and the other with a dot in each corner of the triangle, either of which may, with equal propriety, be supposed to refer to Edward III.^x. From want of better authority for classing this money, I have been obliged to adopt the above^y, though I suspect that such numerical distinction was not intended. The Mints upon those Coins which bear EDW. only are these:

VILLA BEREVICI.	Berwick.	CIVITAS EXONIE.	Exeter.
BERVICI.		VILL. KYNGESTON.	Kingston upon
VILLA BRISTOLLIE.	Bristol.	Hull.	
CIVITAS CANTOR.	Canterbury.	CIVITAS LINCOL.	Lincoln.
CIVITAS CESTRIE.	Chester.	CIVITAS LONDON.	London.
CIVITAS CORCACIE.	Cork.	VIL. NOVI CASTRI.	Newcastle.
CIVITAS DVBLINIE.	Dublin.	VILLA RADINGI.	Reading.
CIVITAS DVREME.	Durham.	VIL. SCIEDMVNDI.	} St. Edmundsbury.
CIVITAS EBORACI.	York.	VILLA SEDMVNDI.	

^u Leake's Account of English Money, p. 81.

^w Irish Coins, p. 17.

^x See Simon's third Plate, No. 51.

^y One very remarkable Penny struck in the London Mint has the head in a triangle, in the same manner as his Irish Coins. See it, Supplement, Part II. Plate I. No. 17, and more correctly in Plate II. No. 28. In the Irish Money of Henry III. the point of the triangle is uppermost, in those of Edward, the base.

One of his Halfpennies has NOVICASTRI, without VIL; and a Farthing reads LONDONIENSIS. The Groat, as it is called, CIVI LONDONIA.

The custom of stamping the Moneyers name upon the Coins began to grow into disuse in this reign, and, it should seem, in a very early part of it, as no more than one name has hitherto been discovered upon any of this Money. It is written either ROBERT DE HADELEIE, or ROBERTVS DE HADL'.

Snelling has inserted Hadeleie in his List of the Mints of Edward I. or II. but, I believe, erroneously, for Robert de Hadeleie was Moneyer of St. Edmundsbury ^z.

To this reign is generally referred the Coin which is represented in our second Plate of Silver Coins, No. 23, and supposed to be a Groat. According to Mr. Folkes, those which he had seen were of weights so various, that he was unable to form any opinion respecting them. The majority were from 80 to 85 Troy Grains, but three of them weighed 92, 116, and 138 Grains respectively ^a. From this diversity of weight it should seem that they were trial pieces. But query, whether the words Dei Gratia do not justify a suspicion that this Coin belongs to Edward III., as they appear upon nearly the whole of his Gold Money, and upon all the Groats of his Coinage.

I have met with an account of Money struck by this Monarch upon a material very different from those which are usually selected for Coinage, but which the writer represents as still existing in his memory: I cannot, therefore, withhold it from my reader's notice.

He says, "King Edward I. his leathern Money, bearing his name, stamp, and picture, which he used in the building of Carnarvon, Beaumarish, and Conway Castles, to spare better Bullion, were, since I can remember, preserved and kept in one of the Towers of Carnarvon Castle." ^b

If the statement of this anonymous author be correct, the above must have been rather Tokens, or a kind of Promissory Notes, than Money. Nothing further is, I believe, known concerning them.

^z Register Kempe, folio 117. Harl. MSS. No. 645. Roger de Rede likewise was a Moneyer in the Mint of St. Edmundsbury in the year 1297. [Id. ibid.]

^a Table, p. 8.

^b History of Allchester, written 1622, and printed at the end of Kennett's Parochial Antiquities, p. 696.

EDWARD II.

Edward I. deceased on the 7th of July 1307, but his death was carefully concealed until the 25th of that month, when it was first notified to Ralf de Baldoc, Bishop of London, then Chancellor, who, on the Saturday following, received an order to send the Great Seal to Carlisle, where the new King was proclaimed.

The expectations which were formed at his accession to the throne were miserably disappointed, for his administration was feeble, and the whole of his reign turbulent and unfortunate. His frequent disputes with the Barons left him but little leisure for attention to subjects of political œconomy, if he had possessed the inclination to consider them; and therefore no provisions of that kind are to be found amongst the Statutes which were passed in his reign, and very few in any other Records.

In a short time after his Father's death a Parliament was holden at Northampton, in which, amongst other things, it was ordered that the Money which was then current in the Realm should from thenceforward be current and received as hitherto it had been ^c. These are the words of a Proclamation; but a modern Historian has accused Edward of forcing into circulation, by the authority of this Parliament, the base Coins which had been prohibited in his Father's reign ^d. Walsingham is, I believe, the chief authority for this; but he says no more than that the Money was held in small estimation; by which it is probable that he intended nothing more than the dislike of the people to the Coins after they were diminished in weight by Edward I. in his 28th year ^e.

^c Cl. 1 E. II. m. 19.

^d Carte, Hist. of England, vol. II. p. 308. Holinshed says it was ordained, by the King's appointment, that the Coin of his Father King Edward should be still current, notwithstanding the baseness thereof, as some reputed it. [vol. II. p. 318.] Stow, that his Father's Coin, which was counted base, should not be refused upon pain of life and limb. [p. 326.] Carte, that this Parliament carried their complaisance too far when they ordered, on pain of life and limb, the base Money, which would not pass in the late King's time, to be current all over the nation.

^e See Walsingham, p. 96.

The alteration in the current value of the Pollards and Crocards, which took place in the year 1310, and the entire prohibition of them which followed, seem to have been productive of great inconvenience to the Counties at a distance from the Metropolis. Accordingly Petitions are extant from Sheriffs who had received such Money before its value was reduced, but who had not paid it into the Exchequer when its currency was absolutely forbidden^f. In consequence of these Petitions a general Writ was issued in the year 1309 for the relief of Sheriffs, Bailiffs, &c. in that case^g.

Although the troubles in which Edward was soon involved prevented much from being done for the improvement of the Money, or any considerable profit to be made from the Mints, yet neither of these was totally neglected, as appears from a Writ of Privy Seal, which granted to John de Puntoise the office of Master of the Mint in the Tower of London, lately held by John le Porcher. Whereupon Puntoise undertook to pay to the King, as long as he should hold the said office, one Farthing for every Pound of Silver which should be delivered to him to coin, more than had hitherto been answered to the King^h.

1310. In the following year Proclamation was ordered to be made, in all the Counties of England, commanding that the Money should be current at the proper value which it bore in the reign of Edward I., under heavy penalties; and that no one should enhance the price of his goods on that account, because it was the King's pleasure that the Coins should be kept up to the same value as they were wont to bear.

It appears, from the Articles which the Commons delivered to the King, that the Money was depreciated more than one halfⁱ.

By another Proclamation, either of this year or of the next, 1311, the importation of false Money was forbidden, and the currency of such, either of Gold or of Silver, prohibited on pain of forfeiture. And all Merchants, whether natives or aliens, who had such Money, were commanded to take it to the nearest Exchange, under the same penalty^k.

^f Madox, Hist. Excheq. vol. I. p. 294, and Rolls of Parliament, vol. I. p. 273.

^g Id. *ibid*.

^h Id. vol. II. p. 90.

ⁱ Rolls of Parl. vol. I. Appendix, p. 444, and Claus. 4 E. II. m. 12. dors.

^k Claus. 4 E. II. m. 24. dors.

1311. In a Representation which was made by the King to Philip King of France it is stated that British Merchants and others of the King's subjects were not permitted to bring any kind of Money out of France into England, but that it was taken from them by officers appointed for that purpose, contrary to the form of Peace made between the two Countries in the time of King Edward I. Redress of this grievance was desired; but it does not appear whether any notice was taken of the Remonstrance¹.

About this time the Barons seem to have made an attempt to interfere with the Royal prerogative respecting Coinage, on account of the injury which the people sustained, in various ways, whenever a change of the Money was made in the Realm; for it was provided by the Lords Ordainers (persons who were then intrusted with the government of the Kingdom) that such change should not take place without the consent of the Barons in Parliament^m. This, however, amongst other regulations framed by these Lords Ordainers, was revoked at York in the 15th year of this reignⁿ.

About the year 1314 the currency of the King's Money in Aquitain was stopped by an order of the French King, and the working of the Mints forbidden without the inspection of persons to be appointed by him. Against this Edward remonstrated and petitioned, but his petition produced only another order of prohibition to the Master of the Mint at Bourdeaux. A second Remonstrance was probably more effectual, for after that no further complaints appear to have been made^o.

1314 or 1315. It was now represented to the King, by many of his subjects, that great advantage would accrue from an inquiry into the conduct of the Searchers of Money during the time that John Van and his companions,

¹ Rom. & Fr. 4 E. II. m. 23. dors in cedula. Rymer, III. p. 259. In Ryley's Plac. Parl. 528, is a Writ, dated 4 E. II., against bringing in false Money, "*auxi bien d'or come d'argent.*" That no such Money of Gold or Silver, "*autre que de notre coigne,*" shall be current. Which seems to imply that there was Gold Coin "*de notre coign*" at that period. For this note I am obliged to that able Antiquary Alexander Luders, Esq. I know not to what Gold Coin the Writ can refer, and rather suspect that it is inaccurate in referring to both the Gold and Silver, generally, that which should have been confined to the latter metal only.

^m Rolls of Parl. vol. I. p. 285. See the Ordinances made Sept. 27, 1311, 5 E. II. Chap. XXX. in the Statutes of the Realm, p. 165.

ⁿ Id. p. 286.

^o Rom. & Fr. 7 E. II. m. 14. Rymer, vol. III. pp. 467 and 486.

Lombards, were Keepers of the King's Exchange; as the said Searchers had never rendered any account. This was referred to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, with the King's command that they should do whatever might appear to be for his advantage in that behalf^p. I have not been able to discover whether any inquiry was made, or any proceedings had in consequence. Indeed the state of the Money, in a few years after this, proves that the Searchers still continued to perform their duty negligently; for in 1319 (there being then a great deal of false Money in circulation) a Writ was issued to the Barons of the Exchequer, commanding them to order the Sheriffs of England to make Proclamation, that no man should import into the Realm clipped Money, or foreign counterfeit Money, under great penalties; and that such persons as had any clipped Money in their hands should bore it through, and bring it to the King's Mint to be re-coined^q, according to the Proclamation of the 19th, and the Statute of the 20th, of Edward I.

These Proclamations were continued in the following year, 1320; and the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer were commanded to advise with the King's Council on the most effectual means to check the improper practices which prevailed^r.

Notwithstanding this, the clipped and base Money still continued to multiply, so that in 1321 it was found necessary to appoint Commissioners to inquire concerning offences committed subsequent to a Proclamation which was made about Easter in the year 1317; and to depute Searchers in all the Ports, and other places^s.

By the Statute of Frankpledge, which passed in the 18th year of this reign, 1325, the Jurors were required, by the oath they had taken, to report to the King concerning such Clippers and Forgers of Money as should come within their knowledge^t.

^p Rolls of Parl. vol. I. p. 293.

^q Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. I. p. 294, and Cl. 12 E. II. m. 14. dors. Other attempts to enforce the Proclamation of the 19th of Edward I. had been previously made in 1315 and 1317. See Cl. 8 E. II. m. 7. dors, and Cl. 10 E. II. m. 16. dors.

^r Cl. 13 E. II. m. 2.

^s Pat. 14 E. II. pt. 1. m. 19.

^t Statute 18 E. II.

In the following year, 1326, Horses, Arms, and Gold or Silver in Bullion or in Coin, were forbidden to be carried out of the Realm ^u.

About the same time the King informed the Barons of the Exchequer, that, for the benefit of himself and of the people of his Duchy of Aquitain, he had commanded a certain new Money to be coined for the use of that Duchy; which Money had seventeen Pence, of the weight of Sterlings, more of Alloy than the Pound of his Sterling Money. He therefore commanded the Barons to cause to be made, without delay, two Standards for that Money. That is to say, one of the just weight before the fire, and the other such as it ought to be after the assay; both to be kept in the King's Treasury; and two of the same to be delivered to Lapine Roger, the King's Master of the Mint. According to these he was to make such new Money in the said Mint, of the alloy and weight aforesaid, of the King's Silver in the Tower of London, or any other of the King's Silver which might be brought to that place ^w.

In some period of this King's reign, or possibly in that of either his Father or Grandfather (for the date is uncertain), it was proclaimed, that, whereas it had been provided, in the times of former Kings, on account of the poor, that the Sterling, whenever necessity required, should be divided into Halfpennies and Farthings; the King strictly commanded that whoever, whether in buying or selling, should presume to refuse any Halfpenny or Farthing of lawful metal and of the proper form, should be seized as a contemner of the King's Majesty, and thrust into prison, and also suffer the punishment of the Pillory ^x.

The style which this Monarch used upon his Coins differs from that of Edward I. merely in the manner in which the name is written, which, if Mr. Bartlet's rule of appropriation be correct, is either EDWA or EDWAR. In every other respect his English Money is exactly similar to that of his Father; as is also his style upon the Great Seal.

His Irish Coins are supposed by Simon to be distinguished only by two dots under the bust.

^u Cl. 19 E. II. m. 13. dors.

^w Cl. 20 E. II. m. 13.

^x De dimissione (seu divisione) denariorum. Ruffhead's Statutes at Large, by Runnington, Appendix, p. 31. Taken from Tottell's Magna Charta.

His Anglo-Gallic Money cannot be known from his Father's.

According to the above rule he had Mints at

VILLA	BEREVVICI.	CIVITAS	EBORACI.
	BERVICI.		EBORAC.
VILLA	BRISTOLLIE.	CIVITAS	EXONIE.
CIVITAS	CANTOR.	VILL.	KYNGESTON.
CIVITAS	CESTRIE.	CIVITAS	LINCOL.
CIVITAS	DVBLINIE.	CIVITAS	LONDON.
CIVITAS	DVNELM.	VIL.	NOVICASTRI.
	DVNELME.	VIL.	SCI EDMVNDI.
	DVREME.	CIVITAS	WATERFOR.

One of his Halfpennies has NOVICASTRI without VIL.

His weak and inglorious reign was terminated by his murder in January 1326-7.

EDWARD III.

The murder of Edward II., which was committed by Queen Isabel and her confederates, seated his Son on the throne, when he was yet but a boy. This atrocious deed appears to have been perpetrated under the idea that his mother's influence over him would, on account of his youth, place in her hands the entire government of the realm. But short indeed was her enjoyment of that power to which she had waded through her husband's blood; for in less than three years after the accession of her son, she was imprisoned by him, and condign punishment was inflicted upon her adherents. After this act of justice the youthful Monarch first disavowed the excesses and abuses which had disgraced the beginning of his reign, as having been committed without his authority; and then applied himself with diligence to correct and prevent them for the future.

Amongst these abuses were the corruption of the lawful Coins, and the introduction of base Money^y by foreigners, which had grown to a great

^y In his first year the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer were directed to make strict inquiry after counterfeit and light Money, which, according to information given to the King, was brought into the Realm by divers persons, as well aliens as natives, and to seize the same for the King. Cl. 1. E. III. m. 14. This Writ is the only instrument on record relating to the Money, which was issued during the time that the Queen Mother retained her power.

height, from neglect in enforcing the Ordinances that were made by his Father and Grandfather.

1329. The first step which was taken for this purpose was an order, by Proclamation, that no Moneyer, or other Officer of the Mint, or Exchange, in London, should go abroad without the King's special license; and that whoever should do so should be arrested and imprisoned ^z.

1331. In his fifth year the state of the Money was brought before the Parliament, when it was agreed that the Chancellor and Treasurer, together with such of the King's Council as they should think proper to call to them, and others also of experience in Mint affairs, should ordain whatever they might think would tend to the advantage of the King and his subjects ^a. It was, I presume, by their advice that an Ordinance issued to prohibit the exportation of good Money on pain of death, and the forfeiture of goods, and of every thing which could be forfeited, to the King ^b. The severity of this Ordinance, which first denounced the punishment of death against that offence, was qualified by the Statute of Money passed at York A. D. 1335, in compliance with a Petition of the Commons, that no Money should be carried out of the Realm ^c.

The preamble to this Statute recited, that divers persons, beyond the sea, endeavoured to counterfeit the Sterling Money of England, and to send into the Realm their light Money, by which his Majesty was defrauded, and his subjects oppressed; it was therefore, with the assent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other great Men of the Realm, ordained and established, that from henceforth no religious man, nor other, should carry any Sterling, nor Silver in Plate, nor Vessel of Gold or Silver, out of the Kingdom, without license, upon pain of forfeiture of all such Sterling, &c.

^z Cl. 3 E. III. m. 9. dors.

^a Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 62.

^b Rot. Fin. 5 E. III. m. 19. It is observable that in a Proclamation against this offence, which was commanded to be made not more than two years after the date of this Ordinance, the penalty is only the forfeiture of the Money, &c. exported. Cl. 7 E. III. pt. 1. m. 27. dors. And this, notwithstanding a discovery then made that certain persons in Suffolk had taken bribes, from divers Scots and others, to connive at their carrying out of the kingdom Silver in money and in mass, &c. &c. Pat. 7 E. III. pt. 2. m. 20. d. Rymér, IV. 575.

^c This Petition, according to Prynne, was presented in 1334. Abridgement of Records, p. 15.

That no false Money, nor counterfeit Sterling, should be brought into the Realm, or elsewhere within the King's power, on pain of forfeiture. Provided always that all persons of every country might safely bring to the Exchanges, and to no place else, Bullion, Silver in Plate, Vessel of Silver, and all manner of Money of Silver, of what value soever it should be, except false Money and counterfeit Sterling, and there receive good and convenient exchange.

That no Sterling, Halfpenny nor Farthing^d, should be molten to make vessels, &c. by Goldsmiths or others, on forfeiture of the Money molten; and the persons offending to be committed to prison until they should pay to the King one half of what had been so molten^e, notwithstanding any Charter or Franchise granted, or used, to the contrary.

That all manner of Black Money^f which had been commonly current in the King's Realm, and Obeyaunce, should be utterly excluded; so as not to be current in one month after Proclamation, on pain of forfeiture of the same.

That every one who would sue, for the King, any offenders against that Ordinance, should be received thereto, and have the fourth Penny of what they should gain, at their suit, to the King's profit.

That the Mayors and Bailiffs, in every Port, should take an oath of the Merchants and Masters of Ships, going and coming again, to do nothing contrary to the provisions of the Statute.

That the Tables of Exchanges should be at Dover, and in other places^g, where and when it should please the King and Council to make exchanges. And that the Wardens of such Tables should make such exchanges by the testimony of Comptrollers, to be appointed by the King.

^d This Clause is recited in the 17th R. II. cap. 1, with the addition of Groats and Half Groats. Does not the omission of them here prove that no such Coins existed at the passing of this Statute?

^e This is obscurely expressed, for the whole is previously condemned to be forfeited. Can it mean that the offender should pay one half of the value of the Coins molten, in addition to the forfeiture?

^f Qu. Turonenses nigri? Copper Money struck at Tours.

^g London, Yarmouth, St. Botolph [*i. e.* St. Botolph's Town, now Boston], and Kingston-upon-Hull; and the custody of all the Exchanges was committed to William de la Pole, during pleasure. [Claus. 9 E. III. m. 8. d. Rymer, IV. p. 668.]

That no Pilgrim should pass out of the Realm, to parts beyond the seas, but only at Dover, on pain of a year's imprisonment.

That good and straight ward should be made in all places upon the sea coast, where any arrival was, by good men and lawful thereto sworn, who should make diligent search that no man, of what estate soever he might be, should carry out of the Realm Sterling Money, Silver in Plate, or Vessel of Gold or Silver, without the King's license, nor bring into the same any false Money and counterfeit Sterling, upon the forfeiture aforesaid. The Money, &c. so forfeited to be delivered into the Exchange by Indenture; whereof one part to remain with the Searchers, to be delivered at the Exchequer, and the Warden of the Exchange to be charged with what he received. The Searchers to have the fourth Penny of all forfeitures by them discovered; and if they should make any release, or dispense with any, and be thereof attainted, they should forfeit all their goods.

That the Hostellers, in every Port where there was any passage, should be sworn to search their guests, in the same manner as the Searchers, and they in like manner to have the fourth Penny of all forfeitures that they should find.

That the Searchers should have power to search the Hostries, and to inquire into the conduct of the Hostellers, who, if they were found defective in any of the articles aforesaid, were to incur the forfeitures above-mentioned. These Articles were directed to the Sheriffs, who were commanded, immediately upon sight thereof, to make Proclamation of them in all places where it should seem to them convenient to be done^h.

In the same Parliament, which passed this Statute, it was determined that Halfpennies and Farthings should be coined. Accordingly a Writ was issued to John de Wyndesore, Warden of the Mints of London and Canterbury, to that effect. By it he was commanded to make the Pound of Mailles [*i. e.* Halfpennies] into twenty-one Shillings, and the Farthings into twenty-one Shillings and two Pence. The whole was to be of ten Ounces fine; which is explained to mean sixteen Shillings and eight Pence; and the remainder, or three Shillings and four Pence, of alloy. This Writ was to be a sufficient Warrant for him, and for the Master of the Mint.

^h Statute 9 E. III. Ed. folio 1577, bl. let. A great part of this Statute is not printed in the modern editions of the Statutes at Large.

About this time a curious kind of fraud was devised by Salamon de Ripple, a Monk of the Abbey of St. Augustin in Canterbury, and Receiver of the Tenth and Fifteenth in that Diocese, as Deputy for the Abbat. He framed a Balance which he called a Pennypise, and having selected twenty Shillings in old and heavy Pennies, he weighed against them the Money which he received; by which means they who thought to pay only twenty Shillings were forced to pay five Shillings more, or three Shillings and four Pence at the least. At length a complaint from the whole Diocese was laid before the Council, and the King gave orders for proper inquiry to be made; in consequence of which the Abbat was fined eighty Pounds, for the offence committed by his Deputy, and was obliged to refund what had been unjustly taken, although it was done without his knowledgeⁱ.

The Ordinances of the Statute of York were recited, and a form of an oath prescribed for the Searchers, who were required to swear to make their searches without favour or affection, and to return a just and true account; and divers persons were appointed for the nomination of Searchers^k.

1336. Notwithstanding these regulations the scarcity of Money still continued, and was (according to Knyghton), together with the great plenty of provisions, the cause that a quarter of wheat was sold in London for two Shillings, and a fat Ox for six Shillings and eight Pence in the year 1336^l.

At this time another Writ was directed to John de Wyndesore, Warden of the Mint of London, which recited, that in the Parliament holden at York, in the year immediately preceding, it was considered and agreed, by

ⁱ Thorn. col. 2067.

^k Fin. 9 E. III. m. 10. This Writ seems to possess all the essentials of a Statute, though it was never promulgated as such. See Cl. 10 E. III. m. 19. dors. It is called a Statute in a subsequent Writ. Cl. 10 E. III. m. 29. dors.

^l Holinshed assigns a somewhat different reason for the cheapness of commodities about this time, and accounts thus for the scarcity of Money: — "The King being returned home out of Scotland, sought by all ways possible how to recover Money, both to supply his charges for the Scottish wars, and also to furnish the other wars which he meant to take in hand against the French King; he got so much into his hands (as it is reported by Writers) that it was very scant, and hard to come by throughout the whole realm: by reason of which scarcity and want of Money, or upon some other necessary cause, victuals, and other chaffer and merchandize, were exceeding cheap." Vol. II. p. 352, under the year 1337.

the King, with the consent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and Commons of the Realm there present, and the advice of the Council, for the advantage and relief of the People, that Halfpennies and Farthings should be made in the Mint aforesaid, according to a form agreed upon in the said Parliament, and transmitted to the said Warden, who by Letters Patent was commanded to make the said Halfpennies and Farthings in form as aforesaid. It then directed, that he should make inquiry respecting the reasonableness of a Petition which the Workmen had presented for an increase of wages, on account of the additional expense which was incurred in making those small Monies, occasioned chiefly by the increase of the alloy, and to report accordingly to the King in Chancery ^m. It is probable that the prayer of the Workmen was complied with, as the report was favourable ⁿ.

The Statute made at York was again enforced by Proclamation ^o; and the Halfpence and Farthings which had been coined by John de Wyndesore, by virtue of the King's Letters Patent, in conformity to that Statute, were commanded to be taken by all persons ^p.

Small Money, of the same kind, was also ordered to be made for Ireland; and John de Wyndesore was commanded, by Writ, to prepare twelve pairs of Dies for Halfpennies and Farthings for the Mint in Dublin, to be delivered to John Elleker, Treasurer, who was directed to receive the same ^q. These Coins were of the same standard as those of England ^r.

In November A. D. 1337, according to Grafton, the King was made Vicar General and Lieutenant to the Emperor, with power to coin Money of Gold and Silver. He kept his Winter at the Castle of Louvain, and caused great sums of Money, both of Gold and Silver, to be coined at Antwerp ^s.

^m Cl. 10 E. III. m. 19. dors.

ⁿ *Informatio super augmentationem mercedis Monetariorum.* Bundel. in Turr. Lond. See a more full account in the Constitution of the Mint, under this year.

^o Pat. 10 E. III. pt. 1. m. 4. dors.

^p Cl. 10 E. III. m. 29. dors.

^q Cl. 10 E. III. m. 28.

^r Fin. 10 E. III. m. 15.

^s *Chronicle sub anno.* Froissart also mentions this fact. The Silver Coins were probably struck with English Dies, and consequently are not now to be distinguished.

It should seem that the Statute of York was but little regarded, for in the 12th year of this reign, 1338, various instances are on record of Proclamations to enforce the observance of it ^t.

1339. A certain Black Money called Turneys was, about this time, made by certain persons in Ireland, who circulated it to the injury of the King's Sterling Money, and to his no little loss and prejudice. Proclamation had therefore been ordered to be made to prohibit the circulation of it, on pain of forfeiture of money and goods. But the King having been informed that great inconvenience had arisen from this prohibition, on account of the scarcity of Sterling Money, it was therefore commanded that, provided it should be found, on due inquiry, more advantageous to the publick to allow the currency of the said Black Money, proclamation should be made to authorize it, until a sufficient quantity of other Money was provided ^u.

A Writ of this year, directed to John de Flete, Warden of the Exchange of London, recited that orders had been given for the making Pennies of Sterlings, Halfpennies and Farthings in the Mint in Ireland at Dublin; and that he had been commanded to deliver without delay, at the Exchange in London, to the Attorney of Master John Rees, Treasurer of Ireland, eight pair of Dies for Pennies, and the like number for Halfpennies and Farthings. If they were not already delivered, notice was given to him that he might receive them at the Chancery on the Thursday next following, when he was to deliver them to the said Attorney. The expenses of making and cutting these Dies were to be charged and allowed in his account ^w.

All the before-recited provisions, for increasing the quantity of Money, seem to have produced little or no effect; for in the Remembrances of the Parliament which met at Westminster in this year, the want of Coins was complained of, and the means of their increase were taken into consideration.

In the first place, it was supposed that there would soon be plenty of Money if every Merchant should give security to bring into the Realm Silver Bullion to the amount of forty Shillings, or more, for every Sack of Wool that he should export.

^t Cl. 12 E. III. pt. 1. m. 2. dors, and m. 10. dors, and Fin. 12 E. III. m. 1.

^u Cl. 13 E. III. pt. 2. m. 35. dors. Rymer, vol. V. p. 113.

^w Cl. 13 E. III. pt. 1. m. 41. dors. Rymer, vol. V. p. 104.

Secondly, it was considered, whether it might not be advantageous to permit Florins de Escu, and Florins of Florence, and other good Florins, to be current together with the Esterlings, according to their value; and that all persons should receive them for their merchandize, except the meaner sort of people, and those who sold small wares under the value of forty Shillings, who should not be compellable to take any other Money than Esterlings^x.

At this time Edward assumed the title of King of France, and quartered the Arms upon his Great Seal, omitting the title of Duke of Aquitain^y. This, according to Froissart, was done to quiet the consciences of the Flemings, who were willing to assist him in his wars against France, but who were bound by oath, under a penalty of two millions of Florins, and the pain of excommunication, not to act offensively against the King of France in any way. They therefore urged him to assume that title, which they promised to acknowledge, and he was to give them quittance for the above sum^z.

In the Remembrances of Parliament in the following year, 1340, this memorandum occurs — Item, concerning the Money, to consult the Commons of the Realm^a.

It was, probably, in consequence of their representations that the following provision was enacted in that Parliament. It was ordained that every person who should ship Wool over the sea, whether Englishman or other, resident,

^x Rolls of Parl. vol. II. p. 105. The first of these considerations was proceeded upon in the next Parliament; the latter plan appears not to have been adopted.

^y Sandford, p. 160. His title was thus inscribed upon his Great Seal — Edwardus Dei gracia Rex Francie & Anglie, & Dominus Hibernie.

Impressions of this Seal were sent to all the Sheriffs, with orders to exhibit and proclaim them in their respective districts. [Rolls of Parl. vol. II. p. 450.]

This assumption of the Title and Arms of France was publickly announced by a Writ dated April 16, 1340, which is printed as a Statute of his 14th year.

Harding says, “He chaunged his armes, in banners and pennons,
And in his seale, quartred of both regions.
And in the yere, then of his reygne thyrtene,
His armes chaunged, and called kyng of Fraunce.”

[Chronicle, folio 181.]

^z Chronicle, vol. I. p. 110.

^a Rolls of Parl. vol. II. p. 113.

inhabiting, or repairing in England, should find good and sufficient security to the Customers, before his passing, to bring again, for every Sack of Wool, Plate of Silver^b to the value of two Marks, at his first return or repairing; and to bring the same to the King's Exchange, and there to receive his Money. This Statute was to be in force from the Feast of Easter, in that year, to the Feast of Pentecost in the year next following^c; before which period another Statute was made, by which the stipulations contained in this Chapter, respecting the bringing of Plate to the Exchange, were regulated and enforced^d.

In the next year, 1341, the Mayor and Bailiffs of Dover were ordered to make Proclamation for the better observance of the Statute of York respecting Black Money^e. As this Writ is directed to the persons in authority at that Port only, it is to be presumed that some extraordinary importation of base Coins had been effected there about this time.

Attempts to export the good Money also continued to be made, and a large mass of treasure (consisting of Sterlings, Florins, Silver in Plate, Gold and Silver Vessels, and Jewels) was collected in the City of London with that intention. A Writ was, in consequence, directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs, commanding them to make diligent search for the same, as well within the city as in every ship, and to seize and keep it in safe custody^f.

In order to accommodate the Merchants of the Staple of Bruges in Flanders, it was ordered that, if they should bring plate of Silver to the King's Mints to be coined, the Mints of London and Canterbury should be prepared to receive and coin the same, that they might be more readily dispatched^g.

The fifth Chapter of a Statute which was made in this year contained an attempt to suppress the crime of Usury, by ordaining that the King and his heirs should have the cognisance of Usurers dead; and that the Ordinaries of Holy Church should have the cognisance of them during

^b Knyghton says Plate of Silver or Gold, col. 2576.

^c Stat. 14 E. III. cap. 21, Edition 1577.

^d Stat. 14 E. III. Appendix to Ruffhead's Statutes, by Runnington, p. 34.

^e Cl. 15 E. III. m. 44 dors.

^f Cl. 15 E. III. pt. 1. m. 43. dors.

^g Pat. 15 E. III. pt. 2. m. 15. Rymer, vol. V. p. 273.

life, as to them appertained, to make compulsion, by the censures of Holy Church for the sin, to make restitution of the usury taken against the laws of Holy Church^h.

Certain parts of this Statute were almost immediately annulled by a revocation, which is so extremely curious, that I have given it at length belowⁱ.

1342. In the next year the Statute of York was enforced again by Proclamation^k; and notice was given that divers merchants strangers had collected a large sum of good Sterlings of England in the town of Boston and elsewhere, in order to export the same. It was therefore commanded that a Serjeant at Arms should arrest all merchants passing from the Port of Boston into

^h Stat. 15 E. III. Statute I. cap. 5.

ⁱ "Edward, by the Grace of God, &c. to the Sheriff of Lincoln, greeting: Whereas at our Parliament summoned at Westminster, in the quinzime of Easter last past, certain articles expressly contrary to the laws and customs of our realm of England, and to our prerogatives and rights royal, were pretended to be granted by us by the manner of a Statute; we, considering how that, by the bond of our oath, we be bound to the observance and defence of such laws, customs, rights, and prerogatives, and providently willing to revoke such things to their due state which be so improvidently done, upon conference and consideration with the Earls, Barons, and other learned men of our said Realm, and because we never consented to the making of the said pretended Statute, but, as then it behoved us, we dissembled in the premises, by protestations of revocation of the said Statute, if indeed it should proceed, to eschew the dangers which, by the denying of the same, we feared to come; forasmuch as the said Parliament otherwise had been, without dispatching any business, in discord dissolved, and so our important affairs would have been ruined, which God forbid; and therefore we suffered that pretended Statute to be sealed. In that case, it seemed to the said Earls, Barons, and other learned men, that, since the Statute did not proceed of our free will, it should be void, and that it ought not to have either the name or the force of a Statute; and therefore, by their counsel and assent, we have decreed the said Statute to be void, and, as far as it has proceeded, in fact to be annulled; being willing, nevertheless, that those Articles in the said pretended Statute, which have formerly been approved by other Statutes made by us, or by our progenitors Kings of England, should be observed, as it is fitting, according to the form of the said Statutes. And this we do only as we are bound to the preservation and renewal of the rights of our crown, and not that we should in any way oppress or grieve our subjects, whom we desire to govern with clemency. We therefore command you to make publick proclamation of all these things within your Bailiwick, wherever it shall seem expedient to you. T. R. at Westminster, Oct. 1, the fifteenth year of our reign." [Runnington's edition of Ruffhead's Statutes at Large.]

^k Pat. 16 E. III. pt. 3. m. 10. dors.

foreign parts, and also all ships in the said Port, and the money therein found¹.

From the intercourse which now subsisted between France and the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Sark, and Alderney, so much light money had been introduced into those islands, that the currency was reduced below half its value, and it became necessary to order the Receivers of the King's rents there to take good money only^m.

A considerable trade appears to have been at this time carried on with light money, large quantities of corn and other victuals being purchased therewith, and then exported. In order to stop this practice, it was commanded that all persons should pay for such corn and victuals with *gold* money, according to the rate of the value of good Sterlingⁿ.

It seems, from two Writs which bear date on the 10th and 15th of March in this year, that the Duke of Brittany, at some period prior to that date, was indebted to the King £.1000 Sterling, which was to be paid in any Money current in Brittany, or, if there should not be a sufficiency of money, the remainder to be supplied by Silver Bullion, for the coining of which the King had power to send his Moneyers into Brittany; with a proviso, however, that this Coinage should not in any way be to the prejudice of the Duke or Duchess of Brittany, or any of their subjects; and that the King should not coin any money there, after the said sum of one thousand pounds was paid, without the leave of the said Duke and Duchess, or of Almaric de Cluzon, the Duke's guardian^o. It does not appear whether this power was ever exerted. Most probably the debt was liquidated in such a manner as to make it unnecessary. I believe that no Coins struck by this Monarch in Brittany have ever been discovered.

1343. The provisions respecting the King's rents in the islands of Guernsey, &c. which were issued in 1342, were in this year, 1343, repeated^p.

In the Parliament which was held at Westminster in that year, the state of the Coins was taken into consideration by the Prelates, Lords, and Commons, together with certain Merchants, Goldsmiths, and Moneyers, who

¹ Pat. 16 E. III. pt. 3. m. 11 dors.

^m Cl. 16 E. III. pt. 1. m. 27.

ⁿ Cl. 16 E. III. pt. 2. m. 20.

^o Franc. 16 E. III. m. 44. Rymer, vol. V. p. 302.

^p Cl. 17 E. III. pt. 2. m. 27.

were charged to give their advice how to prevent the good Money from being carried out, and the false from being brought into the Realm, and how good Money might be increased, and the counterfeit expelled and destroyed.

After mature examination, it was consented and agreed by the Council (in order to increase and multiply the Money, of which there was great want in the kingdom at that time, and to remedy the damage and loss which all orders of persons in the Realm had for a long time sustained on account of the Florins, which were delivered in payment in Flanders, bearing so high a value there as to occasion a loss of one third, or more, upon all merchandize imported from thence into England), that a certain number of Goldsmiths, and others skilled in the melting of metals, being the most lawful and sufficient men that could be found, should be ordered to come before the Council; that, by their advice, one or two of each kind of Florin should be refined, and the fine Gold contained in them to be rated according to the true value of the same; that of this fine Gold, one kind of Money should be made in England and in Flanders, provided the Flenings were willing, which should be current in both those countries at such weight, alloy, and value, as should be appointed by the King and his Council; and that all other Money of Gold should be prohibited in England and in Flanders, and should from that time be brought to the Exchanges, in both countries, as Bullion:

That all Merchants, and others whatsoever, should receive at the Exchange other sufficient Money, according to the value of the fine Gold:

That the said Gold Money to be made in England should be current between Merchant and Merchant, as Money not to be refused, and between all others, whether great or small, who should be willing to receive the same, so that, nevertheless, no Silver should be carried out of the Realm, neither in Money nor otherwise; except that the Nobles, when they should go beyond sea, might have vessels of Silver for the use of their houses^q.

Those resolutions respecting the Gold Coins were not, however, carried into effect until the following year; but a Statute relating to the Silver Money, evidently founded upon them, was passed in this Parliament. It contains the following provisions:

^q Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 137.

Item, it is accorded to make Money of good Sterling in England, of the weight and alloy of the antient Sterling, which shall be current in England between the great men and the commons of the land, and which shall not be carried out of the Realm of England in any manner, nor for any cause whatsoever.

And in case that the Flemings will make good Money of Silver, Groats or others, according to the alloy of good Sterling, that such Money shall be current in England between Merchant and Merchant, and others who of their own accord will receive the same; so that no Silver be carried out of the Realm.

Item, that good and lawful men be assigned in the sea ports, and elsewhere where need shall be, to make search that no Silver be carried out of the Realm in Money or otherwise (except that the great men may, when they go out of the Realm, have Silver vessels to serve their houses); and that none be so hardy as to bring false and ill money into the Realm, upon pain of forfeiture of life and member; and that exchanges shall be made with them who shall pass the sea, of Gold for their good Sterling, to the value.

Item, that the Searchers (because they may do their offices more diligently and more lawfully) shall have the third part of all the false money that they can find to be brought into the Realm for their own benefit: and, in the same manner, they shall have the third part of the good Money which they shall find upon the sea passing out of the Realm. And in case they shall be found negligent or disobedient in making such searches, that their lands and tenements, goods and chattels, shall be seized into the King's hands, and their bodies taken and detained, until they have made fine to the King for their disobedience. And in case they shall be assenting to the bringing in of such false Money, or wittingly shall suffer Silver or Money (except vessels of Silver for the great men when they go out of the kingdom, to serve in their houses, as before is said) to be transported out of the Realm, they shall have judgement of life and member^r.

During the conference which produced this Statute, the Commons advised that, in order to increase the Money, every person who exported wool should

^r Statute 17 E. III.

for every sack bring in plate to the weight of two Marks, according to the Statute made aforetime; also for skins exported to the value of a sack of wool, plate to the same amount; and the like for all customable merchandize of the same value exported.

That indentures should be made between the customers and the merchants exporting such merchandizes, or their deputies, by which indentures they should be charged upon their return; and then such plate should be carried to the Mint, there to be exchanged for good Sterlings and Halfpennies, according to the value.

That the Mint should be open as it was wont to be.

That no one should carry out of the Realm Esterling, nor vessel of Silver, nor Silver plate.

That merchants aliens, who should come with their merchandizes into England, should receive Gold^s in payment, or merchandize for merchandize.

That strict inquiry and search should be made in every port for those who brought in false Money, and that the offenders should be severely punished^t.

In this Parliament a grievous complaint was exhibited by the Earls, Barons, Knights, Burgesses, and other of the Commons, for that strangers, by virtue of reservations and provisions apostolick, got the best benefices of the land into their hands, and never came at them, nor bare any charges due for the same; but diminishing the treasure of the Realm, and conveying it forth, sore endamaged the whole state. Hereupon a letter was framed by the Lords of the Temporalty and Commons, representing the matter to the Pope, and signifying that they could not suffer such enormities any longer, and beseeching him to revoke such reservations, &c. Dated, in full Parliament at Westminster, May 28, 1343. This was most ungraciously received; and "the Pope sent answer indeed; but nevertheless the King proceeded in prohibiting such provisions, &c. within his realm, on pain of imprisonment, and death to the intruders."^u

Such is Holinshed's statement. But I know not on what authority it is

^s As so strong a provision is made against the exportation of the Sterling Money, it is evident that the Gold here mentioned could not be the Coinage of England.

^t Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 138.

^u Holinshed, vol. II. p. 365.

founded, for no law to that effect is to be found until seven years after this time, when the Statute of Provisors of Benefices was made.

The new Halfpennies at this time current appear not to have been of the same fineness, nor of the same proportional weight, as the Sterlings were; for in this year the Commons petitioned that the Sheriffs, and other officers of the King, should receive for the debts due to him Halfpennies as well as Sterlings; and that all the great men, and others of the Realm, should receive Halfpennies for the debts, rents, and services, then due, from the time that it was ordained by the King and Council that the new Halfpennies should be current; that the Halfpenny should be of the same weight [*proportional* must be understood] as the Esterling, and of as good Silver, or to be wholly put down; and that the good Esterling should be current in the Realm, and be established above all other.

The King evaded a positive answer to this Petition, and replied that the good Money should be current, until the contrary should be commanded^w.

From 1257 [the 41st of Henry III.] to the beginning of the year 1343, a period of little less than ninety years, no notices of any Coinage of Gold have occurred, nor have any Coins been hitherto discovered, although three specimens of the Coinage of 1257 are known to exist.

Camden conjectures that ignorance was the cause which so long prevented our Monarchs from coining Gold^x; but it is difficult to understand what kind of ignorance was intended by him. It could not be ignorance of the mode of impressing a stamp on Gold, for it is at least as easy to be worked as Silver is; it could not be ignorance of the art of refining Gold, because that had been practised for ages in this country; it could not be ignorance of the proper proportion to be established between that metal and Silver, for Bezants had been current here from a very early period, and Gold had been generally coined in the other States of Europe some years prior to the accession of Edward. It is also improbable that the art of coining Gold, and the true mode of proportioning the two precious metals, should have been forgotten in the Mint, in the space of about ninety years, the time which had elapsed since the Coinage of Gold by King Henry III.

^w Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 143.

^x Remains; Article, Money, p. 241. If the account given by Grafton and Froissart, under the year 1337, be correct, Edward then coined Gold at Antwerp.

But the true reason seems to be, that Coins of Gold were not wanted, when the price of the necessary articles of life was completely within the reach of Money of an inferior metal. And in confirmation of this it may be observed, that the Gold Money which was struck in the early part of this reign, is nearly as fresh as it was on its first issuing from the Mint; from whence we may reasonably infer that its circulation was extremely limited.

But whatever the causes might be which prevented the coining of Gold Money for so long a period, it is certain that a Coinage of that metal took place, or at least was intended, in the 17th year of this reign, for an Indenture of that date is upon record.

It was made between the King and George Kirkyn, and Lotte Nicholyn of Florence, Masters and Workers, Hugh de Brandon, Robert de Shordich, John de Coppesfield, John de Hyngeston, Adam de Walpole, and Richard de Grymesby, Changers of the Money. By virtue of this Indenture, three Monies of Gold were to be made; one to be current at six Shillings, and to be equal in weight to two Petit Florins of Florence, of good weight. Fifty pieces of these to be made out of the pound Tower of London. The Half and Quarter in proportion. All these to be of fine Gold [by which is meant twenty-three carats three grains and a half fine Gold, and half a grain alloy], making fifteen pounds sterling in each pound.

Of this the Master was to take three shillings and sixpence of each pound, and the Merchant^y was to have the remainder, amounting to thirteen pounds sixteen shillings and sixpence; that is, after one pound by weight had been deducted for the King's seignorage.

The remedy was one mite of a carat^z.

There were also to be made Sterlings of the old alloy of Sterling, out of every pound of which the Master was to take nine pence, and the remainder be given to the Merchant.

The remedy for the Silver was two pennyweights in weight, and the same in alloy.

^y That is, the Merchant who brought the Bullion to the Mint.

^z A Mite, in Moneyer's weight, is the twentieth part of a Grain. The words in the Record are, un Mytisme de Carate.

It was also agreed that, out of every five pounds of Gold, one piece should be taken for the Assay; and from every pound of Silver, one Penny or more, for the same purpose, in manner accustomed^a.

It is uncertain whether the Coinage of Gold took place by virtue of this Indenture, or whether it was not deferred until the following year, 1344, when a new Indenture for the making of Gold and Silver Coins, precisely upon the same conditions as are contained in this, was made between the King and Walter Dunflower, then Master and Worker^b.

The type of the Obverse of these Coins was previously described in a Proclamation which was issued upon the 27th of January, in the year 1343. It stated that the King, the Prelates, and other Nobles, had agreed that three sorts of Gold Money should be made in the Tower of London; that is, one Coin with two Leopards^c, each piece to be current for six shillings, and to

^a Claus. 17 E. III. pt. 2. m. 4. dors. In the next year the Masters and Workers, whose names are recited in this Indenture, were commanded to deliver all things belonging to their office to Percivall de Porche de Luca. [Claus. 18 E. III. pt. 1. m. 4.] They were re-appointed in the year but one following. [Cl. 20 E. III. pt. 2. m. 22.]

^b Pat. 18 E. III. pt. 1. m. 27. It is extraordinary that the date of a circumstance so strikingly impressive as the issuing of a Gold Coinage must have been, should be involved in any uncertainty; our old Chroniclers, however, vary materially from the truth in their accounts. Caxton says that, in his 14th year, King Edward commanded his Coin of Gold to be made forthwith the best that might be, that is for to say, the Floreyne that was called the Noble, price of six shillings eight pence of Sterlings [Sig. W. 1.]; Fabian, that, in the same year, he changed his Coin, and made the Noble and the Half Noble of the value of six shillings, eight pence, nine pence, or ten pence [vol. II. p. 207]; Grafton, that, in 1339, he caused a new Coin of Gold to be coined, called the Noble, of the value of six shillings, eight pence, or nine pence, &c.; and that, in 1343, he made a new Coin of Gold, and named it the Floreyn, that is to say, the Penny of the value of six shillings eight pence, &c. which Coin was specially ordained for his war in France; for the Gold thereof was not so fine as the Noble, which as before, in the 14th year of his reign, he caused to be coined.

Holinshed likewise speaks of the superior fineness of the Noble, which was coined in his 14th year, over the Florins of 1344, the value of which he fixes at six shillings and eight pence. [Sub anno 1344.]

Stow makes the same mistake as to the value, but fixes the Coinage in the year 1342. [Annals, p. 229, quoted by Leake, p. 102.]

^c These, though called Leopards, were really Lions; for, "a Lion passant and full faced, and showing both his eyes (which the English call guardant) is called a Leopard by the French, and

be of equal weight with two Petit Florins of Florence of full weight. Another piece of one Leopard, and another piece of one Helm, being respectively the half and quarter of the larger Coin, and of proportional value. These Coins to be current throughout the realm of England, and all persons, whether natives or strangers, to receive them in all manner of payments, on peril garpent^d.

From these descriptions, it appears that Edward, although he adopted the name by which the greater part of the Gold then in circulation was distinguished, yet did not servilely copy the Coinage of other Sovereigns. The type, instead of the Lily, from which the term Florin originated, presented upon the largest of his Coins an impression allusive to the royal Arms of England^e, whilst the half bore a mantle, on which his shield was displayed, quartering the Arms of France and England, and the smallest piece was stamped with his Crest. The weight was also superior to that of any other Florin. The fineness was of the Standard of the Florins of Florence^f.

all other nations. When he shows but the half of his face, and only one eye, he is then called Leopard Lionee; Leopard, because not erected on his hinder feet, which is the proper position of a Lion in Armories; Lionee, because his head is in profile, showing but the half of his face, which all Lions properly do, being erected on their hinder feet, and their heads in profile. But if erected, and full faced, he is called a Lion Leopard, his head being after the position of that of a Leopard, and his body after the position of that of a Lion." [Nisbet's Essay on the antient and modern use of Armories, p. 162.]

That they were really Lions, will, I think, appear from the following considerations: It will hardly be doubted that they were placed on the Coins in allusion to the Royal Arms, when it is considered that the quarter Florin bears the Crest of Edward III. as represented on his Great Seal. [See Sandford, p. 124.] And that the charges were originally Lions is evident from the shaggy manes and bushy tails with which they are represented on the Great Seals of our early Monarchs, and by which they are sufficiently distinguished from all animals of the Leopard kind.

^d Cl. 18 E. III. pt. 1. m. 18 dors. I am unable to ascertain the meaning of the term garpent, which does not occur in any Glossary. Guerpine comes the nearest to it, and is explained by Abandonnement, which, according to Cotgrave, signifies outlawry. Guerpine, in Du Fresne, is, possessionem rei alicujus dimittere; and, therefore, Garpent, if it be equivalent, may possibly mean forfeiture.

^e Two Lions were the original charge; the third was added by King Henry II. See Sandford, p. 59.

^f See Notices of Trials of the Pix, under the year 1349.

It was, however, soon discovered that this Money was rated too high, that is, was overvalued in proportion to the Silver Coins then current, and it was on that account generally refused. For this reason, it was ordered by a Proclamation, dated on the 9th of July in the same year, to be taken in payment only with the consent of those to whom it might be offered^g. And by a subsequent Proclamation, on the 20th of August immediately following, it was declared to be no longer current, without the consent of the receiver, but was to be considered as Bullion, and taken according to its value as such^h.

It is probable that these Coins were generally brought into the Mint and re-coined, for a new kind of Gold Money was made in the same year by virtue of an Indenture between the King and Percivall de Porche, then Master of the Mint. The conditions of that instrument were, that the Pound weight Tower of Gold of the old Standard should be coined into thirty-nine Nobles and an half, at six Shillings and eight Pence each (amounting in the whole to thirteen Pounds three Shillings and four Pence by Tale), or a proportionable number of Half and Quarter Nobles. The Silver Coins were likewise covenanted to be of the old Sterling, and at the rate of twenty-two Shillings and two Pence by Tale in the Pound Tower. It was also provided that the Money should be publicly assayed, in the presence of the King's Council, before it was delivered to the Merchantⁱ. By this Indenture the King appointed Guardians of his Mints, in every place where Money was made, to guard and survey it, and who at the request of the Master were to make the Assay^j.

The new Money was made current by a Proclamation, which stated that it was coined by the advice of the King's Council for the benefit of the whole Realm, and that the Coins were to be called Nobles, Maille Nobles, and Ferling Nobles. And it was forbidden by the same Proclamation to carry out of the Kingdom Money either of Gold or Silver, or other Money of Gold or Silver, except the new Money of Gold, under penalty of forfeiture of the

^g Rymer, vol. V. p. 416.

^h Claus. 18 E. III. pt. 2. m. 18. dors. Rymer, vol. V. p. 424.

ⁱ Indenture, Lansdown's MSS. Catalogue No 745. It contains several of the provisions which appear in the Proclamation by which the currency of the Coins was established, but which are not printed in Lowndes's Report.

^j Cl. 18 E. III. pt. 2. m. 19. dors. See Notices of the Trial of the Pix.

same, and the body of the offender to be at the King's will, unless it were done by the King's special permission. It was also commanded that the good Money of England then current should continue to be so; and that no one should refuse the Money of Gold or Silver, at the rate prescribed in the Indenture, on the peril above-mentioned. That no one should receive or pay any Money of Gold or Silver of any Coin but the King's, on the same peril; and that one third part of the forfeiture should go to the informer.

In order to obviate the inconveniences which had arisen from the rate of Exchange being uncertain, it was ordained that for the change of Gold for Esterlins should be taken for the Noble one Penny less than half a Mark. For the Maile d'Or, one Halfpenny less than forty Pence, &c. And that whoever would buy the Noble of Gold, with Esterlins, should pay one Maill of Silver beyond the value.

To induce all persons to come to the King's Exchange, it was commanded that no one should exchange without the King's permission, on pain of losing the Money by him exchanged.

The new Coins of Gold were ordered to be current, and received in payment of sums of twenty Shillings and upwards, or of smaller sums by those who should be willing to take them^k.

They were also made current in Ireland, by Proclamation, in the same year^l.

At this period the Gold Coins of other Nations were denominated either from the place of Mintage, or from the devices impressed upon them; but these Coins seem to have derived their name from the noble nature of the metal of which they were composed.

It is indeed extraordinary that they were not rather entitled from the new and singular type of a Ship, with which they were impressed, and thus

^k Claus. 18 E. III. pt. 2. m. 23. dors. Rymer, vol. V. p. 416; and see Statute 18 E. III. chap. 6; in which it was provided, that no man should be compelled to take the new Money of Gold, which the King had ordained to go in payment at a certain price, within the sum of twenty Shillings; that Money of Gold and Silver should be made within the City of York, and elsewhere, as the King should ordain, in the same manner as it was made in the Tower of London; and that Exchanges should be appointed in the good Towns, according as it should seem best to the King, for the profit of him and his people; and that it should be ordained in a certainty what things should be given in exchange of every piece of Gold.

^l Claus. 18 E. III. pt. 1. m. 11.

remarkably distinguished from every other Coin at that time existing. This could have been adopted only for the purpose of commemorating some great and well-known event, which I conceive to have been the signal Victory that King Edward obtained over the French Fleet, off Sluys, on Midsummer-day in the year 1340, when two French Admirals and about 30,000 men were slain, and above 230 of their large ships were taken, with but inconsiderable loss on the part of the English ^m.

Selden is of opinion that these Coins were struck for the purpose of recording Edward's claim to the sovereignty of the Seas, which was supported by a Navy consisting of eleven hundred ships ⁿ. But the date which he assigns, from Walsingham, proves his opinion to be erroneous, for he states this event to have taken place in the year 1359, fifteen years, at the least, subsequent to the first issuing of these Coins.

It must be confessed, however, that his conjecture is not a novel one, but that it was adopted within a century of the time when this Money was coined, as appears from the following lines of an anonymous Versifier, who, according to Selden, wrote in the time of Henry VI.:

“For foure things our Noble sheweth to me —
King, Ship, and Swerd, and Power of the See.”

And in these lines he points out the time when Edward was supposed to have claimed this Power of the Sea:

“But King Edward made a siege royall,
And wanne the town, and in speciall
The Sea was kept, and thereof he was Lord;
Thus made he Nobles coined of Record.” ^o

The Town is by Selden pronounced to be Calais; but the date of that Siege can by no means be made to agree with this Coinage, as it did not commence until the year 1347 P.

^m See Carte, History of England, vol. II. p. 436. It seems highly probable that this victory suggested to Edward an idea of his superiority over every other maritime Power.

ⁿ Selden, *Mare Clausum*, Lib. II. cap. XXV.

^o Id.

^p As, however, no other siege is to be found, near to this time, which can with propriety be termed a Siege Royal, it is probable that Selden's appropriation is just, and that the Versifier overlooked the anachronism.

These Coins were so beautiful that various fabulous reports were framed respecting the material of which they were formed. Such reports continued in force even in the time of Camden, who says, "our Alchymists do affirm (as an unwritten verity) that the Gold was made by projection or multiplication Alchymical of Raymund Lully^q in the Tower of London, who would prove it as Alchymically, beside the tradition of the Rabbies in that faculty, by the inscription; for as upon one side there is the King's image in a Ship, to notify that he was Lord of the Seas, with his titles, so upon the reverse a cross fleury with Lioneux, inscribed, *JESUS AUTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIUM EORUM IBAT*^r; which they profoundly expound, as Jesus passed invisible and in most secret manner by the midst of the Pharisees, so that Gold was made by invisible and secret art amidst the ignorant. But others say, that the Text was the only Amulet used in that credulous age to escape dangers in battle."^s

It appears, from a passage in a contemporary Author, that these words were considered not only as a preservative from the perils of war, but also that they were supposed to answer an humbler purpose, that of defending men from the peril of thieves; and, surely, if we allow them to possess that power, a more proper inscription for a Coin could not have been easily chosen.

"And an half Myle fro Nazareth," says he, "is the Lepe of oure Lord: for the Jewes ladden him upon an highe Roche, for to make him lepe down, and have slayn him: but Jesus passed amonges hem, and lepte upon another Roche; and zit ben the Steppes of his feet sene in the Roche, where he allyghte. And therefore seyn men, whan thei dreden hem of Thefes, on ony weye, or of Enemyes; *Jesus autem transiens per medium illorū ibat*: that is to seyne, Jesus forsothe passynge be the myddes of hem, he wente: in

^q But Lully, by all the best accounts, died above twenty years before Edward began to coin Gold. [Tyrwhitt's Chaucer, vol. IV. p. 183.] According to Priestley's Chart he died about the year 1320; but in Blair's Chronological Tables that event is placed at an earlier period by five years.—He was a famous Alchymist, and pretended to have found out the art of making Gold; but happening to counterfeit the Coin of this Kingdom, he is said to have been banished by King Edward III. MS note of the late Mr. Oldys, Norroy. [Bibl. Topog. Britannica, No V. p. 10.]

^r Luke, chapter iv. verse 30.

^s Camden's Remains, p. 242, article Money.

tokene and mynde, that oure Lord passed thorghe out the Jewes crueltee, and scaped safly fro hem; so surely mowe men passen the perile of Thefes. And than sey men 2 Vers of the Psautre, 3 sithes: Irruat super eos formido & pavor, in magnitudine brachii tui, Domine. Fiant immobiles, quasi lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus, Domine; donec pertranseat populus tuus iste, quem possedisti. And thanne may men passe with outen perile." ^t

^t Sir John Maundevile's Travels, Svo, Lond. 1727, p. 137. He began his travels in 1320, and travelled 30 years. I had made the above extract some years before I had an opportunity to know that the learned Editor of the Canterbury Tales had quoted the former part of the passage for the same purpose. His concluding words are — "It must be owned that a spell against thieves was the most serviceable, if not the most elegant, inscription that could be put upon Gold Coin." [Introductory Discourse, § XXVIII. vol. IV. p. 181, note (31).]

Selden says, there are two reasons why these words, Jesus, &c. were made about our old Gold: the one is, because Riply the Alchymist, when he made Gold in the Tower, the first time he found it, spoke these words [per medium eorum]; that is, per medium ignis, & sulphuris. The other is, because these words were thought to be a Charm, and that they did bind whatsoever they were written upon, so that a man could not take it away. To this reason I rather incline. [Table Talk. Gold.] See Explanation of Gold Coins, Plate X. Num. 1.

Mr. Pegge, in a Memoir upon the first Noble of Edward III., is of opinion that the legend on the Reverse could not be intended for an Amulet or Charm, because it was ridiculous to suppose that it should be placed, as such, upon the publick Money of a great Kingdom. Whatever superstition of that kind might then prevail amongst the vulgar, such weakness, he thinks, could not be expected to proceed from the King's Ministers, or the Officers of the Mint. Besides, the words of holy Scripture upon our Coins are always used with a religious and never with a superstitious meaning.

He was likewise of opinion that it could not allude to any naval event, because the great victory in 1340 was too early in point of time, and that over the Corsairs in 1349 too late; but he supposed, that, as the two Kingdoms of England and France are expressed in the King's style on the Obverse, and in nature are only parted by a narrow strait or channel, the King in his ship was supposed to be passing that strait, and consequently not only assuming his dominion over the Sea, but also over the two Kingdoms; in which case Regnorum would be the substantive understood to illorum. The motto on the Quarter Noble, EXALTABITUR IN GLORIA, he thought appeared plainly to look the same way.

The objection, that this legend was continued during the time that Edward relinquished his title to France, he attempted to obviate by remarking that the Fleur de Lis were likewise continued in the Arms. [Archæologia, vol. III. p. 316.]

Had Mr. Pegge been aware that Edward III. himself was a believer in the power of Alchymy*, and that in the succeeding reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. the royal license was repeatedly

* See Introduction, under Supply of Bullion for the Mint.

On the 20th of July 1345 Proclamation was commanded to be made to the following purport:

That Conrad Royer, and his Company, Merchants of the East, had authority to hold publick Exchanges in the Cities of London, York, and Canterbury. That they were to give for the whole Noble, which was in value Half a Mark, six Shillings, six Pennies, and an Halfpenny; and for the Half and Quarter of the said Noble according to their proportion, as in the Indenture between the King and the Exchangers would more fully appear^u.

That no other Persons should hold Exchanges in the said Cities, their Suburbs, or the parts adjoining, unless by agreement with the said Conrad and his Company, or their Deputies.

That no Money but the King's should be current within the Realm, on forfeiture of the same, as well by him who should pay, as by him who should receive the same.

That the King's Money of Gold should be current within the Realm, and be received in all payments, the Noble at the value of Half a Mark, and the Half and Quarter in proportion.

That no one, of any estate or condition whatsoever, should sell, or buy, or make payment, or lend, or exchange, with any but the King's Coin, in any way contrary to the provisions contained in that Proclamation, on pain of forfeiture of the whole sum both by the payer and the receiver.

granted for practising the transmutation of metals, he would not have founded any part of his argument upon the supposed superior knowledge of the higher orders of men in the age he was treating of. And had he paid more attention to the ingenious conclusion of his friend Mr. Wise, that as the Quarter Florin and the Quarter Noble bore the same legend, it was probable that the inscriptions of the larger Coins were likewise the same* (which conclusion the discovery of the Half Florin has proved, so far, to be just), he would have seen reason to suspect that the inscription might possibly have no reference whatever to the figure which it surrounded.

^u The Proclamation on the Clause Roll contains some provisions which do not appear on the Rolls of Parliament; one of which is, that if any one would buy the said Nobles of Gold with Esterlings, then the Exchangers should take for every Noble six Shillings and seven Pence Halfpenny, and for the Half and Quarter in proportion. Cl. 19 E. III. pt. 1. m. 11. dors.

* Num. Antiq. Scrin. Bodleianis recondit. Catalogus, p. 233.

That no person should carry, nor cause to be carried out of the Realm, Gold or Silver in Plate, or in Money, except the King's Money of Gold aforesaid, on pain of forfeiture of the same.

That all who should offend against the Ordinances then proclaimed should suffer imprisonment at the King's pleasure.

And that whoever should give information of offences against them should receive, on conviction of the offenders, a third part of the forfeitures, to be paid by the Warden of the King's Exchange in London ^w.

The King engaged that the said Exchangers should not be compelled to exchange more than one thousand Marks *per* week in the City of London, and five hundred Marks in each of the Cities of Canterbury and York ^x.

In this year an Indenture was made between the King and Percival de Porche de Luke, which agreed in provisions with one of the 18th year of the King, excepting, that whereas the Master was then authorised to take from every Pound of Gold three Shillings and four Pence of Sterlings, for his work, loss of Gold, cutting of irons, loss of weight, and for his expenses, and all manner of charges, except the Warden's wages, it was now agreed, that he should take two Shillings, and that the Merchant should have returned to him twelve Pounds thirteen Shillings and Four Pence of every Pound of fine Gold, five Shillings being deducted for the King's Seignorage.

The King's Seignorage for the Coinage of Silver was continued at six Pence for every Pound weight; but the allowance to the Master was reduced from nine Pence to eight Pence. These two sums being deducted from twenty-two Shillings and two Pence of Sterlings, left a remainder of twenty-one Shillings for the Merchant ^y.

About this time search was commanded to be made for Money transported out of the Realm, contrary to the Ordinances which had been made by Parliament in that case ^z.

It appears, likewise, that considerable quantities of base Coins were made; for a large sum of counterfeit Sterlings was discovered in the City of Norwich, which the Bailiff of that place was directed to seize ^a.

^w Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 452.

^x Cl. 19 E. III. pt. 1. m. 11. dors.

^y Cl. 19 E. III. pt. 1. m. 5. dors.

^a Cl. 19 E. III. pt. 2. m. 20.

^z Cl. 19 E. III.

An engagement was now entered into with the Flemings, that the Gold Money called Nobles, which was coined in Flanders, in the name of the King, should be of the same value as in England^b.

1346. This, however, seems not to have satisfied the King, who was desirous that his Gold Coins which were made in England should be current in Flanders as well as in England; and he therefore did, for the greater increase of the said Money, appoint persons to treat and agree with the Magistrates of Ghent, Bruges, and Ipre, and other places in Flanders, as well for the uniform currency of such Coins in both Countries, as for the coining it in Flanders, and for determining the appropriation of the profits which might arise from such Coinage^c.

In consequence of the arrangements which were then made, William Stury and Gilbert de Wendlyngburgh were appointed to coin Pennies, Half-pennies, and Farthings, called Nobles, in Ghent, Bruges, and Ipre^d.

Notwithstanding this appointment, I doubt whether the plan were ever actually carried into execution; and the impolicy of it is so strikingly obvious that it excites our wonder to find that it could for a moment be seriously intended. For if to preserve the integrity of the Coins, even under the immediate eye of the Sovereign, require a number of the strictest checks, how much more would be necessary when the Mint was to be placed in a country not under his controul or government.

About the same time the Gold and Silver Coins of England were, by a Writ directed to Walter de Bermyngham the King's Justiciary, again ordered to be current in Ireland, in like manner as it had been done in the year 1344^e.

By Indenture with Percival de Porche, Master of the Mint, the weight of the Noble was diminished nearly ten grains; that is, the Pound of Gold was to make forty-two Nobles, at six Shillings and eight Pence a-piece, amounting to fourteen Pounds. At the same time the Penny was reduced to twenty grains, or the Pound of Silver was shorn into twenty-two Shillings and six Pence by Tale.

^b Pat. 19 E. III. pt. 2. m. 13.

^c Pat. 20 E. III. pt. 1. m. 19. Rymer, V. p. 506.

^d Pat. 20 E. III. pt. 1. m. 19. March 24.

^e Cl. 20 E. III. pt. 1. m. 5. dors.

He also covenanted to make Mailles and Ferlinges of the Allay of Old Sterling. The Mailles to be of the weight of the Standard of the Tower of London, and twenty-three Shillings and three Pence in number to the Pound. The King to have for his Seignorage of each Pound of Mailles six Pence by weight; and the Master, for all expenses, &c. eleven Pence by number; and the Merchant the remainder. The Master to have for the Ferlinges thirteen Pence by number for each Pound ^f.

There was another Indenture in this year, to the same effect, between the King and Lote Nicholyn and George Clerekyn, who were appointed Masters and Workers, upon the removal of Porche ^g.

The Petitions of the Commons in the Parliament holden at Westminster, in this year, pointed out several mal-practices which were supposed to be the causes of the scarcity of good Money at that time.

They began with stating, that many Merchants and others carried the good Money out of the Realm, and brought in its room false Money called Lusshebournes ^h, which were worth only eight Shillings the Pound, or less: by which means the importers, and they who took them at a low price to

^f Lowndes, p. 36, and Cl. 20 E. III. pt. 1. m. 25. dors.

^g Cl. 20 E. III. pt. 2. m. 23. dors. In this Indenture the Pennies are stated at 22s. 6d.

the Mailles - - - - - at 23s. 3d.

the Ferlings - - - - - at 23s. 6d.

^h These were base Coins, probably first struck at Luxemburgh. They are thus described in Piers Plowman's Visions :

"As in Lushburth is a luther alay, yet lokith like sterling,
The marke of the money is good, and the metel feble.
So fareth it bi some folk now, they have a faire spech,
Crowne and christendome, the kinges marke of heuen,
And the metal that is mans soule, with sinne is foule alaied."

folio lxxxij. b.

Chaucer also alludes to them in the Monkes Prologue :

"This maketh that our wives wol assaye
Religious folk, for they moun better paye
Of Venus payementes than mowen we:
God wote, no LUSSHEBURGHES * payen ye."

Tyrwhitt's Edition, line 13,965.

* "That is (upon the coherence of the verse) no payment make ye that is not full and currant." [Coke's 3d Institute.]

utter again, were suddenly, wrongfully, and beyond measure, enriched; whilst they who were unable to distinguish the said Money were cheated and impoverished, and the whole Realm was fraudulently filled with those base Coins. On this account the Commons prayed that, for the publick advantage, means might speedily be devised to convict and punish this offence, so that the Judges of Assize, and the Justices of the Peace, in every County, should have power by Commission to inquire concerning it, and to punish those who should be found guilty of importing that Money, or of receiving it, knowing it to be false, as Counterfeiters of the Coin.

And because many, who had long practised this crime, were become so wealthy, that whilst they were at liberty the Inquest could not come at any truth respecting them, although they were notoriously suspected, and known to be guilty; it was therefore prayed, that the said Judges, &c. should have power to apprehend them, and to seize upon their houses, and afterward to inquire of the truth concerning them. To induce the King to comply with this petition it was urged, that in this manner he would be greatly enriched by the wealth which had been thus fraudulently acquired, as in conscience he ought to be.

The zeal of the Commons to prevent this crime hurried them far beyond the bounds of justice, and accordingly the King, in his answer, with great propriety checked their over-eagerness; for whilst he granted the former part of their petition, he replied to the conclusion of it, that as to apprehending those who were suspected of such felony, and seizing their lands, before any process had been entered against them, it was the King's pleasure that he should be informed of them by Indictment, by Inquest, and by all other possible lawful means, for the immediate punishment of such offenders.

The Commons next petitioned, that, on account of the great scarcity of Coins in the Realm, the King would be pleased to ordain, that Money should be more frequently coined, and that the Mints should be open in all places where they were accustomed to be.

This part of their petition was granted.

They next proceeded to pray, that the King's Receivers should take of the people, in every place, both Gold and Silver at the same rate as the people were obliged to receive them in payment; and that no change of the Money of Gold or Silver should be made without consent of Parliament.

The first article was granted; but to the latter, which was probably considered as an attempt to invade the Royal prerogative, it was answered that the King and his Nobles would ordain as they should see fit.

They further represented that the Lombards, and their Deputies, had in their hands large sums of the false Money which was in England, and that they purchased English Florins at a lower rate than that which was appointed; and therefore it was prayed, that in future those persons should not sell nor buy the said Money, nor make any agreement in the sale of their merchandise what Money they would receive, in rejection of English Money.

To this it was answered, that if false Coins were found in their hands they should suffer punishment, according to Law. That as to those who purchased Gold at an under value, they should be forbidden so to do on pain of the punishment thereunto belonging; and that they should not buy any Gold with false Money. That it should be commanded throughout England, that all persons should receive, for their merchandise, Gold according to the currency ordained, without any agreement to be made, under pain of imprisonment and heavy ransom; and where any agreement had been made, it should be at the will of the purchaser to pay Money of Gold or of Silver, as he should think fit ⁱ.

These Petitions appear to have been the foundation of the following Ordinance, which, with the consent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and others of the Realm, commanded that no one, of what estate or condition soever, whether native or stranger, should carry out of the Realm the King's good Money, and heavy Esterling, nor Silver in Plate, nor Vessel of Gold or Silver, on forfeiture of the same; and that no one should bring into the Realm Money counterfeit of the Esterlings, on pain of life and goods. But that nevertheless it should be lawful for the people of any country to bring to the Exchange Bullion, and other Silver in Plate, and any kind of Money, except counterfeit Esterlings, and there to receive the true value in Esterlings ^k.

1347. But, in defiance of these provisions, the false Lusshebournes still continued to be brought into the Kingdom in great quantities, insomuch

ⁱ Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 160.

^k Originale 20 E. III. Rot. 11. Madox's MSS. vol. LXIX. p. 89.

that the Commons again petitioned, in the following year, that they who were found guilty might suffer the punishment of drawing and hanging, as false Moneyers, accordingly as it had been ordained in the last Parliament. That the Ordinance for this punishment should be declared to extend to offences which had been committed, as well as to those which might be in future. That the King should not grant his Charter of Pardon for this falsifying and treason; and that if it had been granted, it should be disallowed before the Justices.

In the King's answer he said that he would command inquiry to be made, both for the time past, and also for that which was to come. That he had no intention of granting such Charters in future; and that in case such had been granted heretofore, the Justices before whom they were pleaded should advise the King before they admitted the same¹.

Knyghton informs us that, about this time, several Merchants and others were drawn and hanged for this crime, and that others redeemed their lives by an heavy ransom^m.

On the Rolls of Parliament for this year is to be found a private Petition relating to the improper conduct of the Masters of the Mint. It is in the names of Piers Guerner, Philip de Nigre, and Matheu de Nigre his brother, Merchants of Florence, against George Clerkyn and Lotte Nicoli, Masters of the Mint in the Tower of London; and stated, that the Petitioners had delivered to the said George, Silver amounting to thirty-seven Pounds thirteen Shillings and eight Pence, of Tower weight, for the purpose of being coined, which ought to have been re-delivered to them within eight days, according to the custom of Moneyers; but that it had been withheld by the fraud of the said George, who had made over his right in the office to the said Lotte, to the damage of the said Piers, Philip, and Mattheu. That they had demanded restitution of the said Lotte, which he had refused; and therefore they prayed that a remedy might be applied, and that they might receive their Silver again. In consequence of this Petition, Sir Thomas de Drayton, who had been appointed by the Chancellor to inquire, by a Jury of ten men, into the truth of the matters stated above, was ordered to inform the Council what had been done in the caseⁿ.

¹ Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 167.

^m Column 2596.

ⁿ Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 185. The further proceedings in this case do not appear.

A Commission which had been issued for the appointment of persons to inquire concerning those who had brought counterfeit and clipped Money into Northumberland was, by a Writ dated on the 12th of July, commanded to be altogether superseded ^o.

The Town of Calais having surrendered to the Forces under Edward, it was thought expedient to establish an English Colony there; for which purpose Proclamation was made, on the 12th of August, that all Merchants, or others, who would settle there before the first of September next ensuing, should have houses assigned to them at reasonable rents, and such liberties, &c. granted as should insure security, &c. to their families and goods ^p. Holinshed says, that the King appointed to send thither, amongst other Englishmen, there to inhabit, thirty Burgesses of London, and those of the wealthiest sort, for he meant to people the Town only with Englishmen, for the better and more sure defence of the same ^q.

He also established a Mint in the place, and commanded that the white Money to be made there should be such as was coined in England ^r.

In the same year he granted to Henry Earl of Lancaster, and his heirs male, the Castle and Vill of Bargerjac in the Duchy of Aquitain, with the privilege of striking Money there ^s.

At some time shortly previous to this it had been found necessary to establish in the Mints of the Duchy of Guien an Assay something resembling, in its effect, the Trial of the Pix in the English Mints. It appears, however, that the person appointed to that office had not been able to attend to the duties of it; for in the year 1347 or 1348, Bertrand de Palirac, Master of the Mint in that Duchy, stated to the King and Council, that the Earl of Lancaster, when he was in Gascony, granted to Master John Warreyn, then Constable of Bourdeaux, the office of Surveyor and Visitor of the Masters and Wardens of the Mints in the said Duchy, with power to make counter-Assays, so that no fraud should be committed against either the King or his

^o Cl. 21 E. III. pt. 2. m. 37. dors.

^p Franc. 21 E. III. m. 17. dors. Rymer, V. 575.

^q Holinshed, vol. II. p. 378.

^r Rot. Franc. 22 E. III. m. 19.

^s Cart. and Pat. apud Cales 21 E. III. m. 13. Rymer, V. p. 565. See this more fully stated under the account of Bergerac Mint.

People. And because the said John was not able to attend to the said office, he had brought with him to England the said Bertrand to have the office, with proof, by the Letters of the said Earl, of his capability to undertake it, which would be greatly to the King's benefit. He therefore petitioned the King that he would grant to him the said office, with the fee of one Maill for every Mark of the Money, to be received of the Masters of the Mints in that Duchy; the same to be held by him so long as he should behave himself well and truly in the execution of it. His petition was granted as to the office, but the allowance was reduced to one half ^t.

In the year 1348 the King commanded the Warden of his Mint in the Tower of London to retain to the King's use one fourth part of all profits arising from the Coinage of all Gold and Silver brought to his Mints by certain Merchants; and that the remaining three parts of the profits, as they arose, should be given to the Merchants, the King having granted it to them for bringing Bullion to the Mint ^u.

The Commons petitioned the King, in the same year, that the Justices of Oyer and Terminer should inquire concerning the false Money (which they said had totally impoverished the people), and that no change whatsoever should be made in the good Money. The King replied, that an answer had been given in the last Parliament.

They further prayed, that the People might be relieved from the obligation of bringing into the Tower of London two Marks of Silver for every Sack of Wool exported, because Silver was forbidden, by severe penalties, to be exported from Flanders. This had been ordained in the last Parliament, in order to bring Money into England.

The King promised to apply to the Flemish Ambassadors that they would permit Plate to be brought into his Realm, according to the said Ordinance ^w.

It was again necessary to forbid the circulation of Lussheburghs, counterfeits of the Coins of England; and also the practice of carrying good Money out of the Realm ^x.

^t Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 208. He was to have un PUGEIS pur son travail. Pougeioise, according to Le Blanc, is a Coin of the value of one fourth of a Denier. Monnoyes de France, Index sub voce.

^u Cl. 22 E. III. pt. 1. m. 17.

^w Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. pp. 201, 202.

^x Cl. 22 E. III. pt. 1. m. 35.

1349. It should seem that some alteration in the Money to be struck in the Mint at Calais was about this time intended; for instead of a conformity with the Coins of England, which was required at the first establishment of that Mint, the new Money was now commanded to be such as should be for the greater advantage of the King and his People^y. I have not been able to discover whether any alteration of the Standard actually took place; but the words of this Writ certainly warrant the suspicion that some diminution, either of weight or fineness, was, at least, in contemplation, if it were not carried into execution.

The Grant to the Earl of Lancaster, which authorised him to coin in the Castle of Bargeriac, was increased by the power of Assaying, and of punishing offenders against his Money, which was now given to him^z.

In this year was an Indenture upon the same terms as that of his 20th year; and John Donative, of the Castle of Florence, and Philip John Denier, were Masters and Workers^a.

1350. This was repeated in the following year, when it appears that Anthony Bache and Nicholas Thome had superseded Donative and Denier in their office^b.

Search was ordered to be made by the Serjeant at Arms, William Walklate, in the ships then lying in the river Thames, to prevent the carrying into foreign parts good Money, Letters, or any thing else prejudicial to the King^c.

1351. At this time the Mayor, Jurors, &c. of the City of Baion refused to receive the King's Coins of Gold, which he had ordered to be struck in the Mint at Bourdeaux, at the rate at which they were commanded to be current in Aquitain. The King, therefore, strictly enjoined them, by Writ, to receive such Money in future, and to suffer it to have free course. At the same time they were commanded not to allow any Bullion or Plate to be carried out of their City to the French, the King's enemies, or to any place, except to the King's Mints in that Duchy^d.

^y Rot. Franc. 23 E. III. m. 8.

^z Vasc. 23 E. III. m. 8. Rymer, V. 659.

^a Lowndes, p. 36. Cl. 23 E. III. pt. 1. m. 21. dors.

^b Cl. 24 E. III. pt. 1. m. 16. dors.

^c Cl. 24 E. III. pt. 1. m. 13.

^d Rot. Vasc. 25 E. III. m. 2.

There is reason to suspect, however, that this order did not produce all the effect which was probably expected from it, as there exists another Writ, dated in the same year, which commanded that all the Money in the Duchy of Aquitain, and elsewhere within the King's power, should be struck of the same weight and alloy as the Money of Bourdeaux, and that all other should be forfeited to the King^e; and an express Order for striking Money of that kind at Baion was soon after issued^f.

This year was remarkable for a great alteration which took place in the Coins. They had hitherto been so much better than those of any other Nation, that they were exported, and base Money brought into the Realm, to the impoverishment of the people. The King, therefore, by the advice of his Council, ordered new Money of Gold to be made of like impression and value as it was before, but of less weight; and commanded that no person should refuse it, at the rate of six Shillings and eight Pence for the Noble, and the smaller pieces in proportion. There were also new Coins of Silver made; that is, a Gross of the value of four Esterlings, and an Half Gross of the value of two Esterlings, at which value they were to be taken by all persons whatsoever^g.

And because the King's Money was counterfeited, clipped, and impaired by various means, and taken out of the Kingdom, as well by Lombards as others, it was ordained that no one should exchange, either privately or publickly, in any City, Borough, or elsewhere, except those who were licensed by the King and Council, on pain of forfeiture of the same, and imprisonment of the sellers, changers, or purchasers, without mainprise, at the King's will. The third part of the forfeiture to go to the informer. All persons, also, were forbidden to carry out of the Realm any Gold or Silver, either in Plate or in Money, on pain of forfeiture and imprisonment at the King's will^h. The King's Ordinance to this effect was publickly proclaimedⁱ.

^e Rot. Vasc. 25 E. III. m. 4.

^f Rot. Vasc. 25 E. III. m. 9.

^g Lowndes had not discovered any Indenture of this year, but has printed one of the 27th year, which contains the alteration of the Coins mentioned above. This circumstance misled Folkes and Snelling, who have placed the fact accordingly two years too late.

^h Cl. 25 E. III. m. 14. dors. Rymer, V. 708.

ⁱ Id.

This Coinage was carried into effect by virtue of an Indenture, of this year, between the King and Henry Brisele, and John de Cicester, who were the Masters of the Mint. By its provisions the Pound weight of Gold of the Old Standard was to make by Tale forty-five Nobles, at six Shillings and eight Pence, or a proportionable quantity of Half or Quarter Nobles; and the Pound weight of Silver of the Old Sterling was to make by Tale seventy-five Grosses, amounting to twenty-five Shillings, or one hundred and fifty Half Grosses, going for two Pence each, or three hundred Sterlings, going for Pence apiece, which respectively amounted to the same sum^k. The above were the first Groats which were coined in this reign^l.

It was probably to facilitate this Coinage that the Masters of the Mint had authority given to them to make choice of proper workmen of every kind, wherever they should find them, and to bring them to the Tower, and to compel them to work in the Mint here^m.

The reduction of the weight of the Coins, which now took place, appears to have occasioned general dissatisfaction; and William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, and Treasurer of England, who was supposed to have advised the measure, became extremely unpopular, or, as Holinshed says, was evil spoken of amongst the peopleⁿ.

^k Cl. 25 E. III. pt. 1. m. 15. dors. William de Husburn, Keeper of the Dies, was ordered to deliver all the old Dies of the Money last made in the Tower of London, to Henry de Brisele and John de Cicester (who were appointed Masters of the Mint), that they might be made new, according to the King's Ordinance. [Cl. 25 E. III. m. 17.]

^l William Worcester calls them a *new* Money. "*Hoc anno fit nova Moneta, scilicet grossum, dimidium grossum.*" *Annales. Lib. Nig. Scacc. vol. II. p. 431.*

^m Pat. 25 E. III. pt. 2. m. 13. dors.

ⁿ Vol. II. p. 380. See also Stow, and the Continuation of Adam de Muirmuth's Chronicle. These Historians suggest that this diminution of the value of the Coins made all things dearer, and that the Workmen and Servants became cunning, and demanded greater wages. See also *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 519; where Walsingham says, "*Contra quorum astutiam, nequitiam & avaritiam ordinata sunt statuta per Parliamentum tentum apud Westmon. anno Regis Edwardi 3 post Conquestum 28 & 35, sed parum aut nihil communibus profuerunt.*" These Statutes do not appear in the edition which was printed by command of his Majesty in 1810, and therefore I presume the reference is incorrect. Statute 25 E. III. Stat. 1. regulated the wages of Labourers. Stow says, that the old Nobles being worth much more than the taxed rate of the new ones, they were bought up and exported, for which a remedy was provided by changing

In the Parliament which was holden at Westminster in this year, the Commons again petitioned that the good Money of Gold and Silver should not be carried out of the Realm, except by the King's especial command. And if any one should do the contrary, and be duly convicted of the same, he should be punished as the King and his Council, with the advice of the Peers of the Realm, should ordain, except the Merchants of England, for great necessity, and the advantage of the Realm.

The King answered that he would be advised by his Council as to what was best to be done^o.

In this Parliament was passed the Statute of Purveyors, which contains many provisions of the highest importance; I shall notice those only which relate to the subject before us.

The second Chapter declares what offences shall be adjudged treason; amongst which are these: if a man counterfeit the King's Great or Privy Seal, or his Money; and if a man bring false Money into the Realm, counterfeit of the Money of England, as the Money called Lushburgh^p, or other like to the said Money of England, knowing it to be false, to merchandize or make payment, in deceit of the said Lord the King, and of his people^q.

By the twelfth chapter, it was ordained that it should be lawful for every man to exchange Gold for Silver, or Silver for Gold, or for Gold and Silver; so that no man hold a common exchange, nor take profit for making such exchanges, upon pain of forfeiture of the Money so exchanged, except the King's Exchangers, who were allowed the profit of such exchanges, according to the Ordinance aforetime made.

of the stamp [sub anno 1351]. No such change of stamp is, however, to be found on his Coins which now remain.

^o Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 228.

^p Coins struck at Luxemburg. See p. 429, note [h].

^q This declaration of what offences should be adjudged Treason, was made in consequence of a Petition from the Commons to the King, on account of the various opinions which had been held before that time, as to what should be called Treason, and what not. [Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 239.] The Statute nearly follows the words of the King's answer. By this Statute, Clergy was taken away in all cases of Treason whatsoever. It had before been granted to inferior Treasons, such as counterfeiting the King's Seal or his Coin. [Hale's Pleas of the Crown, Part II. p. 330.] See a full explanation of this Statute, as far as it relates to Money, Introduction, p. 159.

The thirteenth chapter provided, that the Money of Gold and Silver then current should not be impaired in weight nor in alloy; but, as soon as a good way might be found, should be put in the antient state, as in the Sterling.

In the twentieth chapter it was ordained that the Moneyers, and Wardens and Ministers of the Mint, should receive Plate of Gold or Silver by weight, and in the same manner should deliver the Money, when made, by weight, and not by number, without any delay^r.

Notwithstanding the strictness of the Laws by which the exchange was regulated; particular license was sometimes granted for the convenience of foreigners of distinction. Thus, in this year, the King's Exchanger was commanded to allow Bernard de Ezio, Lord of Lebreto, who was come from the Duchy of Aquitain about the King's affairs, to exchange the Money he had brought with him for English Coins^s. With respect to Merchants, however, the Statutes were rigidly enforced; for, it being discovered in the 26th year, that some Lombard and German Merchants had made exchanges within the Tower, contrary to the form of the Statutes, Proclamation was ordered to be made forbidding such practices^t; and the proper persons were commanded to inquire, and to return, the names of those who held unauthorized Exchanges in the City of London^u.

1353. An indenture was made between the King and Henry Brisel, upon the same terms as that of the 25th year^w: they were also repeated in his 30th, 35th, 37th, and 46th years. In fact, no further alteration was made after his 25th year.

By the Statute of the Staple, which was made in his twenty-seventh year, it was ordained that all merchants, privy and strangers, might safely carry and bring within the Realm plate of Silver and billets of Gold, and all other manner of Gold, and all Money of Gold and Silver, to the King's Bullion,

^r Statute, 25 E. III. Statute 5. This Chapter relates to the new Coinage which took place in this year, and was announced by a Writ dated June 21. The Parliament was summoned in the Feast of St. Hilary, which is held on the 13th of January, and consequently fell in the year 1351, as the 25th of Edward III. began on the 25th of January, 1350.

^s Cl. 25 E. III. pt. 1. m. 16. dors.

^t Cl. 26 E. III. m. 11. dors.

^u Cl. 26 E. III.

^w Cl. 27 E. III. m. 15. dors. Lowndes, p. 36.

or to his Exchanges, which he should ordain in his Staples and elsewhere, taking an equal value of the King's Coin of Gold and Silver.

And if any person should be willing to receive good Money of Gold and Silver of any other kind than the King's, in payment, he might take the same without impeachment; but that no one should be thereunto compelled, if he would not take it of his good will.

Provided always, that no Money should have common course within the King's realm and lands but the Money of Gold and Silver of his Coin; and that no one should carry out of the realm the old Sterlings, nor any other Money but the King's new Money of Gold and Silver, except the Merchants Strangers, who should bring into the realm any manner of Money to be there employed in merchandizing, who were allowed to carry into their own country all that Money, or so much thereof as should remain unemployed, without impeachment, but so that good and lawful search should be made thereof in the ports and other places where any arrivals should be, and that all the Money that every Merchant Stranger should bring within the realm, should be put in writing by the Searchers, to the intent that no Merchant should carry more beyond the sea than he brought into the realm. Provided always, that no Minister, nor other, should, by colour of such search, make impeachment or disturbance to any Merchant Stranger, to grieve him unduly; and that all the false Money that should be found by search, or in any other manner espied, within the realm, in deceit of the King's good Money, should be forfeited to the King, according to the Ordinances aforetime made^x.

In this Parliament, the Commons petitioned that the Esterling might be restored to its antient value, and that it might be provided that the current Coins should not be impaired until such alteration could take place. They were referred for an answer to that which was given to a like Petition in the last Parliament^y.

About this time, the King was informed that many Merchants and others, as well natives as foreigners, did carry his Coins out of the kingdom in barrells and other vessels; it was therefore ordered that the officers at the different

^x Statute of the Staple, 27 E. III. Statute 2, cap. xiv.

^y Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 253. I do not find the answer referred to, unless it was given in the 13th Chapter of the Statute of Purveyors, which was made in the year 1350.

ports should seize such Money, and keep it in safe custody for the King's use, until he should otherwise command^z.

1354. In the following year, the Commons again urged their Petition respecting the restoration of the integrity of the Coins, and prayed that, as the King had been pleased to grant their request, he would further please to fix the time when it should take place. In answer, it was declared to be the intention of the King and his Council that the Money should not be diminished, and that it should be amended as soon as it might be done^a.

No record has yet been discovered to prove that this Petition was complied with. Indeed, it appears to have been the King's intention (to give such an answer to it as should satisfy the Commons for the time, without absolutely engaging to do any thing in the business. They also seem to have been convinced that further application at that time would be ineffectual, and to have ceased to urge him; for, in a complaint of grievances which they presented in the following year [1355], the state of the Coin is not noticed^b; and it is certain, from the Indenture of the 30th year, that no alteration had then been effected.

For some time previous to the year 1354 there had been great dissensions and debates respecting the wages of the Workmen and Moneyers in the Duchy of Aquitaine. To determine these it had been ordained that every worker of Money, either black or white, should receive for every Mark worked by him, except of Gold, three pence; and every Moneyer, for each pound of the said Money, white or black, struck by him, Gold excepted, three pence sterling of the London Mint, or their value in other Money. This Ordinance was now confirmed by the King, during his pleasure^c. And for the further encouragement of these Workers and Moneyers, and to enable them better to attend to the working and striking of the Coins, the King granted that they should be free from all taxes, talliages, &c. &c.; and that they should plead before the Provost of the Mint in all pleas, except in criminal cases; in the same manner as the Moneyers, &c. in the King-

^z Cl. 27 E. III. m. 17.

^a Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 260.

^b Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 265.

^c Rot. Vasc. 28 E. III. m. 1.

dom of England were free from taxes, &c. and pleaded before the Warden and Provost of the Mint^d.

On these privileges being infringed, a Writ was directed to the Seneschall of Gascony, and the Constable and Mayor of Bourdeaux, commanding that they should cause them to be respected in future^e.

It was the King's pleasure that his English Groats and Half Groats should be current in Aquitain, together with the Coins minted in that Duchy, at their respective values, and therefore he (by Writs directed to the Mayor, Jurats, and their hundred Peers^f; and the whole Commons of the City of Baion^g) commanded that the said Coins should be current, and taken by all persons, throughout the said Duchy, at the said value, and that no one should refuse them, or take them at an under rate; and that all Exchangers, who in their Exchanges should disobey the Ordinance, should be punished by the King's Officers, at the discretion of his Council^h.

At the same time, he reduced to the usual rate the Moneyage in Aquitain, which had become excessiveⁱ. Florins D'Escu were then current in that Duchy, not according to their appointed value, but according to their size, under the distinction of greater and less. This custom being found to enhance the price of different articles, and to reduce the value of the King's Coins, by which his subjects were injured, it was commanded, by Proclamation, that, in future all buying and selling should be according to the Pound of the King's Money current in those parts, and not according to the Florins, on pain of forfeiture of the things bought or sold^k.

1355. In this year the Sheriffs of London were commanded to make Proclamation that no one should exchange Money in the said city or suburbe, or elsewhere within the realm; on forfeiture of life and limb, and of every thing which could be forfeited. After this had been publicly proclaimed,

^d Rot. Vasc. 28 E. III. m. 1.

^e Rot. Vasc. 28 E. III. m. 10.

^f Centum Paribus are the words in the Writ.

^g The like Writs were directed to the Mayor, &c. of the city of Bourdeaux, Ville Vesaten, Leyburun, St. Sever, and Aquen.

^h Rot. Vasc. 29 E. III. m. 16.

ⁱ Id. *ibid*.

^k Id. *ibid*.

the Sheriffs were to imprison all offenders, and to bring the Money, with an account of all their proceedings, into the Chancery¹.

The antient Money of Scotland was of the same weight and alloy as the English Sterling, and therefore was permitted to be current with it in England. But, now, Coins resembling that antient Money, yet of less weight and coarser alloy, were struck in Scotland, and circulated in England, to the great loss of the King's people, and the destruction of his money. Proclamation was therefore ordered to be made, that no one, under pain of heavy forfeiture, should presume to receive the said new Money of Scotland, but that, as soon as it should be offered to be current with the King's Money, it should be seized, and remain forfeited to the King. Nevertheless, it was permitted that any one might purchase the same according to an appointed value^m, provided that he brought the same to the King's Bullion, there to be melted, and to receive for it the value in the King's Coin, as had been accustomed.

The antient Coins of Scotland were allowed to be current, as heretofore.

It was further commanded, that all persons who should offend against the Ordinance should be arrested, their bodies be kept in custody, and the Sheriff to answer for the Money to the King, and to certify, from time to time, to the King, the names of the persons so arrested, under his sealⁿ.

1358. In this year, the King of Scotland came in person to London, and petitioned King Edward that the Coins of England and Scotland might be interchangeably current in both kingdoms upon equal terms. The historian who relates this fact, says that, in consideration of the great humility of the King of Scotland, his request was granted^o.

¹ Cl. 29 E. III. m. 13. dors.

^m The words are, "ad nostrum valorem ejusdem," but the value is not specified in the Record.

ⁿ Cl. 29 E. III. m. 35. dors. Rymer, V. 813.

^o Knyghton, Column 2619. This King of Scotland was David Bruce, in whose reign the first Statutes for the regulation of the Coins are to be found. One which passed in the year 1347 ordains, in the 35th Chapter, that English money shall be received in Scotland at its value in England; and in the 38th Chapter it is enacted, that a new Coinage shall be made, equal to the English in weight and fineness, with a notable sign upon it, to distinguish it from all other Money. His Coins remain, but the notable sign does not appear upon them. See Cardonnell's Numismata Scotiæ, p. 84, and Snelling's View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of Scotland, p. 6.

1360. In the treaty of peace with King John of France, which was ratified in October A. D. 1360, Edward renounced all claim upon that Crown^p; and, accordingly, the title of King of France was omitted upon his Coins, until the year 1369, when he resumed his claim.

1361. In the following year, an extraordinary inquiry was made into the fineness of the Coins which had been struck in the Tower, and elsewhere. The reason for such inquiry was this: The King had granted that John King of France, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers in 1356, should pay his ransom, of three millions of Crowns of Gold, in Florins de Scuto, or D'Escu, of which two were equal in value to the Florin de Noble of England. Of this indulgence the French endeavoured to take advantage, by debasing their Money, both in alloy and weight, under pretence that the English Money was of a Standard inferior to that which was required by the Indenture. The King, therefore, commanded his Money to be assayed, and to be reformed if necessary, and the persons concerned in debasing it to be punished^q.

1362. This Assay was made in the following year, when it appeared that the Coins were good and lawful, according to the tenure of an Indenture with Robert de Portico, Master of the Mint, bearing date in the 35th year of the King^r.

Amongst the reasons which were assigned for summoning the Parliament in this year, are enumerated the unlawful exchanges of Money, and the feebleness of the Coins^s.

The Commons, however, appear to have overlooked both these abuses, though they were recommended to their consideration, for they only petitioned that the King, with the advice of his Council, would command that

^p Sandford's Genealogical History, p. 171.

^q Pat. 35 E. III. pt. 1. m. 17. dors. In this year the Abbot of Missenden was convicted of coining and clipping Groats and Sterlings in the Manor of Lee, and was condemned to be drawn and hanged, but received the King's pardon. [Pat. 36 E. III.] This Abbot was Ralph Marshall, who was elected in 1355, and died in 1357. [Browne Willis's MS note to Leake.]

^r Pat. 36 E. III. pt. 2. m. 38. The Indenture is in Cl. 35 E. III. m. 10. dors. Its terms were the same as those of his 25th year.

^s Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 268.

there should be plenty of Gold and Silver, and that there should be made smaller Coins of Gold, of twelve or ten pence.

From the King's answer, it should seem to have been his intention to have complied with the Petition of the Commons, but no Gold Coins of so low a value are to be found in the Indentures^t.

1363. It appears, from a Writ directed to the Mayor and Aldermen of Calais, and dated in the year 1363, that the Ordinance to forbid any Money from being current in that town, except such as had been or should be coined in the Mint there, and to prevent the coinage of English Money in that Mint, had been evaded by subtle exchanges of Money, as well of England; as of other parts, with Money of Calais; by which the said Ordinance was infringed, and the King defrauded. Proclamation was, therefore, commanded to be made, that no one should presume to offend against the same; and all persons were required to take notice that Searchers were appointed to find out such Money, and that all which should be found after the date of the Proclamation, should be cut, and delivered to the owners^u.

By another Writ (which bore date a few days after this, and was directed to Thomas de Brantyngham, Treasurer of Calais, and Henry de Brisele, Master of the Mints there), the Searchers were appointed, with power to cut the Money as above, but with this proviso, that they should allow to the owners thereof so much uncut as their reasonable expenses, to the places where they should by oath declare themselves to be bound, might require^w.

In the Parliament which met at Westminster in this year, the Commons petitioned that the Money at that time in England should, by the advice of the Peers, and others conversant in such matters, be safely kept and ordered, and retained within the realm, for the advantage of the kingdom; and that an Ordinance should be made to compel the Merchants to receive payment in Gold for their larger Wares and Merchandizes, for the most part, and especially for Wool, Tin, and Lead.

From the King's answer, it appears that the Council had frequently taken into consideration many of the points which were contained in this Petition,

^t Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 271. The words of the answer are, "Le Roi voet q'il soit fait p' bon Conseil."

^u Rot. Franc. 37 E. III. m. 11.

^w Id. ibid.

and that “*pur la sutivete q’ chiet en la Monoie*^x,” proved in divers ways before the said Council, the King could not, without good advice, appoint a remedy; but that he would, upon deliberation with his Council, do whatever should be for the advantage and ease of the Commons, without changing the Money, or reducing it in value. At the same time the Commons farther petitioned, that the Moneyers^y should be charged to make a moiety of the Gold into Mails and Ferlings, for the benefit of the common people, who could not purchase their victuals, and other small articles, with the Nobles. The King’s answer stated that such condition was fully contained in the Indenture between the King and the Moneyers^z.

In this Parliament, a Statute was made, by which it was ordained that Goldsmiths, as well in London as elsewhere within the realm, should make all manner of vessel, and other work, of Silver, well and lawfully of the Allay of good Sterling; and that every Master-Goldsmith should have a mark by himself, which mark should be known to those who should be assigned by the King to survey their work and allay. That the said Goldsmiths should not set their mark upon their works, until the said Surveyors should have made their assay, as should be ordained by the King and his Council; and that, after their assay, they should set their mark, and then the Goldsmith his mark, for which he was to answer.

That no Goldsmith should take for any vessel white and plain for the weight of a Goldsmith’s pound, that is to say, of the price of two Marks of Paris weight, but eighteen pence, as it was done at Paris.

That no Goldsmith, making white vessel, should meddle with gilding, and they that gilded, should not meddle to make white vessel; and that they who should be so assigned in every town, should make their searches as oftentimes as should be ordained.

That, in case of default on the part of the Goldsmiths, they should incur the pain of forfeiture to the King of the value of the metal which should be found faulty^a.

^x I know not the precise meaning of this sentence.

^y Coignours.

^z Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 276. Is this correct? Were the Moneyers ever parties in an Indenture?

^a Statute 37 E. III. Cap. 7. Edition 1577.

1364. By another Statute, of the following year, it was ordained, that no one should carry out of the Realm Gold nor Silver, in Plate nor in Money, saving the victuallers of fish, that fished for herring and other fish, and they that should bring fish within the realm in small vessels, and did not meddle with other merchandizes, and that, according to the arbitrement of the Chancellor^b.

The laws which prohibited the exportation of Money were now dispensed with, in favour of divers persons, each of whom was permitted to carry out of the kingdom fourscore pounds of Sterlings, in Gold or Silver, to La Baye in Britany, for the purchase of salt, on condition that they should give security to import salt to that amount into Harwich^c.

But in every other case, the Collectors of the Customs in the different ports were commanded to search strictly all persons, ships, and small vessels, which should pass out of such ports, and to take care that no one carried, or caused to be carried, Gold or Silver in Money, Bullion, or Plate, or in vessels, jewels, or in any other form, out of the realm, without the King's special license^d.

In the month of April in this year, John King of France died at the Savoy. This Monarch had, from his first arrival in England, employed secret agents in London, and in other places, who privately collected the picked Gold Money of the realm^e. This they formed into plates, and packed in barrels, to be carried into France. He likewise collected bows, arrows, and other weapons. On his death-bed, he sent for King Edward, and confessed to him what he had done, and entreated his forgiveness, which the King kindly granted, but ordered the things so collected to be seized, and severely punished such of his own subjects as had assisted in the business^f.

^b Statute, 38 E. III. cap. 2. Edition 1577.

^c Pat. 38 E. III. pt. 1. m. 7.

^d Cl. 38 E. III. m. 27. dors.

^e Electum aurum Regni. These words probably mean the Nobles of his first and second Coinage, which were considerably heavier than those of the third. If this be so, it will account for the scarcity of those Coins, and the greater plenty of the others, as it is probable that the Gold so seized was re-coined.

^f Knyghton, Column 2627. It should seem that the Lombard Merchants were somehow

This story rests, as I believe, upon the authority of Knyghton alone, and it certainly but ill agrees with that noble maxim of the French Monarch, that, if good faith should be totally abandoned by the rest of mankind, it ought still to find a place in the breast of princes. It must, however, be observed, that Knyghton lived at the time in which the transaction is stated by him to have taken place ^g, and that his account receives some collateral confirmation, from the poverty of the French kingdom at that period ^h, from the punishment of the Lombards above mentioned ⁱ, and from the circumstance of the French Money having been fraudulently debased for the purpose of diminishing the payment for King John's ransom in 1361 ^k.

1365. In this year, particular orders were sent out to Calais, commanding the Governor, and the chief officers of the principal places in Ponthieu, to make strict search, in order to prevent the carrying of Money, &c. out of the realm, except by known merchants, for the fair exercise of their merchandizing; and to seize all such as they might find, and keep it safe until further orders^l. And in a few days afterward, Proclamation was made there that no one should presume, on forfeiture of every thing that could be forfeited, to make exchange of Money, either openly or secretly, with any but known Merchants, and that in the way of merchandize, and on no other account whatsoever^m.

1366. His fortieth year was made remarkable by an order that Peter Pence should be no more gathered and paid to Romeⁿ.

involved in this transaction. For they were at this time accused of improper proceedings, and many of them imprisoned in the Tower, and heavily fined. Ypodigma Neustria, p. 525.

^g According to Holinshed, he was alive in 1386. Vol. II. p. 450.

^h King John paid three millions of Franks, gave away all Aquitaine (at least all that he held there), besides other territories and towns, to the quantity of a third part of his dominions; by which means he so impoverished the kingdom, that, for a long time after, the current Coin of it was nothing but bits of leather with a silver nail in the middle of them. [Memoirs of Philip de Comines, vol. I. p. 507.]

ⁱ See note [^f], above.

^k See these Annals under that year.

^l Rot. Franc. 39 E. III. m. 6. Rymer, VI. 475.

^m Rot. Franc. 39 E. III. m. 7. The same Proclamation was ordered to be made in Abbeville and Crotoye.

ⁿ Cooper's Chronicle, folio 245. Stowe, p. 461. He says that St. Peter's Pence is the King's alms, and all that had twenty pennyworth of good, of one manner cattell in their house of their own proper, should give that penny at Lambeth.

This Tax was one principal drain by which the Coins were carried out of the Realm. It was not, however, entirely abolished by this order, for Fabian relates that it was still gathered, in his time, in sundry Shires of England^o; nor did it cease to be paid until it was forbidden by a Statute in the 25th year of Henry VIII.^p

1367. So much light foreign Money had been brought into the Realm, that it was now found necessary to issue an Order that no Money of the Coin of Scotland, nor of any other country, nor any other kind of Money, except the King's Coins of Gold and Silver, should be current in the Kingdom. And Proclamation was commanded to be made, that no one, either Merchant or other, should receive or pay any Money of the Scottish Mint^q.

The Coins were also greatly falsified, and Walter de Serlely and John Halle were appointed to inquire concerning the counterfeiters, and to bring them to justice; in which all Sheriffs, &c. were commanded to assist them^r.

1369. In his forty-third year Edward resumed the title of King of France, because Charles the then reigning Monarch had broken the Peace made by Edward with his father King John, in consequence of which Edward renounced his claim to the Crown of France^s. The Seals on which that title had been omitted were now called in, and others ordered to be made on which it should be inserted^t. The same alteration doubtless took place in the Legend of his Coins, but I have never met with any record to that effect.

The Laws which regulated the Goldsmiths' trade were now enforced with such rigour that William de Mulsho and John de Newenham were commanded to examine by the touch, or by other methods, certain vessels of Silver, and belts of Gold, which William de Montacute Earl of Salisbury had caused to be made by Goldsmiths of London, of less fineness than the Ordinance required, and to report the Assay to the King in Chancery^u.

^o Chronicle, 40th of Edward III. Fabian died A. D. 1512. [Nicolson's Historical Library.]

^p Cap. 21, made in the year 1533.

^q Cl. 41 E. III. m. 4. dors.

^r Pat. 41 E. III. pt. 2. m. 8. dors.

^s Vasc. 43 E. III. m. 2. Rymer, VI. p. 643.

^t Cl. 43 E. III. m. 18. dors. Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 460.

^u Cl. 43 E. III. m. 35.

About the same time William de Stoke, Canon of Dunmowe, was notoriously suspected of counterfeiting the Money of Gold and Silver; a Writ was therefore issued to the King's Serjeants at Arms, commanding them to punish and chastise him, if it should prove to be so, according to his deserts, and to search all houses, chambers, &c. where the said William was accustomed to work, and to seize all his engines, and his body also, wherever they might be found, either within Liberties or without, and to bring him to London, and deliver him to the Sheriffs, who were to keep him safely in the Gaol of Newgate, until he should be otherwise disposed of. The engines to be brought before the King's Council, and to be put where they should order ^w.

The Ordinance of 1367, respecting foreign Coins, was repeated in 1371^x.

In this year William Wymeswold, Canon of the House of St. Gilbert de Sempyngham, was cited to appear before the King, to answer to a charge brought against him of having exported Money contrary to the Statute^y. On the 20th of May an Indenture was made between the King and Bardet de Malepilys of Florence, for Monies for Calais, according to the terms of the Indenture of his 25th year^z; and in the following year there was another to the same effect ^a.

1372. Proclamation was at this time ordered to be made, that no one should receive Scottish Gold or Silver Money; but that every one who had such in his possession should bring it to the King's Office for receiving of Bullion, where he should have its value. And if such Money should be found on any person, after the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, it should be forfeited, one half to the King, and the other to the finder of the said Money ^b.

This Proclamation was rendered necessary by the advantage which the Scotch had taken of the difference, in intrinsic value, between their Money and that of England; for they collected the latter, and coined it into their

^w Pat. 43 E. III. pt. 2. m. 22. dors. Rymer, VI. 637.

^x Cl. 45 E. III. m. 19. dors.

^y Cl. 45 E. III. m. 29.

^z Cl. 45 E. III. m. 27. dors.

^a Cl. 46 E. III. m. 18. dors.

^b Cl. 46 E. III. m. 1. dors.

own Money, which was of less weight. It seems, however, that this Ordinance was insufficient to check a practice from which considerable profit accrued; for in the following year, 1373, the Commons petitioned that four Pence Scotch should go for no more than three Pence English; and, if the Scotch should diminish their Money on that account, that the current value of it should be again brought down, in proportion to the decrease^c. The prayer of this Petition was granted, and a Statute was passed nearly in the same words^d; and in the following year, 1374, Proclamation was made to that effect in Berwick-upon-Tweed^e.

A Writ was directed to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Bristol, bearing date A. D. 1375, by which they were commanded to proclaim the King's prohibition against the exportation of Scottish Money, or any foreign Plate of Gold or Silver^f.

In 1376 Richard Lyons, Merchant of London, was impeached and accused of divers deceits, extortions, &c. by which the Staple of Calais and the Moneyage there were much injured. For these offences he lost his Franchise of the City of London, and his office of Privy Counsellor. His lands and goods were seized into the King's hands, and his body imprisoned during the King's pleasure^g.

The injury which the Moneyage of Calais sustained from his crimes seems to have arisen from his cramping the trade of that place, especially in wool, by his extortions. I do not find that he committed any offence expressly against the Mint.

At the same time William Lord Latymer was deprived of his office of Privy Counsellor for the same and other offences in Brittany and elsewhere^h.

In the Parliament of this year the Commons petitioned to be relieved from the burthen of rendering an account in the Exchequer of the forfeitures of Scottish Money. The King's answer referred them to the provisions made, in that case, in the Parliament which was held in his 47th yearⁱ.

^c Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 318.

^d Statute 47 E. III. cap. 2. Edition 1577.

^e Scotia. 48 E. III. m. 4.

^f Cl. 49 E. III. m. 44. dors. Otterbourne has erroneously placed the first Coinage of Groats and Half Groats in this year.

^g Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 323.

^h Id. p. 324.

ⁱ Id. p. 336.

They further petitioned, that the King would be pleased to command and ordain that no one should presume, under pain of forfeiture and imprisonment, to convey the good Money out of the Realm, either privately or openly, by Letter of Lombard [*i. e.* Bill of Exchange], or by any other means. And that no Lombard, nor other person, should make such Letters under the same penalty.

That the Justices of the Peace and Assize should make inquiry concerning the matter; and that no one, upon pain of forfeiture, should give any hindrance therein.

In the King's answer he stated, that he had already provided against such offences by divers Statutes and other means; that he was then proceeding against the Holy Father the Pope in that very business; and that he was ready to do, from time to time, whatever might be effectual ^k.

It appears that the greater part of the Money which was carried out of the Realm was conveyed by the Pope's Collector (an alien and a subject of France), and by the Cardinals Procurators, who likewise discovered the secrets of the State.

The remedy which it was proposed to apply to these mischiefs was, that it should be ordained in Parliament, and proclaimed throughout the Realm, that no one, either alien or native, should in future, upon pain of life and limb, act as Procurator for the Pope, the Cardinals, or any other residing in the Court of Rome. And it was assigned as a reasonable cause for this Ordinance, that the Money of the Realm must be preserved during the War, for the maintenance of the same, and of the King's state.

It was likewise proposed to inquire into the wealth which the Pope's Collector was supposed to have gotten together ^l.

The declining health of Edward probably suspended these proceedings, as nothing further occurs respecting them during the short remainder of his reign, which terminated with his life on the 21st of June A. D. 1377.

On his English Coins his name is variously written. His Gold Money gives it EDWR. EDWAR. or EDWARD; his Silver sometimes EDWARD, but more usually EDWARDVS.

^k Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 338.

^l Id. p. 339.

After his conquest of France he added the title of that Kingdom to those of England and Ireland, and omitted the Dukedom of Aquitaine, as it merged in the superior government of France; but at the ratification of the Treaty of Bretigny with France, in 1360, he agreed to relinquish his claim to that crown, and accordingly his Coins appear without the title, until he again resumed it in 1369, when the Peace was broken by the Dauphin Charles, then Regent^m.

It is not certain whether he struck any Money in Ireland. If, however, Simon's conjecture have any foundation, that the dots under the bust were intended to distinguish the Irish Coins of Edward I. and II., it is possible that one which he has engraven in his third Plate, N^o 51, may belong to this Monarch, as it has, unlike any of the others, three dots, one in each angle of the triangle. But I fear that very little reliance can be placed on such distinctions. The Coin in question differs from those which are usually given to Edward I. and II. in the above-mentioned particular only; the name is written EDW, as it is on the rest, and the Kingdoms of England and Ireland alone appear upon itⁿ.

On his Anglo-Gallic Money his name is sometimes abbreviated to ED. or written at length EDVARD, or EDWARD, or given with a Latin termination, EDOVARDVS, EDVARDVS, or EDWARDVS.

The words DEI GRATIA appear now for the first time upon the English Money. They were inscribed upon his earliest Gold Coins, and afterwards upon the Groats, but never upon the smaller pieces of Silver. It is remarkable that these emphatical words should not have obtained a place upon the Coins at a much earlier period, as they are found upon all the Great Seals after the reign of William I. They were used as early as the latter end of the seventh century by Ina King of the West Saxons, in the Introduction to his Laws^o.

^m The style upon his earliest Great Seals is copied from that on his Father's; but after he assumed the title of King of France it runs, thus:

EDWARDVS: DEI: GRACIA: REX: FRANCIE: ET: ANGLIE: ET: DOMINVS: HIBERNIE.

[Sandford and Speed.]

ⁿ His Irish Money, if any were struck by him, differs only in the three dots from the specimens engraven in Plate II. of Silver Coins.

^o Wilkins, Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 14.

According to Mr. Bartlet's rule of appropriation, this Monarch had Mints in the following places in England :

VILLA	BERVICI.	VILLA	DVREMMIE.
CIVITAS	CANTOR.	CIVITAS	EBORACI.
CIVITAS	DVNELMIE.	CIVITAS	LONDON.
————	DVNOLM.		LONDONIENSIS.
————	DVREME.	VILLA	RADINGY.

In Ireland, if the three dots in the triangle should be supposed to mark his Coinage, his Mint was CIVITAS CORCACIE.

He had also, according to a MS List drawn up by Dr. Combe, another Mint in DVBLIN.

His Anglo-Gallic Coins appear to have been struck at

AGEN?	BORDEAUX.	CALAIS.	EAUSE?
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He also struck Money at Antwerp (see under the year 1337) ; and appointed Moneyers at Ghent, Bruges, and Ypre (see the year 1346).

EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE.

On the 19th of July in the year 1362 the King granted to his son Edward Prince of Wales the Principality of Aquitaine and Gascony, to hold during his life, even though those Provinces should be hereafter erected into the title and dignity of a Kingdom; the power of doing which the King reserved to himself in the Grant.

At the same time he gave to his Son the privilege of coining Monies of Gold and Silver, or of any other kind whatsoever ; and of granting to the Masters and Workmen of the same such indulgences and privileges as were commonly used to be allowed to them ^P.

^P Selden's Titles of Honour, part II. chap. 4, and Rymer, VI. 384. In the year 1355 the Prince took proper measures for the defence of Gascony, "and adding to and repairing the fortifications of Bourdeaux, and other Castles. As his expenses were large, he caused to be coined new pieces of Gold, for the wages of his Soldiers, according to a Commission from the King his Father." [Collins's Life of Edward the Black Prince, p. 58. He quotes Stow as his authority.] These cannot be properly considered as the Coins of Edward, for they were probably struck in his Father's name.

Under the authority of this Grant he struck various Coins of Gold, Silver, and Billon, specimens of which are engraven in the Plates of Anglo-Gallic Money. On these Coins he invariably styles himself PRIMOGENITVS REGIS ANGLIÆ, and PRINCEPS AQUITANIÆ.

In 1367, from the neglect of Peter, whom he had placed on the throne of Spain, to provide Money for the payment of the Troops, he was under the necessity of coining his Plate^a.

The Coins of this Prince must have been struck between the years 1362 and 1373, for in the first of those years his authority to strike Money is dated, and in the last he resigned into his Father's hands the Duchy of Aquitain. Persons were then appointed to receive the rents, &c. and to account to the King for them.

His Mints, as far as can be conjectured from initial letters upon his Coins, were situated in the following places :

AGEN.

BORDEAUX.

POICTIERS.

ROCHELLE.

JOHN KING OF CASTILLE AND LEON.

The power of coining was also granted by King Edward to his fourth son, John King of Castille and Leon, Duke of Lancaster, who received, on the 12th of June, 1377, full privilege and authority to strike Money of Gold, Silver, and other metal, of any impression, alloy, or number (except that of England and Aquitain) that he should please, by the hands of Pelegrine de Ser, or any other he might think fit to appoint, in the City of Baion, or the Castle of Guissen, or in any other place that he should chuse within the Senescalship of the Grandes Landes [Landarum], for two years next ensuing the date of the Writ, taking to himself the whole profits arising therefrom^r.

^a Sandford's Genealogical History, p. 186. Froissart's account of this circumstance is somewhat different. He says, when Edward the Black Prince determined to assist Don Pedro in recovering the Kingdom of Castille, he had his Plate, both of Gold and Silver, with which he was plentifully furnished, broken and coined into Money. [Johnes's Translation of Froissart, vol. I. p. 695.]

^r Vasc. 51 E. III. m. 1. Rymer, VII. p. 148.

It is probable that this Grant was occasionally renewed during the life of his Father; for in the third of Richard II., 1380, one occurs precisely in the terms of this (excepting in the insertion of AVUNCULVM in the place of FILIVM), for two years from the first day of August ^s.

1388. About eight years afterward he was appointed the King's Locum Tenens in Gascony, when a further power of striking Money in that country was granted to him, with authority to punish offenders, as the case might require. This power, however, was not given to him for his own honour and advantage, but the Money was to be struck in the King's name, and for his profit ^t.

On the 2d of March 1389 the King granted to him the Duchy of Aquitaine, with all its Royalties, &c. &c. and with special authority to coin Money of Gold, Silver, or any other metal, and of changing it as often, and in such manner, as should seem expedient to him (any custom of former times notwithstanding), and of allowing to the Masters and Workmen such privileges as had been accustomed ^u.

His Coins of Gold and of Billon, if any were struck by him, have perished; but a Silver Penny was preserved in the Cabinet of M. Venuti, who engraved it, accompanied with the following description: "Whilst I was composing this Dissertation I purchased a Silver Penny of this Prince, which is engraved at figure 25 of my Plate of Coins. On one side is the King's head and bust, bearing a crown with large fleurs de lys, open and adorned with roses. Round it this Legend, IOANN REX. On the Reverse is written CASTELLE ET LEGIONIS. In the middle three towers, or the gates of a city. In the field B. s., and in the Exergue B, which may signify that this piece was minted at Bayonne of the Coinage of Castille." ^w

It is not known into whose hands this Penny passed after the death of Venuti; I must therefore refer to Dr. Ducarel's Engraving, which is itself no more than the copy of Venuti's Plate.

^s Vasc. 3 R. II. m. 2. Rymer, VII. p. 244.

^t Rot. Vasc. 11 R. II. m. 1. Ducarel, p. 55.

^u Vasc. 13 R. II. m. 6. Rymer, VII. p. 659.

^w Ducarel, p. 52, from Dissertation sur les Monnoyes que les Anglois frappees en Aquitaine, &c. par M. Venuti, p. 162.

Dr. Ducarel observes that the letters B. s., mentioned by Venuti, were omitted in his Engraving; and it is further to be remarked, that the T in ET is wanting between CASTELLE and LEGIONIS; but whether the omission be Venuti's or Dr. Ducarel's, there is now no means of ascertaining.

Upon the whole, it appears to be somewhat extraordinary that the King of Castille should have struck at Bayonne a Coin professedly (according to M. Venuti's idea) of the Coinage of Castille. Is it not more probable that the letter B (which is the sole foundation for the conjecture that it was minted there) is the initial of Burgos, the antient Capital of Old Castille?

Should this conjecture prove to be well founded, the Coin in question must no longer retain its place in these Annals, as the Mint of Castille was never, in any way, dependent upon the Crown of England.

RICHARD II.

1377. At the age of eleven years Richard II. succeeded to the throne of his Grandfather, with all that popularity which the character of his Father, Edward the Black Prince, had entailed upon his issue. The commencement of his reign, however, was unfortunate, for his Dominions suffered severely from partial invasions by the French, and from inroads of the Scotch.

To resist these attacks considerable and constant supplies were necessary, which occasioned the levying of Taxes that were extremely unpopular*, and which laid the foundation for the ruin of this weak and unhappy Monarch.

1378 or 1379. The troubles of his reign did not altogether prevent attention to the affairs of the Mint; and accordingly we find that, in his second year, the Commons petitioned, that whereas they had been informed, by the Officers of the Mint of the Tower of London, that, from the want of proper regulations, Gold and Silver were not brought into the Realm, but

* Amongst other expedients to procure Money a Writ was issued for the discovering of Black Money and other subterraneous treasure, hidden of old in the County of Southampton, in whosoever hands it might be, and to seize it to the King's use. [Pat. 1 R. II. pt. 3. m. 35. dors.] He afterwards claimed Black Money to the amount of 150 lb. of full weight, which had been found in that county, as belonging to him in right of his Crown. [Cl. 1 R. II. m. 17.]

on the contrary had been and still were exported; and that the Money which remained in the Kingdom was, by clipping and other means, become extremely feeble^y; which mischief increased daily. And that the said Officers declared, that if a remedy were not speedily applied, the King would receive no more than four Shillings where he then received five.

It was further stated to be the meaning of the said Officers, that the Money should not be altered in any point, but that provision might be made for bringing Gold and Silver into the Realm, and for retaining, as much as might be, that which was already there, and that such as remained might be kept good and heavy, as, according to the nature of it, it ought in reason to be; for the advantage of the King, and of the whole Realm, of the English Merchants who should sell their wool at Calais, and of those likewise who should buy goods in Flanders to import into England, and of all the Consumers of the above-mentioned articles.

The King, in his answer, expressed his readiness to be advised by the Officers of the Mint, the Merchants, and others experienced in such matters, and to apply the best remedy which could be devised^z.

Orders were given, in consequence, to the Collectors of the Customs, to take care that the Ordinances, which required the Merchants to bring certain quantities of Bullion to the Mint, for their Wool, &c. should be enforced^a.

The Commons stated still further, in their Petition, that certain weights for Bread, and measures for Beer, such as the Gallon, Pottle, and Quart, were ordained by Statute^b, and that they, the said Commons, had no small Money to pay for the smaller measures, which was greatly injurious to them; and therefore they prayed, that it would please the King and Council to

^y Hearne says, that the Wickliffites were encouragers of the Counterfeiters of the Money. The whole passage is curious — “*Quemadmodum et perduellium monetæque corruptorum similiter * fautores fuisse Wiccleuitas, qui postea orti sunt, ex iisdem itidem patere potest historicis. Quippe quos hypocritas fuisse nemo pernegabit, qui unquam, quæ de illis memoriæ prodita sunt, ea, quæ decet, attentione perlegerit.*” [Preface to Hemingford, p. lxxiv.]

^z Rolls of Parliament; vol. III. p. 64.

^a Cl. 2 R. II. m. 2.

^b The antient Assize of Bread, &c. and of Money was recognized and confirmed in this year. [Pat. 2 R. II. pt. 2. m. 20.]

* He had just before mentioned that the Enemies of this Country were guilty of such offences against the Money.

command that Halfpennies and Farthings should be made in order to pay for the smaller measures, and other little purchases; for God, and for works of charity; and that the Victuallers throughout the Realm should be charged to sell their victuals answerably to the size of the Money.

This was promised to be done, as soon as the King could provide Bullion for that purpose ^c.

Their Petition prayed, still further, that no person should bring into the Realm Cloth of Gold, or of Silk, Handkerchiefs, precious Stones, or any manner of Jewels; or of Furs; nor convey any Wool out of England, for the time to come, unless he should bring two Shillings of Sterlings in Bullion for every Pound, to increase the quantity of Gold and Silver within the Realm. This to continue until the next Parliament.

In consequence of this part of the Petition it was ordained, in Parliament, that from the Feast of St. John next ensuing every Merchant should, for each Pound of Cloth of Gold, &c. which he imported, bring in Bullion of Gold or Silver to the value of twelve Sterlings, to the Tower of London, until the next Parliament, in order to try whether it would be for the advantage of the King and the Realm, or not ^d.

In the same Parliament it was ordained, that (whereas the Gold and Silver worked by English Goldsmiths was oftentimes less fine than it ought to be, because the Goldsmiths were their own Assayers) from that time every Goldsmith should have his own proper mark upon his work, and that the Assay of Touch should belong to the Mayors and Governors of Cities and Boroughs, with the assistance of the Master of the Mint, if there should be occasion; and that the work should bear the mark of the City or Borough where it was assayed.

Moreover it was ordained that every Goldsmith of England should have, from that time, his proper mark to himself; and if any vessel should be found within the Realm, after the Nativity of St. John next ensuing, without the mark of the Goldsmith who made it, or of worse alloy than Sterling, the said Goldsmith should pay, to the party complaining, double the value of the said vessel, and also be committed to prison, and make fine according to the quantity and quality of the crime.

^c Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 64.

^d Id. p. 66.

And also that the King should assign such persons as he should please to make the said assay, as well in London as elsewhere, as often as should be necessary; and, after the assay should be made, to stamp the work with another mark, to be appointed by the King. And it was agreed that the Ordinance should commence from the said Feast of St. John, and continue until the next Parliament, to try whether it would be advantageous or not^e.

At the latter end of the year 1379, or in the beginning of 1380, several Petitions respecting Ireland were presented by the Commons.

In one of which they stated, that because Merchants for their own advantage did carry out of that land Gold and Silver to make their merchandizes, by which the King's Subjects were greatly impoverished, they therefore prayed that his Majesty would please to ordain and grant within that Country MINE and COIN; or Mine of all manner of metals, and Coin of Gold and Silver. And that every Lord of the Soil might have within his Seignory the power to dig mines, and to make plate, &c. to be carried to the Bullion, or to form vessels and other necessary goods (but not to transmit or carry it as merchandize out of the Realm); and to command Miners and Workmen to execute the provisions of the Ordinance.

The King, in his answer, declared it to be his pleasure that every one should mine and dig within his own proper soil, in that Country, Gold, Silver, and all other Metals, for six years to come, rendering to the King the ninth part; and that whoever should make plate, or piece of Gold or Silver so dug, and should carry it to the King's Mint in the City of Dublin, should receive from thence the King's Money to the value, saving the King's Seignorage, and the accustomed fees for coinage. The said plate, piece, or other bullion, not to be sent forth, or carried as merchandize out of the said Country, without especial permission from the King by his Letters, except into England, on pain of forfeiture of the same, if it should be found, or the value of the same, to be paid by those who should be convicted^f.

In the year 1380 the Commons again represented the great inconveniences which they sustained from the want of Halfpennies and Farthings, with which they had been accustomed to purchase small quantities of bread and beer, but which were then wanting all over England. They therefore peti-

^e Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 66.

^f Id. p. 86.

tioned that such Coins might be made, and circulated amongst the common people, to their great relief; and that out of every Pound weight coined there should be made three fourths of Halfpennies and Farthings, of the same weight and fineness as heretofore.

It was promised, in answer, that a certain quantity should be made for the ease of the people, with the advice of the Council ^g.

In a Writ of this same year, directed to the Customers of the Port of St. Botolph [now Boston in Lincolnshire], it was recited, that it had been ordained in the Parliament holden at Westminster in the second year of the King, for the increase of Money of Gold and Silver within the Realm of England, that for every Pound weight of Cloth of Gold or of Silk, or of Women's Garments, of Gems or Stones, of Jewels, and of Furs imported, also for every Pound of Gold or Silver, by number, arising from the sale of Wool, &c. within the Realm, after the Feast of St. John the Baptist in the following year, the Merchant should bring to the Tower of London Bullion of Gold or Silver to the value of twelve Sterlings, for the Cloths, &c. within half an year after their importation, and for the Wool, &c. within one year after their exportation, to be delivered to the Master and Warden of the King's Mints in the said Tower, by whom the King's Money should be paid for the said Bullion, according to right. The said Merchants to give sufficient security to the Customers of the Ports where their goods should be imported, or from whence they should be exported, for the due observance of the Ordinance; and the Customers were commanded to enforce the Ordinance, which was to extend only to the Parliament which should be next holden, in order that a judgment might be formed of its utility.

And whereas several Merchants (who had brought in Cloths, &c. or exported Wool, &c. had delivered at the Tower sufficient quantities of Bullion, according to the Ordinance, and had received their acquittances from the Officers of the Mint) had petitioned the King that their securities given to the Customers might be returned to them, therefore the King commanded the Customers to examine their acquittances, and if all appeared to be just and right, to deliver up their securities without delay. The said letters of acquittance to be exhibited before the Barons of the Exchequer, in order that

^g Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 94.

the Master of the Mint might be charged with the profit arising from the aforesaid Bullion so delivered to him ^h.

1381. During the sitting of Parliament, in this year, the Commons presented a Petition, in which they represented the Kingdom as being in a state of the most wretched want; and entreated the King and the Lords, before they terminated their session, to take into serious consideration the great poverty of the Realm, which was totally devoid of treasure, and of every other good, in comparison of what was therein aforetime. This they stated to have arisen from divers causes; namely, from the Money of Gold and Silver being carried out of the Realm, and the remainder being clipped for the most part, to the loss, in one Pound weight of Gold, of thirteen Shillings and four Pence, and even more; from the expensive wars; and from the low value to which various commodities of the Realm were then reduced ⁱ. On those and other accounts the Kingdom had been declining into poverty for sixteen years and upwards, without remedy. They therefore prayed that their thrice-honoured Lords would consider those things, and provide accordingly ^k.

It does not appear that this Petition received any answer; and it is probable that none was given, as the Commons, on the 13th of December in the same year, recapitulated their requests in the presence of the King himself; amongst which they insisted strongly upon the mischiefs that were occasioned by the impairing and exporting the Money. Of these requests the King took no notice in his answer; but stated his great expenses, and his debts in consequence of them, and desired that they might be discharged ^l.

At the conclusion of the session, however, the Commons renewed their Petition, and then received from the King a favourable answer, which echoed the words of the Petition, and the substance of which is to be found in the first Statute of that Parliament, the second chapter whereof forbade the carrying of Money out of the Realm without license.

^h Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 392.

ⁱ According to Froissart a very different reason was assigned for the scarcity of Money. He says, "Numbers in the City of London, having heard of John Ball's preaching, began to say, among themselves, that the Kingdom was too badly governed, and the Nobility had seized on all the Gold and Silver Coin." [Johnes's Froissart, vol. II. p. 461.] N.B. This was just previous to Tyler's rebellion. Ball was one of the seditious Preachers.

^k Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 102.

^l Id. p. 104.

But, previously to the passing of this Statute, a Petition was presented to the King and his Council, in Parliament, by the Officers of the Mint in the Tower of London, representing, that no Money, either of Gold or Silver, was made in the said Tower, to the great damage of the King, and of all his People.

The causes of this, they stated to be, that the Monies of Gold and Silver beyond the Seas were more feeble than the Monies of England; on which account the Merchants could not bring Bullion into England for their profit, nor for the King's advantage: but if any manner of Bullion of Gold were brought into the Kingdom by persons travelling, it was sold to those who conveyed it out of England, to their great gain, and to the injury of the whole Realm.

That the Silver of England, which was found to be good and heavy, was taken into Scotland, because the Money of that country was so light.

That the Gold of England being so good and heavy, and that beyond Sea so light, the Nobles which came from Calais were gone into Flanders, and the English Nobles were carried beyond the Sea, to the great profit of those who exported them, and to the injury of the King, and of the whole Realm.

That the Money of Gold and Silver of England was commonly clipped, so that they who thought they should have one hundred Pounds would have no more than ninety, unless a remedy were speedily applied.

They therefore prayed that the afore-mentioned points might be well examined, and good and wise counsel taken thereupon, and a remedy shortly applied; otherwise the said Officers did, before God and the Parliament, clear themselves of the great mischief and loss which they [*i. e.* the Parliament] would receive from the Money, and which would increase more and more. For if speedy remedy were not applied, they, the said Officers, warned them that in a short time to come they would lose the far greater part of their Money of Gold and Silver; and that which should remain would be so light that it could never be amended, without great damage and irrecoverable loss.

In the answer it was ordered, that the Warden, Master, and other Officers of the Mint, should be summoned to appear before the Lords of Parliament on the following Saturday or Monday, to give their free advice, and to declare whatever they should know better in the matter.

Accordingly several persons appeared, and gave their opinions in the following manner ^m:

Richard Leyeⁿ thought that the reason why no Gold nor Silver was brought into England, but on the contrary that which had been in the Kingdom was exported, was this, that the Realm expended too much in merchandise, such as grocery, mercery, furs, ivory, precious stones, &c.; and that exchanges were made to the Court of Rome by various ways.

Article^o I. The remedy which he proposed was, that every Merchant who imported goods into England should export an equal quantity of the produce of the Realm; and that no one should take out Gold or Silver contrary to the Statutes. Also that it should be ordained, that the search should be made in a different manner. By which means it appeared to him that the Money which was then in England would remain, and great quantities of Money and Bullion would come in from the parts beyond Sea.

Article II. For the enfeebling of the Gold Coin by clipping, he knew no other remedy than that it should be universally weighed by those who took it; and that Proclamation should be made to that effect, which would be less expense and loss than the alteration of the Money, as might be plainly proved.

Article III. With respect to the great want of Halfpennies and Farthings, he said that the Master was bound by his Indenture to make Halfpennies in proportion to the quantity of Silver worked. The Warden of the Mint, therefore, should be charged to see that the Master did, in all respects, what belonged to his office.

Article IV. As to the Gold not agreeing with the Silver, he thought that could not be remedied unless the Money were changed: and to change it in

^m As this is the first instance, on record, of private individuals being called upon for their opinions respecting the steps proper to be taken for the preservation of the Money, I have given the sentiments of those who were examined at large. It does not appear that any of them belonged to the Mint.

ⁿ Qu. whether this name be abbreviated? There is no mark of contraction in the printed Roll.

^o I have added the number of the Articles to these answers by Leye, although they do not appear in the printed Roll, in order that his opinions may be more readily compared with the others which have in the Roll the numbers affixed. It will be observed that some of the persons did not give answers to every Article, and that some of the answers are not numbered.

any manner would be productive of universal injury to Lords, Commons, and to all the Realm, as might easily be shown.

Article V. Whereas new Money had been made in Flanders and in Scotland, he advised Proclamation to be made, that all manner of Coins of Flanders, Scotland, and of all other places beyond the Seas, should be no longer current in England, and that no one should receive them in payment, except as Bullion, to be carried to the King's Mint.

Article VI. That it would be altogether for the better, and for the great advantage of the people, if the King would take no seignorage for the recoinage of the current Money of Gold which was so much clipped and otherwise impaired; and if the Master should have for the working of one Pound thereof, for himself and for his Officers, no more than ten Pence ^p.

Article VII. Also, for the increase of the Money, and profit of the whole Realm, that of all other Bullion [*i.e.* of Gold] the King should take no more than twelve Pence, and the Master of the Mint also twelve Pence for his work.

Article I. Lincoln a Goldsmith gave his opinion, as to the first Article, that the chief remedy was, that no Clerk nor Provisor should be suffered to carry away any Silver or Gold, or to make any exchange for payments to the Court of Rome; and that no Merchant should be suffered to covenant for Money, but only merchandize for merchandize; and also that the Noble should remain of the same weight as it had been, but at a greater value.

Article II. Respecting the second Article, the remedy should be of one weight, so that the Money not of legal weight should be estimated according to its value.

Article III. The remedy for the third Article, that great plenty of Half-pennies and Farthings should be made.

Article IV. For the fourth, that there should be one weight and one measure throughout the Realm, and that no light weight should be allowed.

Article V. The remedy for the fifth Article would be found on a reference to the first.

^p By the Indenture the King's seignorage was 3s. 6d., and the Master's allowance 1s. 6d.

Article I. Crantren answered to the first Article, that no more in value of foreign merchandize should be consumed within the Realm than should be exported of commodities the growth of England. And then, whether the Money were enhanced or debased, it would hereafter remain within the Realm, and increase according to the other remedy following.

And, to make the native commodities dear, and plenty and good market for foreign merchandize, he proposed that all Merchants, denizens and strangers, should, as often as they would, bring their merchandizes into the Realm, and sell them there safely and peaceably (saving to Cities and Boroughs their Franchises respecting retail), provided that every one of them should take out of the Realm, at his departure, native commodities of equal value to what he brought in.

Also that exchanges, or other payments by letters, should not be made out of Flanders, or other parts beyond the Seas, to pay in England for any merchandize.

That no Gold should be received, nor be current, within the Realm, unless it were of just weight.

That generally no Gold, nor Silver, in Money, Plate, Jewels, or in any other manner, should be taken out of the Realm, on pain heretofore ordained; and that whosoever should give information, and prove the same, should have the fourth part for his trouble.

That the Esterling of Scotland should not be current within the Realm, nor be received, at greater value than one Halfpenny Farthing English; and that the Ordinance lately made, respecting the Scottish Groat and Half Groat, should be kept and observed^q.

Article I. John Hoo said — As to the first Article, he would that strict search should be made, that no man should carry out of the Realm Gold or Silver, in Plate, Money, Jewels, or otherwise, under severe penalties; and that every Merchant who should bring in foreign commodities should be bound to take out of the Realm native commodities of the same value.

^q This was the Statute of the 47th of Edward III. which reduced the Scottish Groat to three Pence in England.

Article II. As to the second Article, he proposed that the Money should be received by weight, and Proclamation thereof be made forthwith.

Article III. That the Officers should be commanded to make a greater number of Halfpennies and Farthings, in order to supply the want of those Coins.

Article IV. The fourth Article he considered as having been answered in the second.

Article V. As to the fifth Article, he was of opinion that Scottish Money should be universally forbidden to have currency within the Realm.

Richard Aylesbury thought that, provided the merchandize exported from England was properly regulated, that is, if no more of foreign commodities were allowed to be imported than the value of the native commodities which should be taken out, the Money then in England would remain, and great plenty would come from beyond the Seas.

He also conceived it to be expedient that the Pope's Collector should be an Englishman, and that the Pope's Money should be sent to him in Merchandize and not in Coin; and that the journies of Pilgrims and Clerks should be entirely forbidden, on pain, &c.

For the feebleness of the Gold which was occasioned by clipping, he conceived there was no other remedy but that it should be universally weighed by those who received it, and that Proclamation should be made accordingly.

The agreement of the Gold with the Silver he believed could not be effected unless the Money were changed; but that he dared not to propose on account of the general damage which would ensue.

On account of the new Money which had been made in Flanders and in Scotland, he advised that all Scottish Money should be forbidden by Proclamation, and also all other Monies from beyond the Sea, so that they should have no currency in England, and that no one should take them in payment except at their value as Bullion, and for the King's Coinage. That no one should export Gold or Silver, according to the Statute in that case; and that an Ordinance should be made for searches in another manner.

And, further, he suggested, by way of information, that the Pound of Gold which was then made into the sum of forty-five Nobles (but which Pound, by reason of clipping and otherwise impairing, was then valued at forty-one

Nobles and an half) should be made into forty-eight Nobles, to be current at the same value as before; and that the King, and the Master, and the other Officers of the Mint, should take from every Pound, for the seignorage and working, and every thing else, twenty Pence^r.

On the above information was founded the second Chapter of the first Statute which passed in the fifth year of the King^s, 1381, in form following: "Item, for the great mischief which the Realm suffereth, and long hath done, for that Gold and Silver, as well in Money, Vessel, Plate, and Jewels, as otherwise by exchanges made in divers manners, is carried out of the Realm, so that in effect there is none thereof left; which thing, if it should longer be suffered, would shortly be the destruction of the said Realm, which God forbid; it is assented and accorded, and the King enjoineth all manner of people, Merchants, Clerks, and others, as well strangers as denizens, of whatsoever estate or condition they be, upon pain of as much as they may forfeit, that none of them, upon the said pain, privily nor openly, send nor carry, nor cause to be sent or carried out of the said Realm, any Gold or Silver in Money, Bullion, Plate, or Vessel, neither by exchanges to be made, nor in other manner, except the wages of Calais, and of other the King's Fortresses beyond the Sea, and especially excepted the Prelates, Lords, and other of the said Realm, to whom sometimes it behoveth necessarily to make payments beyond the Sea, that of the same payments only they make exchanges in England, by good and sufficient Merchants beyond the Sea, especial leave and license being first had therein of the King, as well for the exchangers as for the persons which ought to make the payments, containing expressly the sum which shall be so exchanged. And it is assented, that the Merchants that so shall make exchanges shall be diligently examined

^r Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 126.

^s I cannot reconcile the date of this Statute, as it is fixed by Runnington in 1381, with that of the above Proceedings on the Rolls of Parliament. The informations of Leyc, &c. are dated on the Rolls 1381 and 1382, 5 R. II. Now there cannot, I think, be a doubt that those informations preceded the Statute. In that case, if the date on the Rolls be correctly printed, the Parliament which passed it, and which according to the Preamble met in November, must have been holden in November 1382; for as the fifth year of Richard ended in June 1382, the November in his fifth year must have been November 1381, which will not agree with the Rolls.

and sworn, in their proper persons, as often as they shall have the said license, that they shall not send beyond the Sea any manner of Gold or Silver under the colour of the said exchange. And if, after Proclamation of this Ordinance, any person be from henceforth duly attainted, that he hath caused to be sent or carried beyond the Sea any Gold or Silver against this restraint and ordinance, he shall forfeit to the King the same sum so carried or sent."

The Statute then forbids the passage of all persons, except Lords and other great men of the Realm, and true and notable Merchants, and the King's Soldiers; and afterwards proceeds thus respecting the transportation of Gold or Silver: "And the King commandeth all Wardens and Searchers of the Ports and Passages through England, that they shall from henceforth diligently use their office, and make good and strait search; and if any Searchers or Wardens of the Ports and Passages through the said Realm, by negligence, or in other manner, do, or suffer wittingly to be done, in any point, the contrary of the said article touching the Money of Gold or Silver, and thereof be duly convict, he shall forfeit to the King his said office, and all his goods, and his body shall be committed to prison, there to remain a whole year without redemption. And thereupon whosoever espieth, and proveth duly, that any thing be done against the intent of this article, whereby the said forfeiture ought to fall upon any person, he shall have half of the said forfeiture for his trouble, of the King's gift." ^t

1382 or 1383. In a short time after, it was found expedient to dispense with this Statute in favour of the foreign Fishermen who brought herrings into England. They therefore were permitted to pass out of the Realm with their Money of Gold or Silver ^u.

1384 or 1385. But in about two years from that time strict search was again commanded to be made, that no Gold nor Silver should be exported, and also that no Papal Bull, nor other instruments, should be brought into the Realm ^w; on account, no doubt, of the Money which would be paid for them, and so carried abroad.

^t Statute 5 R. II. Statute 1. cap. 2.

^u Cl. 6 R. II. m. 24.

^w Pat. 8 R. II. pt. 1. m. 43. dors.

After the death of Lodowic Earl of Flanders, the Duke of Burgundy had assumed the title, and had caused Money to be struck of less value than that which was current in Flanders in the time of the late Earl, with the intention that such Money should be current in that country, which would be to the manifest disadvantage of the King of England's subjects who should trade there. A Writ was therefore issued about this time, directed to John de Bourgchier, Regarder of Ghent in Flanders, commanding him to prevent the currency of such Money within his jurisdiction ^x.

The provisions of the Statute which was made in his fifth year, 1385, appear to have been of little avail; for in the Parliament which was summoned to be holden at Westminster on the Friday next after the Feast of St. Luke in the ninth year of the King, but adjourned to the morrow, and again to the Monday following, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk and Chancellor of England, by command of the King then being present, declared the causes for summoning the Parliament. Amongst these was the state of the Coins; concerning which he said that the English Money was in greater estimation, and of higher value, in all other places than in the Kingdom of England, and on that account desired and sought for beyond measure by all Nations; and on that pretence was craftily withdrawn from the Realm, and daily carried away, not only to the prejudice and defrauding of the King, but to the manifest impoverishing of the whole Kingdom; and that the chief and greatest remedy was to increase the value or price of the said Money ^y.

In this Parliament the King created Robert de Vere (Earl of Oxford) Marquis of Dublin: and in addition to that title, then unknown in England^z, gave him the land and dominion of Ireland, to hold of the King, during his life, with all rights, &c. as amply as the King himself ought to have the same; saving to the King the homages, resort, and superiority of that country; the Marquis to pay to the King five thousand Marks annually, for the term of his life. Amongst other regalities which the King at that time granted to his dearest Cousin was the following—that he should have power

^x Franc. 8 R. II. m. 13. Rymer, VII. p. 452.

^y Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 203.

^z Dugdale, quoting Walsingham, p. 320, n. 52, says that this title was much distasted by others of the Nobility, in regard that thereby he was put higher than themselves, not being superior to them in wisdom or valour.

to strike and make Gold and Silver Money in the land and dominion aforesaid, provided it should be of the same alloy and assay as the King's Money of England ^a.

1386. The King, however, was not contented with the singular honours which he had thus lavishly bestowed upon his favourite, but added to them a fresh Grant upon the 13th of October following. By this Patent he advanced him to the rank of Duke of Ireland, and confirmed to him all the privileges before granted, but in words somewhat more full than were used in the former Writ. In that, power was given to him to make Money of Gold and Silver only; in this, he had the further privilege of striking every kind of Money which had heretofore been coined, either by the King, or by any of his Progenitors^b. It does not appear that he ever exercised this power of Coinage which was granted to him. Indeed his reign was so short as scarcely to have afforded him an opportunity of doing it^c.

In this year, on the 24th day of November, the Under-Sheriff for Lincoln delivered into the Court of Exchequer a Die counterfeit of the King's Die (with which certain false Moneyers, who were drawn and hanged for the

^a Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 209.

^b Rot. Cart. 9 R. II. m. 1. and Rot. Parl. 9 and 10. m. 3. Selden's Titles of Honour, part I. chap. 4.

^c In 1389 the Duke of Ireland, Alexander Nevill Archbishop of York, Michael de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, and Robert Treslyen Chief Justice of England, were summoned to appear and answer to Articles exhibited against them; and on their non-appearance they were outlawed, and all their possessions confiscated, except their intailed lands, which were to come to their right heirs upon their decease. [Knyghton, Column 2706.] According to Froissart, the Duke of Ireland, and Sir Simon Burley, another of the King's favourites, were suspected of having amassed very large sums of Money, and it was rumoured that they had sent great part of it for safety to Germany. It had also come to the knowledge of the King, his Uncles, and the Rulers of the principal Towns in England, that great cases and trunks had been secretly embarked from Dover Castle, which were said to contain this Money they sent fraudulently abroad to foreign Countries, and by which the Kingdom was greatly impoverished of cash. Many grieved much at this, saying, that Gold and Silver were become so scarce, trade languished. [Johnes's Translation, vol. III. p. 474.]

It was Richard's intention to have advanced his favourite still higher, and to have given him the title of King. [Selden, quoting Walsingham, Titles of Honour, part I. chap. 4.]

The Duke died at Louvaine in 1392, in great distress of mind and penury. [Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I. p. 195.]

same, had made gilded Halfpennies, not of Gold but of some other metal), and also six pieces of the false Coins themselves, together with one small piece of Silver weighing nine or ten Pennyweights, and two pieces of the Metal of which the said false Money was made. And the said Under-Sheriff declared that he had found the said Die, and all the articles above-mentioned, in the custody of the said Moneyers; which Die, &c. he delivered to the Chamberlain of the Exchequer, to be kept to the King's use ^d.

The Ordinance for reducing the current value of the Scotch Coins seems not to have been sufficiently respected; and accordingly, in the year 1387, a Writ was issued, dated on the 30th of July, by which all the Sheriffs in England were commanded to make Proclamation in every week, until Michaelmas next ensuing, that Scotch Money should be received or paid at no more than the following rates; namely, the Penny for one Halfpenny Farthing, and the Halfpenny for a Farthing and half of English Money, in buying or selling, or in any other manner. And that every one should bring such Money to the King's Bullion, there to receive the said value for it; so that if any such Money should be found in the hands of any person whatsoever, after the said Feast, it should be forfeited, one half to the King, the other to him who should find the same ^e.

The solemnity with which the counterfeit Die, &c. were delivered into the Court of Exchequer seems to show that the practice of falsifying the Money had at that time been alarmingly extended; and this idea is confirmed by the issuing of a special Commission, in the year 1389, to the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Robert Belknap, and Sir William Skipwith, before whom seven Counterfeiters of Money were convicted at Lincoln, who had increased one Noble to ten Shillings, by making it into six Farthings. All the seven were drawn and hanged, at the same time ^f.

It does not appear, from this account, that the Money made by these persons was base, but that they had melted down the Noble, and re-coined it into six Quarter Nobles, or, as they were called, Farthings of Gold.

^d Placita coram Baronibus, 10 R. II. Rot. 9. b. Madox's MSS. vol. LXIX. p. 111.

^e Cl. 11 R. II. m. 33. dors. The Scotch Coins were still further reduced in current value in the year 1390, and the circulation of them entirely forbidden in 1393.

^f Knyghton, Column 2678.

We have seen that the quantity of Scottish Coin which was brought into England had been long complained of by the Commons as injurious to them, and that measures were taken to restrain the circulation of it by lessening its current value. In 1390, however, the poor Commons, as they stiled themselves, renewed their complaints, and stated, that, whereas they had in the reign of the late King desired that the Groat might be reduced in its current value^g, they now petitioned that not only the Groat, but also the Half Groat, the Penny, the Halfpenny, and the Farthing of Scottish Money might be utterly removed out of the Realm; and that inquiry might be made of such as had carried the Money of England into Scotland, to make Bullion, or Money of Scotland, to the prejudice and injury of the King and the Realm.

The King's answer was not favourable to the spirit of this Petition, as to the total banishment of Scottish Money out of England; but he declared it to be his pleasure that the Groat, Half Groat, Penny, and Halfpenny of the Coinage of Scotland should be current for no more than half their value. And if the said Money should be again diminished in weight, its current value should be brought down in proportion; and that Commissioners should be appointed, throughout the Realm, to inquire of those who should carry or send the Money of England into Scotland, to be converted either into Bullion or into Money of that Kingdom^h.

This answer forms the 12th Chapter of a Statute which was made in the same 14th year; in the first Chapter of which it was enacted, that every alien Merchant who should bring any merchandize into England should find sufficient sureties before the Customers, in the port where the merchandize should be brought, to buy other merchandize, of the commodities of the land, to half the value, at the least, of the merchandizes brought in.

The second Chapter of that Statute ordained, that for every exchange which should be made by Merchants to the Court of Rome, or elsewhere, the said Merchants should be firmly and surely bound, in the Chancery, to buy, within three months after the said exchange made, merchandizes of the Staple, as Wools, Leather, Woolfels, Lead or Tin, Butter or Cheese, Cloths,

^g In 1373, 47th of Edward III.

^h Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 280.

or other commodities of the land, to the value of the sum so exchanged, upon pain of forfeiture of the same ⁱ.

1391. This Statute was, with others, confirmed in the next year ^k.

1392. A Statute of his 16th year stated, in the fifth Chapter, that it was said, and a common clamour was made, that the Bishop of Rome had ordained and purposed to translate some Prelates of the Realm, some out of the Realm, and some from one Bishoprick into another, within the Realm, without the King's assent and knowledge, and without the assent of the Prelates so to be translated. By which translations (if they should be suffered) the Statutes of the Realm would be defeated and made void; and the King's liege Sages of his Council, without his assent, and against his will, carried away and gotten out of his Realm, and the substance and treasure of the Realm carried away, and so the Kingdom would be destitute as well of counsel as of substance; therefore the Statute declared, that all persons who should purchase or pursue, or cause to be purchased or pursued, in the Court of Rome or elsewhere, any such translations, should be put out of the King's protection, their lands and tenements, goods and chattels, forfeited to the King, and their bodies to be attached, if they might be found, and brought before the King and Council, there to answer; or that process should be made against them by *præmunire facias* ^l.

1393. In the following year Proclamation was made against certain Gold Coins of Flanders and Brabant, the stamp of which resembled those of the King, but they were of less weight and value. These had been brought in both by natives and foreigners; and it was now commanded that no one should, in future, take or receive Gold Money of either of those countries ^m.

At the same time the Commons stated, in their Petition to the King, that whereas there had been great scarcity in the Realm of Halfpennies and Farthings of Silver, whereby the poor were frequently ill supplied, so that when a poor man would buy his victuals, and other necessities convenient for him, and had only a Penny, for which he ought to receive an Halfpenny in change, he many times did spoil his Penny ⁿ in order to make one Half-

ⁱ Statute 14 R. II.

^k Statute 15 R. II.

^l Statute 16 R. II.

^m Cl. 16 R. II. m. 2. dors.

ⁿ "Il perdra son Denier." Does this mean that he *spoiled* his Penny by cutting it in two in order to make an Halfpenny to pay with, or that he *lost* his Penny, because he was forced to give the whole for want of change? Probably the former was intended. See under 1402.

penny. And also when many worthy persons of the Commonalty would give their alms to poor beggars, they could not, on account of the scarcity of Halfpennies and Farthings, to the great withdrawing of the sustenance of poor beggars. For this inconvenience the Commons prayed that a remedy might be found.

The King replied, that Halfpennies and Farthings should be made.

The remainder of his answer ran nearly in the words of the Statute which passed in that Parliament, and which stated, in the first Chapter, that, Whereas it was ordained by the noble King Edward, grandfather to the King, in the tenth year of his reign, that no Sterling, Halfpenny, nor Farthing, should be molten for vessel, nor other thing thereof to be made by Goldsmith or others, upon pain of forfeiture of the Money so molten, and imprisonment of the Founder, until he should have yielded to the King the half of that which he had so molten, notwithstanding any Charter or Franchise granted or used to the contrary. It was then accorded and assented that the said Ordinance should be firmly holden and kept. And moreover it was ordained and assented, that no Groat nor Half Groat should be molten to make vessel, or any other thing thereof, upon the same pain. Also that no Gold nor Silver of Scotland, nor of other lands beyond the sea, should run in any manner of payment within the Realm of England, but should be brought to the Bullion; there to be changed into the Coin of England, upon pain of forfeiture of the same, and of imprisonment, fine, and ransom of him who should do the contrary; and that no man should send any English Money into Scotland, to change the same in Money, or for Scottish Money, upon the pain next aforesaid.

About this time John Elyngeham and William Strathern, Serjeants at Arms, were directed to inquire concerning Henry Goldsmyth, of Eton in the County of Bedford, who was suspected of having counterfeited the Coins of Gold and Silver in that village; and to take him, together with his engines, instruments, and counterfeit Money, and to bring him before the King and Council.

o Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 319, and Statute 17 R. II. chap. 1.

p Pat. 17 R. II. pt. 1. m. 13. dors.

In the year 1395 two Indentures of the Mint occur, one with John Wildeman^q, and the other with Nicholas Molakine a Florentine^r. They are the earliest which have yet been discovered in this reign, and possibly none were executed before them, as they contain the same terms as the Indenture of the 25th of Edward III.

1396. The last of these Instruments was repeated in this year.

A singular Grant was at that time issued to Margaret Countess of Norfolk and D. B. Goldsmith of London, licensing them to melt down Groats, Half Groats, and Sterlings, to the amount of one hundred Pounds, and to make thereof a silver vessel for the use of the said Margaret, notwithstanding the Statute^s.

The Statute for preventing the exportation of Coins and Bullion was, in his 20th year, dispensed with in favour of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose agent had license to pass into foreign parts with eight thousand Francs upon his account^t. It should seem that this mode of conveying the money was, for some reason, relinquished, for the Archbishop soon afterward had permission to pay that sum into the hands of Gerard de Alberti, of the Company of Albertines dwelling in London, who was authorized to send it abroad upon the Archbishop's business^u.

In the Parliament which met at Westminster in the same year, it was ordained that all Merchants, as well denizens as aliens, who would carry out of the realm of England any wools, skins, or woolfels, should bring in one ounce of Gold, of foreign Coin, for every sack of wool, and for every half last of skins, and for every two hundred and forty woolfels, to the King's Bullion in the Tower of London, within half a year of the time of the Custom and Cockett of the same, and in the same name as they were customed and cock-

^q Cl. 18 R. II. m. 25.

^r Lowndes, p. 37. Mr. North thinks it "likely that Richard made some alterations in his Money, for some Groats, though finely preserved, will no ways come up to the weight of 72 Grains. Mr. Willis's weighs but 60 Grains." MS note to Folkes.

^s Pat. 19 R. II. pt. 2. m. 34. It is not easy to ascertain what could be the object of this Grant, for it is scarcely probable that a sufficiency of Bullion, in another form, was not readily to be obtained.

^t Cl. 20 R. II. pt. 1. m. 5.

^u Cl. 20 R. II. pt. 2. m. 18.

etted. And if the said Merchants should not bring in the said ounce of foreign Coin for every sack of wool, &c. to the said Bullion, in form as aforesaid, they should pay to the King for every Sarpler^w of wool three shillings and four pence, and the same for every last of skins, and for every four hundred and eighty woolfels, besides the customs and subsidies, and other duties thereupon due. And that all and every such Merchants, before they should carry the said wool, &c. out of any port of the realm of England, should find sufficient security to the King's Customers in the same port to carry the said ounces of Gold to the said Bullion, in form aforesaid.

Upon which, Writs, commanding Proclamation to be made of the said Ordinance, were directed to the Mayors and Bailiffs of the cities and towns where the Staples were held. Also other Writs to the Collectors of Customs and Subsidies in the ports of the Staples, ordering them to take security of the said Merchants, and thereof to certify the Warden and Master of the Mint in the said Tower of London, specifying the name of the Merchants, the number of sacks of wool, &c.

Against this Ordinance, the Merchants of the realm, both denizens and aliens, made a remonstrance to the King in the following Parliament. They stated that, although the King had a Master of his Mint within his town of Calais, and that the Bullion and foreign Coin which was brought there, to buy wool and other merchandize, was required to be made by his hands into Money of the King's Coin, by which the King received as much advantage for his seignorage, as from that which was coined in the Tower of London, and although the said suppliants did not receive at Calais, for their goods, any other Money than the King's Coins, yet, nevertheless, by virtue of an Ordinance made in Parliament in the twentieth year of his Highness's reign, the said suppliants were commanded to bring Bullion for the same merchandizes to the Tower of London, notwithstanding that the payment for those merchandizes was received in Money of the King's Coin.

^w A Sarpler of Wool is half a Sack. [Cowel's Interpreter.]

^x Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 340. These Writs bear date Feb. 20, in the 20th of R. II. that is, in the year 1396-7, so that this Parliament appears to have a wrong date assigned to it in the printed Rolls.

And also, that the officers of the Duke of Burgundy, within his land of Flanders, being aware of the said Ordinance, would not permit any one to carry Bullion out of, nor through, the said country of Flanders, towards the said town of Calais, upon pain of forfeiture of the same, and on that account did make strict search in every way and passage of the said country, so that, at that time, no Merchant dare to venture his money toward the said Staple, for fear least he should lose the same, to the great injury of the said Staple. And of those who did adventure to come there, through the said country of Flanders, whether strangers or subjects, their Gold was seized, as forfeited, by the officers aforesaid, so that the said suppliants were not able by any means to obtain Bullion, in order to obey the said Ordinance.

And also that many Merchants of divers parts of the realm of England, who shipped wool towards the said Staple, some ten sacks, some twenty sacks, had been accustomed, after they had sold the same, to pass by sea to their own country, but who, according to the said Ordinance, at that time ought to come to London on account of ten or twenty ounces of Bullion, and to wait there until it should be struck into Money of the King's Coin, whereby they would expend all the gain of their merchandize, or more. Which causes aforesaid, and also the fear of the penalty comprized in the said Ordinance, did restrain the generality of the Merchants of the realm of England, so that they dared not to buy nor to ship any wool during the said Ordinance, to the great damage and loss of the King's Customs, and loss and abatement of the price of wool in the realm, unless a remedy should be graciously provided.

Wherefore they prayed the King, that of his abundant grace he would consider the great troubles and mischiefs which they had stated, and for them ordain, in the Parliament then sitting, that the said suppliants should be relieved in future from bringing Bullion to the Tower of London, and for giving security for the same upon such Merchandizes as should pass directly to the said town of Calais, so that the Bullion might be melted within the Mint there, as it had been accustomed in times past. And also that he would grant, pardon, and release to all the Merchants aforesaid the Bullion then in arrear to the Tower of London for the shipping of their wools since the making of the said Ordinance; and that the securities taken on that

account by the King's Customers throughout the realm might be made void and annulled, for God's and for charity's sake.

The King avoided a decisive answer to this Petition, but said he would send his special letters to the Duke of Burgundy, and his Officers and Ministers beyond sea, of such a nature, and as often as the business might require^y.

In the same Parliament, the Commons also petitioned that the Staple might be confined to Calais, and that no licenses might be granted to carry out wool, &c. to any other places, which they complained had been done, to the great injury of the King's Mint, Coinage, and Customs at Calais.

It was promised, in answer, that the Statute should be observed and kept as to gross merchandizes, such as wool, &c. and that no license should be granted but by the King's special permission; and if any should be granted otherwise, it should be revoked^z.

In 1398, the Ordinance to reduce the current value of the Scottish Money to one half, in England, was again enforced^a.

1399. In order to check the carrying of Money, &c. out of the realm by the Pope's agents, an oath was now administered to the Collector, by which he engaged not to convey any Money, &c. beyond the sea, without the King's special license^b.

During this reign, the Irish are said to have had but little Money, and to have merchandized chiefly with cattle. When Mac Murrough, an Irish Chief, met the Earl of Gloucester, Richard's Commander in Chief, he was mounted on a horse which cost him, as it was said, four hundred cows.

“ Un cheval, ot sans sele ne arcon,
 Qui lui avoit coste, ce disoient,
 Quatre cens vaches, tant estoit bel & bon;
 Par pou argent.
 A. on pais, pource comunement
 Merchantent eulx a bestes, seulment.”^c

^y Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 369.

^z Id. p. 370.

^a Cl. 21 R. II. pt. 1. m. 11. dors.

^b An. 23 R. II. m. 3. d. Rymer, VIII. 86.

^c Strutt's Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, p. 39. Quoting a History of the latter part

Mr. Ledwich quotes the above circumstance as a proof that the Irish had not, at that time, adopted Money as the standard for estimating the value of things; and infers, from their being no specimens now existing of Edward III.'s Money, which he directed to be coined for Ireland in his fifth year, that probably his intentions were never carried into execution.

In another place he says, "extraordinary as it may appear, the strictest inquiry, I believe, will prove it true, that not before the middle of the fourteenth century, did English Money pass among the Irish."^d

I know not how this assertion is to be reconciled with the existence of Coins, even at this time not uncommon, which were struck in Irish Mints during the reigns of John, Henry III. Edward I. and possibly II. and III.

It will be seen from an inspection of the Plates, that the representation (if it may be so called) of this King, upon his Coins, does not differ from the busts of his three immediate predecessors. His name is written RICARD, or RICARDVS, with the title of REX ANGLIE ET FRANCIE^e, ET DOMINVS HIBERNIE ET AQVITANIE. The last title appears only on his Gold Coins.

His style upon his Great Seal differs not from that which his father assumed after his conquests in France.

On the Reverse of his Silver Money is given the place of Mintage.

No Irish Coins of his have yet been discovered, nor is it known that he coined any there, though he was three times in that country. In the year 1394, when he reduced several of the petty kings^f, in 1395, when he held a Parliament in Dublin^g, and again in 1399^h.

On his Anglo-Gallic Coins he is styled RICARD, or RICARDVS, REX ANGLIE ET FRANCIE ET DVX AQVITANIE. They are of Gold, Silver, and Billon.

of this reign, from 1399, by Francis de la Marque, a French gentleman of his suite. Harl. MSS. No. 1319.

^d Antiquities of Ireland, as quoted in Monthly Review, N. S. vol. XI. p. 34.

^e The title of King of France is omitted upon some of his Coins. Perhaps (says Mr. Leake) he relinquished it in 1396, upon his marriage with the Lady Isabel of France, when a truce was established between the two kingdoms for twenty-eight years. [Hist. Acc. of English Money, p. 124.]

^f Walsingham, p. 351.

^g Id. *ibid.*

^h Id. p. 357. Simon says, that an Act of 15 E. IV. seems to refer to Coins struck in Ireland by Richard. [Irish Coins, p. 19.] But see an account of this Statute under that year, wherein no reference to Irish money of Richard appears. [P. 28.]

His Mints were few, for his Coins present only the following names.

CIVITAS DVNELM.

CIVITAS EBORACI.

————— DVNOL.

CIVITAS LONDON.

From the letter B upon some of his Aquitain Money, it is supposed that it was struck at Bourdeaux.

HENRY IV.

The system of favouritism, so long persisted in by the weak and irresolute Richard, at last brought on his deposition, and, at no distant period afterward, A. D. 1399, his death by violence.

He had been compelled to own in Parliament his incapacity for government, and to resign his Crown; and the throne being declared vacant, Henry Duke of Lancaster claimed by hereditary right, as the descendant of the blood of king Henry III. His pretensions were ineffectually opposed by the Bishop of Carlisle alone. No one dared to second him; and, as soon as he had concluded his speech, Henry ordered the Earl Marshal to take him into custody, and sent him prisoner to the Abbey of St. Alban's. He then ascended the throne, which he had gained partly by force, and partly by favour, and in consequence his seat thereon was, for a great part of his time, unquiet and insecure.

In order to render himself popular with his subjects, he began his reign by repealing all the Acts of that Parliament which was holden in the last year of the deposed Monarch, and likewise some particular Ordinances which had been made in preceding years.

Amongst others, he abolished that Ordinance respecting Bullion which was promulgated in the year 1397, and against which the Merchants presented a Petition in the next Parliament, but received only an evasive answer from the late King.

This he did at the request of the Mayor and the Merchants of the Staple of Calais, and by the advice and consent of the Lords assembled in his

first Parliament; when it was ordained that the Bullionⁱ should be at Calais, to remain there upon trial until the next Parliament; and that the Bullion which was due for the shipping of Wools, &c. from the time of making the said Ordinance, should be remitted to the said Mayor and Merchants; and that the Securities which had been given by them to the Customers should be cancelled, and the said Customers discharged thereof, notwithstanding the Ordinance aforesaid ^k.

In the same year Proclamation was made against the currency of Silver Halfpennies brought from Venice, of which three or four were scarcely equal to one Sterling in value; and it was commanded that no one should pay or receive them in future ^l.

This Proclamation was repeated in the following year, 1400 ^m.

At the same time the government of the Duchy of Aquitaine was committed to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Sir Hugh le Dispenser, Knt. and others, with full power to coin Gold, Silver, and Black [*i. e.* Billon] Money, and to give currency to the same ⁿ.

1400-1. In the Parliament which met at Westminster on the 20th of January in his second year the Commons petitioned the King, that, to prevent the diminishing of his Estate, and the great impoverishment of his Realm, by Merchants, foreigners as well as denizens, withdrawing the Money of the Kingdom out of the Realm, it would please him to ordain, that all Merchants, whether natives or strangers, coming with their merchandize into the Realm, should have liberty to sell freely for Money, or for other merchandizes in exchange, provided they found good security before the King's Customers to leave all the Money, so taken, within the Realm for other goods and merchandizes to be purchased of Merchants in the Realm. And if any Merchant go out of the Kingdom elsewhere, that he should not carry Money out with him, except for his necessary expenses, under the

ⁱ *Id est*, the Bullion Office, where foreign Coins and Plate, &c. were received and exchanged for the current Money of the Realm. I know not whether it were distinct from the Exchange or not.

^k Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 429.

^l Cl. 1 H. IV. pt. 2. m. 12. dors.

^m Cl. 2 H. IV. pt. 2. m. 9. dors.

ⁿ Rymer, tom. VIII. p. 141. Ducarel's Anglo-Gallic Coins, Postscript, p. 4.

inspection of the Customers; on pain that every one who should do to the contrary, and should be thereof duly convicted, should forfeit the Money so carried out of the Realm. Provided always, that he who should sell his merchandizes, and cease to merchandize afterward, and should remain in England, might retain his Money without buying other merchandize^o.

The King's Answer is contained in the provision of a Statute which was passed in the same Parliament. The fifth Chapter thereof recited the Statute made in the fifth year of Richard II.^p, and then stated that the King, in order to prevent the subtilty of those that would do fraud or deceit to him in that behalf, had ordained and established, that, ^q if, in future, any of the King's Searchers should find Gold or Silver, in Coin or in Mass, in the keeping of any person passing, or upon his passage, in any ship or vessel, to go out of any Port, Haven, or Creek of the Realm, without the King's special license, all such Gold or Silver should be forfeit to the King, excepting the person's reasonable expenses, which he should be bound to confess and discover presently after having been warned and charged so to do by the same Searcher; or else that all the Money so concealed should be forfeited to the King. Provided always, that the Merchants strangers who should sell their merchandize within the Realm of England, and the one half of the Money of England, received for the same merchandizes, should employ upon other merchandizes of the Realm, might freely carry out from the same the other half of the said Money by the King's license, according to the Statute thereof made^r.

In the same Parliament the Commons further represented to the King, that whereas it was ordained that the Staple should be at Calais, and that all manner of foreign Gold should be made into Bullion there, in order to make Nobles of the Coin of England; yet that, notwithstanding the said Ordinance, the Merchants did take in payment, beyond Sea, Nobles of Flanders, and did bring them into England, where they were current in such numbers that a man could not receive the sum of one hundred Shillings without taking three or four such Nobles of Flanders, each of them indeed worse and

^o Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 468.

^p Statute 5 R. II. Statute 1. Chap. 2.

^q From this place to the end, the Statute runs in the same words as the King's Answer.

^r Statute 2 H. IV. Cap. 5.

more feeble than the English Noble by two Pence, to the great deceit and damage of the King and the Commons. They therefore petitioned that the King would please to ordain, by Proclamation throughout the Realm, that no Gold nor Silver, except the Coin of England, should be current within the said Realm after the Feast of St. Michael next ensuing, on pain of forfeiture of the same to the King^s.

The words of the King's Answer to this Petition are, like the former, transferred into the same Statute of his second year; the sixth Chapter of which is as follows: "Item, for the great deceit that is in the Money of Gold and Silver of Flanders and Scotland that doth commonly run in payments made in divers parts of the Realm: ^t It is ordained and established, that all Money of Gold and Silver of the Coin of Flanders, and of all other lands and countries beyond the Sea, and also of the land of Scotland, shall be voided out of the Realm of England, or put to coin to the Bullion within the said Realm, between this and the Feast of Christmas next ensuing, upon pain of forfeiture of the same. And that all Merchants and others at Calais, which do receive any such Gold or Silver of the Coin of Flanders, or of other lands or provinces beyond the Sea, or of the land of Scotland, shall put the same to the Bullion at Calais, without bringing it in Coin within the Realm of England. And if the Merchants or others hereafter shall bring any such Money within the Realm of England, they shall forfeit the same Money to the King. And moreover it is accorded, that good and convenient search be made, as well at Calais as on this side the Sea, in every Port and other places, against the bringing the Money aforesaid."^u

1402. The latter provisions of this Statute could not, however, be carried into effect, on account of the great want of small Money; in consequence of which the Commons petitioned the King in Parliament, about two years after this, that he would be pleased to ordain some remedy for the great mischief amongst the poor people for want of Halfpennies and Farthings of Silver, which were wont to be, and still were, the most profitable Money to the said people, but were now so scarce, because none were worked nor made

^s Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 470.

^t From this place to the end is copied *verbatim* from the King's Answer.

^u Statute 2 H. IV. Cap. 6, Edition 1577. This chapter is not printed in the common editions of the Statutes.

at that time. Wherefore the people in divers places, of great necessity, used the Money of foreign lands, as Halfpennies of Scotland, and others called Galey Halpenys^w, and in some parts Halfpennies divided (to the great destruction and waste of the said Money), and in some places Tokens of Lead; so that not only the destruction of the said Money was inevitable, but also, in process of time, that of all other Monies of Silver, as Groat, Half Groat, and Sterling, if remedy should not be applied to the case^x.

The King returned a favourable Answer to this Petition; and the tenth Chapter of a Statute which passed in this Parliament made the following provision for the exigent: "Item, for the great scarcity that is, at this present, within the Realm of England, of Halfpennies and Farthings of Silver, it is ordained and stablished^y, that the third part of all the Money of Silver, which shall be brought to the Bullion, shall be made in Halfpence and Farthings; and that of this third part the one half shall be made in Halfpence, and the other half in Farthings; and the same to do and perform, let the Coiner be sworn in especial. And that no Goldsmith, nor other person, whatsoever he be, do to be molten any such Halfpence or Farthings, on pain to pay to the King the quatrebble of that which shall be so molten, against the form of this Statute."^z

The Commons likewise represented the great injury which was sustained by the King and the Realm of England on account of divers good Statutes and Ordinances (made in several Parliaments as well for the increase of the King's Customs as for the replenishing of Gold and Silver within the said Realm) which had not been duly nor justly observed, nor put in execution, as the said Statutes and Ordinances required. For it was ordained by them, that no person, of what degree or condition whatsoever, should convey or send, or cause to be conveyed or sent, Gold or Silver, in Money or Plate, out of the Realm, without the King's special leave and license.

Also the Statute made in the 14th year of King Richard required that every Alien, of what degree or condition soever, who should bring merchandize

^w So this word is always spelled in the printed Rolls. It is Halfpennies in the Statute 11 H. IV. Chap. 5.

^x Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 498.

^y What follows is in the words of the King's Answer.

^z Statute 4 H. IV. Cap. 10, Edition 1577.

into the Realm of England, should find sufficient security before the Customers in the Port where the said merchandizes were brought and discharged, to buy other merchandizes, of the commodities of the Realm, to the value of a moiety of their merchandizes so brought in; and the other moiety of the Silver received for their merchandizes not to be conveyed out of the Realm, without the King's especial leave and license, according to the Statute made in the second year of the King ^a.

These representations of the Commons occasioned the further provisions in the Statute referred to above, the 15th Chapter of which enacted as follows: — "Item it is ordained, that all the Merchants, Aliens, Strangers, and Denizens, which bring merchandizes into England, and sell the same within the Realm, and receive English Money for the same, shall bestow the same Money upon other merchandizes of England for to bring the same out of the Realm of England, without carrying any Gold or Silver, in Coin, Plate, or Mass, out of the said Realm, upon pain of forfeiture of the same. Saving always their reasonable expenses."

The 16th Chapter ordained, "That whereas in divers Ordinances and Statutes made before this time it was ordained and established, that no man, of what estate or condition soever he should be, should bring any Money, or cause to be brought Gold or Silver in Money, Vessel, or Plate, out of the Realm of England, without special leave and license of our Lord the King; and because the same Ordinances are very profitable and available for him, and for all his Realm, if they were put in due execution; the same our Lord the King, by the advice and assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the especial prayer of the Commons, hath ordained and established that the said Ordinances be holden and kept, and put in due execution. And if any person, of whatever state or condition he be, bring or send, or cause to be brought or sent, Gold or Silver in Money, Vessel, or in Plate, out of the Realm, without especial leave of the King, except for his reasonable expenses as is aforesaid, he that can espy the same, upon a full and lawful certification thereof made to the Barons of the Exchequer of our Lord the King, shall have the third part of such thing so espied for his trouble; to endure till the next Parliament." ^b

^a Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 509.

^b Statute 4 H. IV. Cap. 15 and 16, Edition 1577.

The Commons further represented, that the first Chapter of the said Statute of the 14th of King Richard, which ordained that every Alien Merchant should bestow half the Money received by him in England upon commodities of the Realm, had not been observed. To which it was answered, Let the Treasurer by his office do what appears to him to be for the King's advantage ^c.

They likewise complained that the second Chapter of the said Statute, respecting the Exchanges made by Merchants to the Court of Rome (by which they were bound to purchase, within three months, commodities of the Realm to an equal value of the sum exchanged), had not been enforced.

To this the King answered, Let it be committed to the Council, and let them have power, by authority of Parliament, to provide a remedy, at their discretion, by any way they may think most advantageous for the King and the Realm, between this and the next Parliament ^d; and Proclamation was accordingly made, to that effect, in the same year ^e.

An Indenture was executed, a short time before the passing of the above Statute, by the King and Walter Merwe, Master of the Mint, upon the same terms as that of the 25th of Edward III. ^f

1403. In the Parliament which was holden at Westminster in his fifth year the Commons prayed the King, that no one should in future use to multiply Gold nor Silver, nor the craft of multiplication. And that if any one should be convicted thereof, he should incur the pain of felony: because many persons, under pretence of the said multiplication, did make counterfeit Money, to the great defraud of the King, and damage to his People ^g.

In compliance with this representation the words of their Petition were framed into a Law, which forms the fourth Chapter of the Statute which was made in that Parliament ^h.

The Commons also stated to the King, that by the great crafts, frauds, and deceits of long time past, and at that present, used, as well between the

^c Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 509.

^d Id. p. 510.

^e Cl. 3 H. IV. m. 2. dors. There must be a mistake in this date. The Proclamation seems to have been made in compliance with the foregoing Petition.

^f Cl. 3 H. IV. pt. 2. m. 9. dors. Lowndes, p. 37.

^g Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 540.

^h Statute 5 H. IV. Chap. 4. Edition 1577.

Merchants aliens and the foreign Mariners coming and repairing to the Realm of England, or continuing in the same, great sums were from year to year carried away and alienated by them and their deputies, as well under pretence of merchandizes as of great exchanges temporal and spiritual yearly made and used, whereby the said Realm must incur total destruction and want of Gold and Silver, if speedy remedy were not applied. They therefore petitioned the King, that he would be pleased to make, in the present Parliament, Ordinances and Statutes, and establish them throughout the Realm, that where the said Merchants and Mariners aliens and strangers should repair or continue, there two persons lawful, liege, right honest and sufficient, should have commission from the King's Council to survey and comptroll all the sums of the said exchanges temporal and spiritual, and also the value of the merchandizes after their sale to the Merchants denizens, so that the Gold received for such merchandizes should be entirely expended in merchandize of the commodity of the said Realm: excepted and reserved to the said Merchants and Mariners, aliens and strangers, for their expenses during their continuance in the Realm, under the inspection of the said Surveyors and Comptrollers. And that soon after the buying of the said merchandizes, the Merchants buyers should certify to the said Surveyor and Comptroller the amount of the merchandize bought of the said Merchants strangers. And that it should be done in like manner by those who should make exchanges with the Merchants strangers, without concealment. And that no subject should in future pay for merchandize, nor exchange, in hard money, or by barter, except under the inspection of the said Officers. And that the Officers, Surveyors, and Comptrollers, should look to as well the merchandizes of Merchant strangers as the exchanges spiritual and temporal, so that the Gold and Treasure should be retained within the Realmⁱ. And, for the maintenance and preservation of the riches of the Realm, that a reasonable punishment, according to his Majesty's high discretion, should, in that Parliament, be appointed, ordained, and established by Law against all those who should offend in the points above-mentioned, for charity's sake.

ⁱ They say, that those who would oppose the dispatch and execution of their Petition do not know half the frauds, subtilties, and deceits of the Merchants strangers, by which the common benefit of the Realm was impeded and ruined.

They professed, however, that it was not the intention of their Petition to expel the Merchants strangers out of the Realm, but only that the Gold of the merchandizes of Merchants and Mariners, aliens and strangers, together with the Gold of the said exchanges spiritual and temporal, should be expended entirely in merchandizes of the commodities of the Realm, so that the Gold should remain in the Realm, to the perpetual maintenance of the Treasure thereof^k.

The Statute of his fifth year was drawn in the words of the King's Answer to this Petition, and comprised all the Ordinances proposed by the Commons, except that which related to the paying for merchandizes, or the making exchanges, in hard cash, or by barter, only, under the inspection of the Officers, of which no notice was taken.

By the ninth Chapter of this Statute it was enacted, that, for the better keeping of Gold and Silver within the Realm of England, and for the increase of the commodities of the said Realm, the Statutes which were made to that effect in the last Parliament should be continued, and kept, and put in due execution; with this addition, that the King's Customers and Comptrollers, in all parts of England, should take sufficient sureties for all manner of merchandizes brought by the Merchants aliens and strangers, who should come and repair to the said Ports, to the intent that the Money taken for such merchandize should be employed upon the commodities of the Realm, saving their reasonable costs, as in the same Statute was contained more fully.

And also that the said Merchants aliens and strangers should sell their merchandizes, so brought within the said Realm, within a quarter of a year next after their coming into the same; and also that the Money which should be delivered by exchange in England should be employed upon the commodities of the Realm, within the same Realm, upon pain of forfeiture of the said Money.

And, that no Merchant, alien or stranger, should sell any manner of merchandize to any other Merchant, alien or stranger, upon pain of forfeiture of the same merchandize.

^k Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 543.

And also, that in every City, Town, and Port of the Sea in England, where the said Merchants aliens or strangers were, or should be, repairing, sufficient Hosts should be assigned to the said Merchants by the Mayor, Sheriffs, or Bailiffs of the said Cities, &c.; and that the said Merchants aliens and strangers should dwell in no other place, but with their said Hosts so to be assigned; and that the same Hosts should take for their trouble in the manner as was accustomed in old time.

In order to prevent the waste of Gold and Silver, the 13th Chapter of the same Statute enacted what things should be gilt or silvered, and provided that a part of the base metal should always be left exposed, to the intent that a man might see whereof the thing was made ^l.

1404. In the next Parliament the Italian Merchants petitioned for relief from that part of the Statute, of the preceding year, which fixed the time within which merchandize should be sold ^m.

That Clause was, in consequence, declared to be utterly void and annulled for ever, by a Statute which was now made, because the King had found the same to be hurtful and prejudicial, as well for himself and his Realm as for the Merchants aliens and strangers. And it was declared, that the said Merchants aliens and strangers should be at their free disposition to sell their merchandizes in the manner as they did before the making of the said Ordinance; saving always the franchises and liberties of the City of London. And further provided always, that the said Merchants aliens and strangers should not carry nor cause to be carried out of the Realm any merchandizes brought within the Realm by the aforesaid Merchants aliens and strangers.

The first Chapter of this Statute was intended to prevent the payment to the Church of Rome of more for First Fruits than had been accustomed, by which large sums had been carried out of the Realm ⁿ.

The Italian Merchants also petitioned that they might not be held to employ within the Realm the Money received in exchange between Merchant and Merchant; and that they might be permitted to employ upon merchan-

^l Statute 5 H. IV. Chap. 9 and 13.

^m Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 553.

ⁿ Statute 6 H. IV. Chap. 4 and 1.

dize of the Staple of Calais, or in England, the Money which they should take for exchange made in England by Clerks and Pilgrims. This was refused ^o.

False Money still continued to be brought into the Realm, notwithstanding the Statutes which had been made to prevent that practice. The Scotch appear to have been the chief practisers of this fraud; for about the year 1406 we find the Commons representing, that whereas the Scotch (under and by colour of safe conduct from the King) coming into the Realm did bring with them false Money of Scotland, resembling the Coin of England, and of false alloy; namely, certain Knights and Esquires of Scotland some one hundred Pounds, and some forty Pounds of Halfpennies, to the defrauding of the common people of England. They therefore besought the King that he would be pleased to ordain, in the present Parliament, that every Scotch man, of what estate or condition soever, who should come into England, with safe conduct, or otherwise, and bring with him such false Money into England, and all others, aliens or denizens, who should bring Galey-Halfpenyes into England, to the defrauding of the people, and thereof should be convicted, should incur the pain of life and limb.

It was not thought expedient to grant the prayer of this Petition to its utmost extent; but the King replied, Let the Statutes in this case made be kept and observed, and put in due execution ^p. The former Statutes being doubtless considered as sufficiently penal, without making the offence capital.

In this year a License was granted to the Merchants of the Company of Lucca, dwelling in London, to remit certain Monies to foreign parts by Letter of Exchange, provided that no Gold nor Silver, in Mass or in Money, should be transmitted under pretence of such license ^q.

These Licenses appear to have been frequently granted. Another occurs in the following year, 1407 ^r.

Another Statute was made, in this year, to prevent that increasing evil, the carrying of Money out of the Realm to the Court of Rome. By this the former Statutes of King Edward III. and King Richard II., and of the pre-

^o Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 553.

^q Cl. 7 H. IV. m. 18.

^p Id. p. 600.

^r Cl. 8 H. IV. m. 23.

sent King, with all pains and additions to the same, were commanded to be firmly holden and kept, the moderation of the said Statutes made before the time of the present King notwithstanding^s.

The fifth Chapter of the Statute made in his 11th year, 1409, enacted, that the Galy Halfpence (which did commonly run in the Realm for payment, in derogation of the King's Crown, and in great deceit of the common People) should never be current in payment, nor in other manner, within the Realm of England, upon pain of forfeiture thereof. And moreover that they should be forfeited in whose hands soever they should be found after two months from the date of the Statute. And also that all the Statutes and Ordinances made aforetime, either by the King himself or by his Progenitors, not repealed, as well of Money of Scotland as of the Money of other Realms, and parts beyond the Sea, should be holden, and kept, and put in due execution.

The seventh Chapter forbade the conveyance of Gold and Silver clandestinely out of the Realm. This had been effected by concealing those metals in packages of cloth, and in barrels and other vessels.

The eighth Chapter enforced the observation of the Statute of the 14th of Richard II., by which Merchants who made exchanges to the Court of Rome were bound to buy, within three months after such exchange made, merchandizes of the Staple, or other commodities of the Land, of equal value: with this addition, that the Chancellor of England for the time being should, from fifteen days to fifteen days, send the Estreats of the Writs of Exchanges into the Exchequer; and that the Treasurer and Barons of the said Exchequer should have power, by authority of Parliament, to examine the Customer in such case, and to punish those who should be found guilty against the form of the said Statute^t.

These last two Chapters appear to have been enacted in consequence of a representation which was made, by the Commons, to the King in Parliament,

^s Statute 9 H. IV. Chap. 8, Ed. 1577.

^t Statute 11 H. IV. Chap. 5, 7, and 8, Ed. 1577. The Galley Halfpence are supposed to have received their denomination from the circumstance of their being imported into the Realm by the Genoese Gallies. — Cowel, *sub voce*, says, "Sir Francis Bacon writes them Gaul's-Halfpence; and, 'tis like, more truly." I know not where it is so written by Bacon; but it is contrary to the orthography of the antient Editions of the Statutes.

of the manner in which Ecclesiastical Persons advanced to dignities in the Church had made their exchanges. The Lombards and Albertines, dwelling in London, were in the habit of receiving from them Plate, Vessel, or Coin, for the purpose of exchange, which they afterward conveyed privately out of the Realm. The King, in his Answer, directed that the Statute of the 14th of Richard II. should be kept and observed; and made the further provisions which are contained in the above-recited Chapters^u.

1411. In his 13th year the Statute which forbade the currency of Galy Halfpence, and also of the Money of Scotland and of other Realms beyond the Sea, was commanded to be firmly holden and kept, and put in due execution in all points, on account of the great deceits which were practised in all those Coins^w.

The same Parliament which passed the Statute for this purpose also made the following Ordinance for the Regulation of the Money of the Realm: — “Item, because of the great scarcity of Money at this time within the Realm of England, and because of other mischiefs and causes manifest, by the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the request of the Commons, it is ordained and assented, that the Master of the Mint in the Tower of London shall make of every Pound of Gold, of the Weight of the Tower, fifty Nobles of Gold, and of the same Pound and Weight of Silver thirty Shillings of Esterlings^x; so that this Gold and Silver shall be of as good Allay as the old Money, as well within the Town of Calais as in the Tower of London. And in like manner shall be made all other kinds of Money, which were wont to be made in antient times by royal authority and grant.

“The said Ordinance to commence from Easter next coming, and to continue to the end of two years. Provided always, that if at the end of the said two years it appeareth that the said Ordinance is contrary to the good and profit of the King and his Realm, that then the said Ordinance shall utterly cease. And that the King, by advice of his Council, will renew, reform, and

^u Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 626.

^w Statute 13 H. IV. Chap. 6.

^x This brought the Coins down to the following weights — Groat, 60 Grains; Half Groat, 30 Grains; Penny, 15 Grains; Halfpenny, $7\frac{1}{2}$ Grains; Farthing, $3\frac{3}{4}$ Grains.

amend the same, for the good and profit of himself and of his said Realm, as may be necessary in the case, this Ordinance notwithstanding." ^y

Daniel says, that though the King had no Tax granted this Parliament (*i. e.* no Tenths nor Fifteenths), yet he so well managed the business of the Coinage, that he raised as good a fund by it; for, partly by seizing of forfeited Money, and partly by coining new Nobles, which he made a Groat lighter than the old, he much enriched his own Treasury ^z.

1412. In the following year Thomas Duke of Clarence, the King's son, was appointed his Lieutenant in the Duchy of Guienne, with full power to make Money of Gold, Silver, and Billon of the King's Coin, as often as he should think fit, at such current value as should be for the honour and profit of the King and the Country ^a.

This appears to have been the last act of Henry relating to his Mints. He died on the 20th of March 1412-13.

The Coins which were struck in England by this Monarch, before his 13th year, were of the same weight as those of the preceding reign, and are therefore easily to be known from those of his immediate Successors; and the Gold Money is distinguished by the Arms of France being Semè of Fleurs de Lis, and not charged with three only; which mode of bearing was first introduced by King Henry the Fifth, on whose Seal it appeared when he was Prince of Wales, in the sixth year of his Father^b. The Gold Money which was struck by virtue of the Ordinance of his 13th year is of the same weight as the Coins of King Henry V. and those of the early part of the reign of his Son, and therefore is to be known from them only by the dif-

^y Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. p. 658. This, though it is entitled an Ordinance only, and repeatedly so called in the body of the Instrument, appears to have all the essentials of a Statute. In this year [1411], says Grafton, the King abased the Coins of Gold and Silver, and caused the same to be current in his Realm at such value as before they had gone, where indeed the Noble was worse by four Pence than the other was; and likewise was the Coin of Silver current after the same rate. [Chronicle, sub anno.] Holinshed and Stow repeat this, but under the year 1412.

^z Parliamentary History, vol. II. p. 122, quoting Daniel. But his History ends with Edward III.; and I cannot find this passage in Trussel's Life of Henry IV., which he wrote as a professed Continuation of Daniel's Histories.

^a Vasc. 13 H. IV. m. 4. Rymer, VIII. 758. Ducarel's Postscript, p. 7.

^b Sandford, p. 277.

ferent manner in which the Arms of France are borne^c. The Silver Coinage of that date cannot be now distinguished from the Money of Henry V. prior to his ninth year, except that remarkable Coin with the Arabick numeral 4 (of which a representation is given in the Supplemental Plate I. N^o 41) can be admitted as genuine. It first appeared in the Plates of Withy and Ryall, Plate VIII. N^o 4, from the very suspicious Cabinet of Mr. White^d.

No Irish Coins of his are known.

Specimens of his Anglo-Gallic Money are given, because they are appropriated to him by Dr. Ducarel, though his arguments are far from being satisfactory, and the Coins might with equal propriety be classed under the reign of either his Son or Grandson^e.

His name is written HENRIC or HENRICVS, with the title of REX ANGLIE ET FRANCIE DOMINVS HIBERNIE ET AQUITANIE. On his Great Seal it is the same as that of his immediate Predecessor.

If Dr. Ducarel's appropriation of the Anglo-Gallic Coins be correct, they will give the following various spellings of his name—ERIC, HERIC, and HENRIE.

It appears, from the Records quoted above, that he had Mints at LONDON, BORDEAUX, and CALAIS; but the London Mint is the only one whose productions can now be certainly ascertained.

^c Sandford is of opinion that Henry IV. (though he made use of no other Seal than that in which the Fleurs de Lis were Semè) was the first King of England that, in imitation of his contemporary Charles VI., reduced the number to three Fleurs de Lis; because they occur so in his Escutcheon on his Tomb at Canterbury, and because his son, the Prince of Wales, bore them in that manner during the life of his Father, in the sixth, seventh, and eighth years of his reign. Ubi sup.

^d See specimens of his Gold Coinage in Plate I. N^{os} 13, 14. Plate II. N^o 6; which if it be his, must, by the weight [$108\frac{1}{2}$ Grains], have been struck after his 13th year; and Supplement, Plate VI. N^o 20.

The Groat in Plate IV. N^o 8 must, if his, also be of his last Coinage; as must that likewise in Supplement, Plate II. N^o 41; for neither of them exceeds 60 Grains in weight. The heavy Groat, in the same Plate, N^o 40, is of some Coinage prior to that period.

^e The Anglo-Gallic Coins in our Plates are given in deference to the opinion of Dr. Ducarel, and his reasons for the appropriation are assigned in the Description of the Plates.

HENRY V.

1412-13. Henry the Fifth was in the flower of his age when he succeeded to the throne upon the death of his Father. The early years of this Monarch gave no promise of that wisdom which his riper manhood displayed. His youthful excesses, however, were repaired by a steady and manly repentance, and gave place to dignified conduct, and the display of consummate abilities, both as a Soldier and as a Statesman.

At a very early period after his accession he turned his thoughts to the state of the Coinage in his Dominions; and finding that the Treasure of the Realm was fraudulently exported by Alien Frenchmen, who had been appointed to Benefices within the Kingdom, contrary to the Statute of the 13th of Richard II. (under colour of having been made Denizens by the King's Letters Patent, which Letters they had obtained in virtue of an oath by which they were bound to continue within the Realm), he, in the Parliament which was holden at Westminster in his first year, enacted that the Ordinances against such practices should be firmly holden and kept, and duly put in execution ^f.

In a General Pardon which was granted in this year, the Officers, or Ministers, of the Mystery of Money, Coinage, or Exchange in the City of London and Vill of Calais, who had not given security for their appearance in Chancery to answer such things as had been objected against them, and who, on account of some offences against the Law, and of fines which in the last Parliament of the late King had been imposed upon them, were not yet fully cleared, were excepted, and held to their appearance in Chancery. The forfeiture of their lands, &c. to the King being still reserved to him ^g.

The alterations which were made in the Standard of the Coins, by the Ordinance of Parliament in the 13th year of the late King, were now established by an Indenture between the King and Lodowick or Lowys John, Master and Worker of the Mints of London and Calais ^h.

^f Statute 1 H. V. Chap. 7.

^g Claus. 1 H. V. m. 34. dors. Rymer, IX. 3.

^h Claus. 1 H. V. m. 35. dors.

1414. Writs were issued, in this year, to William Crowmere, Mayor and Escheator of the City of London, and to the Searchers of the Port of London, which stated, that whereas it had been usual aforetime for the Merchants of Venice, who came in their Gallies, to bring their own Money of Venice, called Galley Halfpence, with them into England, to make their merchandizes with, to the injury of the people, contrary to the provisions of the Statute by which such Money was forfeited to the King; it was therefore commanded, that all Merchants, and others, of Venice, who should enter the Port of London, should be diligently searched to know whether such Money were within their Gallies; and that the possessors of such Money should be strictly enjoined not to do any thing contrary to that Statute; but, if they would merchandize with it, to bring it to the Mint in the Tower of London, there to be coined ⁱ.

In this year two Parliaments were holden. The first at Leicester, where the Commons represented to the King the mischiefs which would ensue, whenever Peace was made with France, from the sums of Money which would year by year be remitted from the Alien Priories, in England, to their chief Houses abroad; and petitioned the King to take such Priories into the hands of himself and his heirs for ever, with some few exceptions, which they stated in their Petition. To this the King gave his consent ^k.

The second Parliament met at Westminster, and, amongst other things, made an Ordinance for the Money of the Realm, to remove, as it is therein stated, the damages, mischiefs, and deceits which so abounded in the Kingdom, from the Washers, Clippers, and Counterfeiters of the Money of the Land. It was therefore agreed and consented, by all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, assembled in Parliament, that the King, by full authority of the same Parliament, should apply such remedy, ordinance, and provision, as he should think most profitable and expedient for himself and his people; such ordinance and provision to continue in force until the next Parliament. So that if it should appear to the King, and the Lords and Commons, assembled in the next Parliament, that the said ordinance and provision were sufficient for the purpose aforesaid, then that they should be established, in the same next Parliament, as a Statute to endure for ever.

ⁱ Claus. 2 H. V. m. 19.

^k Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 22.

And if not, that then such alteration might be made as should appear to the King most advantageous and necessary in that behalf, by the advice, counsel, and consent of those who should by summons come to the same next Parliament¹.

At the same time an Act was made to regulate the Alloy of Silver used for the purpose of gilding, which was fixed at the Alloy of the English Sterling, and the price of the Pound Troy so gilt to be no more than forty-six Shillings and eight Pence, at the most, on pain of forfeiting to the King the value of the thing so sold^m. This was done in compliance with a Petition of the Commons, in which they stated, that the Goldsmiths would not sell the wares of their mystery gilt but at double the price of the Silver of the sameⁿ.

1415. In his third year the Commons laid before the Lords assembled in Parliament a Petition from John Aleyn and others, in the following terms : "To the most discreet the Commons in the present Parliament assembled, humbly pray John Aleyn, William Beverage, John Abbot, Aleyn Forman, John Coventre, Everard Flete, William Trymnell, Thomas Brown, Thomas Burbache, Esmon Thorpe, Richard Flete, Phelip Abbord, and John Victor, that, whereas we lately had, in the Tower of London, in the hands of Richard Garner, then Master of the Mystery of the Mint within the said Tower, certain sums of Gold of old Money, amounting to five hundred and eighty-five Pounds, eighteen Shillings, and four Pence, to be coined into new Money, which has never been returned to us; and whereas our Petition presented (in the last Parliament holden at Leicester) to the King our Sovereign Lord, and by him, by authority of the said Parliament, committed to the Chancellor of England for the time being, therein to apply remedy and do justice (as appears by the indorsement of the said Petition), is not yet determined, whereby the said Petitioners are put to great losses, troubles, and expenses. Wherefore may it please your most profound wisdom to petition our said Lord the King to command his Chancellor of England, that, according to the effect of the said Petition, and the Indorsement of the

¹ Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 35.

^m Statute 2 H. V. Statute 2, Chap. 4.

ⁿ Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 52.

same, he do to every of the said Petitioners full justice and remedy, according to his discretion, as good faith and reason require, without granting further delay in the case, for God's sake, and as a work of charity. Considering, most discreet Sirs, that although the said Petitioners have often proceeded; in divers Parliaments and Great Councils, to obtain restitution of their said Money, yet still they have not, nor cannot have the same, to the great hindrance and impoverishment of their estate."

This Petition, being read, and fully understood, in the same Parliament, was again referred to the Chancellor °.

In consequence of a Petition of the Commons presented to the Duke of Bedford Guardian of England ^p, and the Lords assembled in the present Parliament, praying that the Statute of the 11th year of the King's Father, against Galley Halfpence, &c. might be enforced ^q, it was enacted, with the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the request of the Commons, that Galley Halfpence, and the Money called Suskine and Doitkine ^r, and all manner of Scottish Money of Silver, should be put out, and not be current, in future, for any payment in the Realm of England. And also, that Proclamation should be made through all the Counties of England, within the Franchises and without, and elsewhere, that all persons having Galley Halfpence, Suskines or Doitkines ^s, should bring them to the King's Exchanges, before the Feast of Easter next ensuing, there to be broken; and those which should be found good Silver, there to be stricken and coined into English Halfpennies; and that all they who after the said Feast of Easter should make, coin, buy, or bring into the Realm of England any Galley Halfpence, Suskines or Doitkines, to sell them, or to put them in payment, in the said Realm, and thereof should be attainted, should be

° Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 67.

^p The King was then engaged in the invasion of France.

^q Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 69.

^r The last term has long been and is still used to express Money of very small value. Holinshed says that the Mayor, at the conclusion of his office in 1551, owed no man a Dotkin. [Description of Ireland, p. 21.] We should now use the word Doit.

^s The Suskine was certainly the Flemish Seskin, or piece of six Mites; the Doitkine, the Holland Duitkin, or Doitkin, of two Penningens. Snelling's View of the Silver Coin, p. 18, note (y).

judged as felons, and forfeit all their lands, tenements, goods, and chattels. And that the Lords of whom such lands and tenements were holden should have and enjoy the forfeitures, as in other cases of felony. And if any of the King's liege subjects, or other persons, should pay or receive any of the said Coins within the Realm of England, and thereof be duly attainted, they should forfeit an hundred Shillings for every time of such receipt or payment; whereof the King to take one half, and whoever should sue for the King, and thereof attaint them, the other. Also, that all Justices of the Peace in the several Counties of England, and all Mayors and Bailiffs within Cities and Boroughs, and Stewards of Lords in view of Frank-pledge^t, should have power to inquire, by good Inquests to be taken before them, of all the matters aforesaid. And that the said Mayors and Bailiffs, after the said Inquests before them taken, should send the same Inquisitions before the Justices of Peace of the Counties in which the said Cities and Boroughs might be. And that the said Justices of the Peace should have power, as well of the said Inquisitions so taken before such Mayors and Bailiffs, and sent before the said Justices (as aforesaid), as upon other Inquisitions to be taken before the same Justices of the Peace, in their Sessions, touching the said matters, to make process, and to award the Capias and Exigent, and to hear and determine all the matters, according to their discretion, as in other cases of felonies and trespasses had been aforetime used^u.

It seems that at this time doubts existed whether clipping, filing, and washing the Money of the land ought to be judged treason or not, because no mention was made of such crimes in the Statute of the 25th of Edward III., which declared what offences should be adjudged treason. In order to avoid such doubt in future, the second Statute of this year declared that those who clipped, washed, or filed the Money of the land should be judged traitors to the King and to the Realm, and should incur the pain of treason. And

^t The Court-leet, or View of Frank-pledge, is a Court of Record, held once in the year, and not oftener, within a particular hundred, lordship, or manor, before the Steward of the Leet; being the King's Court granted by Charter to the Lords of those hundreds or manors. Its original intent was to view the Frank-pledges, that is, the Freemen within the liberty, who, according to the institution of the Great Alfred, were all mutually pledges for the good behaviour of each other. [Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. IV. p. 273.] The other objects of this Court may be seen in the Statute for View of Frank-pledge, 18 E. II.

^u Statute 3 H. V. Statute 1.

whereas counterfeiting, clipping, washing, and other falsity of the Money, was much more used than it was wont to be, and daily increased, because the punishment of the same did not belong to any Judges of the Realm, but to the King's Justices, before himself, or to special Commissioners thereto assigned, and because destruction of the Money might ensue unless sudden execution and remedy were provided, as the King perceived by the grievous complaint of his Commons: it was therefore ordained, by the same Statute, that the King's Justices assigned, and to be assigned, to take Assizes in all the Counties of England, should have power, by the King's Commissions, to hear and determine in their Sessions, as well of the counterfeiting, and the bringing such false Money into England, as of clipping, washing, and every other falsity of the said Money. And also, that the Justices of the Peace throughout the Realm should have power, by the King's Commissions, to inquire of all such matters, and thereupon to make process, by *Capias* only, against those which should be indicted thereof before them ^w.

In a subsequent article of their Petition, delivered in the same Parliament, the Commons represented, that, by neglect of the Gaolers, many escapes had happened (unusual before that time) of persons who had been committed to prison and to ward for counterfeiting, clipping, washing, and other falsifying of the King's Money; and therefore they petitioned the King that he would ordain, by authority of the Parliament then sitting, that the penalty for every such escape, in future, should be adjudged at one hundred Pounds at the least. The prayer of this Petition was not granted; but the penalties were ordered to remain arbitrary, as they had been aforetime ^x.

1416. In the Parliament which met at Westminster in his fourth year, the Commons delivered to the King a Petition which was addressed to them by John Aleyn and others, and prayed that the persons complaining in that Petition might have remedy in the matter contained therein. This Petition was in terms nearly similar to that which they addressed to the Commons in the year 1415, excepting that they now stated Silver to have been delivered by them to the Master of the Mint as well as Gold, and that they had received Bills, acknowledging the receipt of the same, either from him, or

^w Statute 3 H. V. Statute 2, Chap. 6 and 7.

^x Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 82.

from his Deputy Henry Whitbred, under their seals. They further stated, that their Money had not been restored to them, because all the goods and chattels of the said Master, and all the Money at that time in the hands either of him or his Deputy, were taken and seized, for the King, by the Earl of Arundel, since dead, and so remained still seized, and no agreement nor delivery made to the Petitioners of their Money aforesaid, to their great impoverishment. They therefore besought the Commons to consider the matter, and to petition the King that they might freely, and without delay, severally have restitution and deliverance of the Money aforesaid, agreeably to the Bills above-mentioned, in consideration that they had made long suit for their Money, as well to the King's Council as to the Treasurer of England, without any remedy.

The King ordered them redress upon their producing before the Council the Bills which acknowledged the receipt of their Money by the Master of the Mint^y.

1417. Proclamation was commanded to be made in his fifth year, that the Gold Money of Flanders, called Burgundy Nobles, which were of less value than the English Noble, should not from that time be received, on pain of forfeiture^z.

On the 17th of March, in the same year, Conrad Melwer was appointed Master of the Mint and Coinage within the Duchy of Normandy, with full power to make and coin, either by himself or his deputies, new Money called Blanks, Half Blanks, and Black Pence, of the same metal and assay as they had been made in that Duchy. He was to hold the said office during pleasure, and to take for himself and servants such wages as should be agreed upon between the King and him; and in the exercise of his office he was not to be hindered by any of the King's Servants^a.

1419. Two years afterward a provision was made, in the Parliament holden at Westminster, for the Money of the Realm. It stated that the Money of the land had been lately exported more largely and in many other manners than had been accustomed, to the great mischief and impoverishment of the whole Realm; so that, if remedy were not presently applied, it

^y Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 101.

^z Claus. 5 H. V. m. 18.

^a Rot. Norm. 5 H. V. m. 9. March 17.

was very probable that the coined Money still remaining would all be exported in a short time. It was therefore agreed and assented in that Parliament, that the King's Council should, by authority of the said Parliament, make such provision and ordinance for the good preservation and continuance of the said Money within the Realm, and also for the increase of the same, as to the Lords of the Council, for the time being, should be thought most advantageous for the common profit of the Realm; and, according to their discretion, summon before them such Merchants of the Staple and other sage persons as they should think necessary in the case.

It does not appear, upon record, that any steps were taken by the Council; but an Ordinance for the preservation of the Money within the Realm was accorded and assented to in the same Parliament. In it was ordained, that with the Money arising as well from the Tenths and Fifteenths of the Laity, which were granted in that Parliament, as from the Tenths of the Clergy of the Provinces of Canterbury and York, granted in their Convocations, or to be granted, to the King, there might be purchased, by the advice of his Council, within the Realm, wheat, cloth, and other necessities, for the King, and for his Soldiers beyond the Seas. And also, forasmuch as the King's subjects within his Duchy of Normandy had great difficulty in procuring wool for their manufacture, and to make cloth for their garments, it was ordained, that, by the advice of the said Council, there might with the said Money be purveyed and bought within the Realm, for the King's use, so many sacks of wool as the King should please; and that, by authority of the same Parliament, such quantity of wool might be shipped in such port or ports as the King should appoint, in order to pass into his said Duchy of Normandy, until the Feast of St. Martin in the Winter, in the year 1420, and that it might be sold to his said subjects there, any Statutes or Ordinances of the Staple, or other Statutes or Ordinances, made to the contrary, notwithstanding, to the end that from the Money arising from the price of the said wool, the King should have great provision of Money, wherewith to pay the wages of his Soldiers ^b.

The King's Money in Normandy was at this time regulated according to an Ordinance, which stated, that after the taking of Rouen the King had

^b Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 118.

commanded to make in his Mint there Money of Gold and Silver, in Petit Moutons and Grosses, in the same form and manner, and of the same alloy and weight, as before they had been; but that, at this time, for certain causes it was ordained, that for the future the Moutons of Gold, the Gross, Half and Quarter of Silver, the Monsoys^c, and Petit Deniers, should have an H in the middle of the great Cross, together with the other differences following.

It then ordained, that for the time to come should be made a Quarter Gross, to be current for five Deniers Tournois each, at the weight of two Pennyweights sixteen Grains Silver, and thirteen Sols and four Deniers the Mark, equivalent to the Gross with HENRICVS; and every such Quarter Gross to have on the Pile a shield with three Fleurs de Lis^d, and the Half Gross the same.

Also Doubles called Mançoiz, to go for two Pence Tournois each, at one Pennyweight eight Grains Silver le Roy^e, and sixteen Sols eight Deniers the Mark, with three Fleurs de Lis on the Pile.

Also Petit Deniers, current for one Denier Tournois each, at one Pennyweight of alloyed Silver le Roy, and twenty-five Sols the Mark, having on the Pile two Fleurs de Lis.

It also ordained, that the Nobles of England should have currency for forty-eight Grosses of the King's Coins (each Gross having HENRICVS written on the Pile, and on the Cross side a Leopard), equal in value to four Livres Tournois.

Also that the Petit Moutons, which then went for twelve Grosses, should be current at eighteen Grosses of the King's Money aforesaid, equivalent to thirty Sols Tournois; and that to every Merchant coming to the Mint should be given for every Mark one hundred and thirty-eight Livres Tournois; and that the Moutons aforesaid should remain at the same alloy and weight, and

^c This was a species of Money current in the Province of Maine, a Pound of which was of less value, by twenty Pence, than the Pound Tournois. Its name was variously spelled — Mançois, Manceau, Manseau, Mansois. In low Latin it was Manseus. [Glossaire de la Langue Romane.]

^d It is uncertain whether the Fleurs de Lis were reduced to this number by Henry V. or his Father. See note ^c at the end of the preceding reign.

^e I do not know the meaning of Argent le Roy in this place.

of the same form and fashion, as they then were, namely, at twenty-two Carrats, and at eighty-six to the Mark Troy, with the accustomed remedies.

Also, that the Nobles aforesaid should have course at sixty Grosses of CAROLVS, equal to one hundred Sols Tournois.

Also, it was forbidden to all persons, of whatsoever state they might be, to transport, or cause to be transported, any Bullion, whether of Gold or Silver, or any broken Silver, beyond the limits of the Duchy of Normandy, on pain to lose the same, and their bodies to be taken at the King's pleasure; and likewise they were forbidden to transport any Vessel of Silver, without license from the Bailiff or Bailiffs where the said Vessel was purchased, on pain of forfeiture of the same.

All Exchangers, Goldsmiths, little Tradesmen, Grocers, and other people, of whatever estate, were prohibited to make exchanges, unless by Letters of License from the Master General or the Warden of the King's Mint at Rouen. And moreover they were forbidden to keep, hold, or melt any Bullion, whether of Gold or Silver, but were commanded to bring it to the King's Mint, there to be melted and worked (for the profit of the King and of his People), within the time prescribed, on pain of forfeiture ^f.

This Ordinance bore date on the 25th of September; and on the 12th of January following, 1419-20, another was issued for the regulation of the Money of Rouen. The Writ was directed to John Boindon and Robert Deboymaire, Wardens of the Mint in that City, and stated that a great deal of Money, both Gold and Silver, had been brought into the King's Duchy of Normandy, out of France and other Countries; by which Money, it being feeble both in weight and in alloy, the People were at that time much incumbered, to the great sorrow, prejudice, and damage of the King and his Seignory, and also of his People; and that it would increase, provided a remedy were not applied. The aforesaid Wardens of the Mint were therefore commanded to make a Gross, to be current for twenty Deniers Tournois, at three Pennyweights eight Grains Silver le Roy, and of six Sols eight Deniers the Mark; and that every Gross should have on the Pile three Fleurs de Lis,

^f Pat. Norm. 7 H. V. pt. 1. m. 19. dors. Rymer, IX. 798. Ducarel's Postscript, p. 10. I have given the descriptions of these Coins at large, in order to facilitate the appropriation of the Anglo-Gallic Money with the name of Henry. No Coins exactly correspondent, in type, with this Ordinance, are, I believe, at this time known.

with a Crown above, and two Leopards to support the Fleurs de Lis, surrounded by the following inscription, HENRICVS FRANCORVM REX; and in the middle of the great Cross an H, with the differences that the Cross had been heretofore made with, and round the Cross these words, SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTVM^g; and that there should be allowed to the principal Master of the King's Mint, and to every Exchanger and Merchant frequenting the same, sixteen Livres ten Sols for a Mark of Silver alloyed, according to the said Alloy.

They were likewise commanded to make Petit Florins of Gold, called Escus, at twenty-two Carrats, and ninety-six to the Mark, to be current for twenty-four Ryals, equivalent to two Franks. Each Escu to have on the Pile a plain shield of the King's Arms, quartering France and England, and this inscription, HENRICVS DEI GRATIA REX FRANCIE ET ANGLIE, and on the side of the great Cross, either in the midst thereof, or in any other part where it may be better placed, an H, and between the flowers of the same Cross two Leopards and two Fleurs de Lis, with this legend surrounding it, CHRISTVS VINCIT. CHRISTVS REGNAT. CHRISTVS IMPERAT.; and that there should be allowed to the Master of the King's Mint, and every Exchanger and Merchant, one hundred and eighty-four Livres Tournois for the Mark of Gold^h.

Another Ordinance for the Money of Normandy bore date on the first of February in the same year. It confirmed the former Ordinance of the 12th of January, and forbade the currency of any other Money after the first day of May next ensuing, on pain of forfeitureⁱ.

1420. On the 18th of April a fourth Ordinance was issued, directed to the Wardens of the Mint of St. Lo. It commanded them to coin Groats, of the same kind as those which were ordered to be struck at Rouen by the Writ bearing date on the 12th of January, with this distinction only, that a single point was to be placed, for a difference, under the second letter from the beginning of the inscription on each side of the Coin^k.

^g See this Coin in the Anglo-Gallic Plates.

^h Pat. Norm. 7 H. V. pt. 2. m. 50. dors. Rymer, IX. 847. Ducarel's Postscript, p. 12. No Coins answerable to that last described are known.

ⁱ Pat. Norm. 7 H. V. pt. 2. m. 24. dors. Rymer, IX. 860. Ducarel's Postscript, p. 14.

^k Pat. Norm. 8 H. V. pt. 1. m. 10. dors. Rymer, IX. 888. Ducarel's Postscript, p. 16. This

The title of King of France which, by all these Ordinances, was ordered to be inscribed upon his Coins, was relinquished by the King upon his marriage with Catherine the daughter of the King of France, on the 3d of June. By a Treaty which was then executed Henry was appointed Regent of France and Heir to that Crown, and King Charles was, during his life, to stile him *Nostre tres chier filz Henry Roy d'Engleterre Heretier de France*. In Latin, *Noster præcarissimus filius Henricus Rex Angliæ Hæres Franciæ*¹.

Daniel charges Henry with breaking this Article by an Ordinance (made nine days after Charles's confirmation of the Treaty) for coining Money in Normandy, with the inscription *HENRICVS FRANCORVM REX*^m. But this is a gross mistake, as will appear from a consideration of the dates borne by the Ordinances recited above, all of which are prior to the execution of the Treaty, and also from the following Writ, issued on the 16th of June, by which the Wardens of the Mint at Rouen were ordered to make *Blancs Deniers* (called *Grosses*), to be current for twenty *Deniers Tournois* a piece, at two Pennyweights twelve Grains of alloyed Silver le Roy, and at eight Sols four *Deniers* the Mark weight, and upon the Money Foot twenty-eight; in the same form as before, except that the inscription on the Pile, instead of *HENRICVS FRANCORVM REX*, should be *HENRICVS REX ANGLIÆ ET HÆRES FRANCIÆ*, with the remedies at that time allowed at Paris. And that there should be paid, by the chief Master of the Mint, to Exchangers and Merchants twenty-six *Livres Tournois* for every Mark of Silver so alloyed. Similar Letters, of the same date, were directed to the Warden of the Mint of St. Loⁿ.

the French call the Point Secret. It is thus described by Boizard, Conseiller en la Cour des Monoyes: "Le Point secret est un petit point qui se mettoit anciennement sous les lettres des legendes, pour marquer le lieu de la fabrication, suivant l'Ordonnance de l'année 1415. Par exemple, le point secret pour la Monoye de Paris se marquoit sous le deuxieme E du mot *Benedictum*; pour la Monoye de Roüen, sous le B, du même mot, &c. Mais cela ne se pratique plus, & on se contente d'observer la marque de chaque Ville par les lettres de l'Alphabet." *Traité des Monoyes*, tom. I. p. 91.

¹ Claus. 8 H. V. m. 17. dors.

^m Carte's History of England, vol. II. p. 689, note 3. He says that Daniel refers to the Ordinance of April 18.

ⁿ Pat. Norm. 8 H. V. pt. 2. m. 9. dors. Rymer, IX. 920. Ducarel's Postscript, p. 17.

In the Parliament which was holden at Westminster, in his eighth year, the Chancellor (amongst other things recommended by him for consideration) directed attention to be given to the weakness and poverty of the Gentry of the Realm, which had of late happened from various causes, and especially from the great scarcity of Money at that time existing, and that some good provision should be made for that, and for other inconveniences °.

In consequence, the Commons petitioned the Duke of Gloucester, then Guardian of the Kingdom, that Merchants Strangers coming to Calais to buy wool and other merchandize of the Staple, should lodge in the said Town, with sufficient persons of the place, the King's Lieges, by Ordinance of the Mayor of the Staple, or his Lieutenant for the time being; and that, on the second day after their arrival, they should deliver to their Hosts all their Mass^p and Money, whether of the Coin of England or of any other Coinage, in their possession; which Mass and Money, or Mass or Money, they should carry to the Master of the Mint in the said Town; and that the said Master should weigh the said Money of the Coin of England; and if it should be in weight fifty Nobles to the Pound, with the remedy, then to return it to the said Host, and to the said Merchant Stranger; but if it should fail of the said weight, with the remedy, then to deliver it, under the name of Bullion, together with the Money of other Coinages and the said Mass, to the Master of the Mint, to convert both the Money and the Mass into the Coin of England, that is, at the rate of fifty Nobles to the Pound. And when they should thus be converted into English Money, then it should be delivered to the said Host, and to the said Merchant Stranger, that so the said Host should close the bargain made, or to be made, between the said Merchant Stranger and the said English Merchant, and make payment for the same, out of the said Money so received. And that the said Master of the Mint, in the presence of the Treasurer of Calais, or his Lieutenant, should deduct from the said Money reasonable expenses for the said English Merchant (according to his oath to be made before the said Treasurer) and his Custom (if any should be assigned by the King to be paid in the Town of Calais, either for provision or for the payment of wages to the Soldiers), and then

° Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 123.

^p *Id est*, Gold or Silver in Mass; probably what is now intended by the term Bullion.

inclose the remainder in a bag, sealed with the seal of the said Treasurer, or of his Lieutenant, appointed for that purpose; and that Indentures should be made, between the said Treasurer, or his Lieutenant, and the said English Merchant, the one part to remain with the Treasurer, and the other with the English Merchant, who should bring to the Mayor of London, for the time being, the said bag with the Money (unless it should be lost or stolen, either by sea or land), together with the Indenture. And if the Mayor should find that Money to agree with the Indenture, he should then return the said Money to the said English Merchant, but retain the said Indenture. And, within one month after the Feast of St. Michael in every year, the said Treasurer, or his Lieutenant, should certify the Register of all the Money paid in his presence to all the English Merchants, and the Indentures aforesaid, into the Exchequer; and the said Mayor in like manner. And if it should be found, by the Treasurer's Certificate, that nothing had been delivered by the Mayor, nor certified into the Exchequer, then that the said Merchant should forfeit as much Money as he had concealed. Provided always, that every English Merchant should receive for each Sarpler sold of Wool of Cotswold, Kesteven, Lyndesey, and the Marche of Wales, ten Pounds at the least; and for every Sarpler of other Wool, eight Pounds. And in like manner for six hundred Wool Fells, ten Pounds; to be brought to England in the form aforesaid, his reasonable expenses, stated upon his oath, being deducted. And also for eight pieces of Tin, ten Pounds. And that the English Merchant should be released from bringing Bullion, of the value of two Marks, for every Sack of Wool, to the Master of the Mint at the Tower of London, as of antient time ordained.

This Petition, which, had it been granted, must have greatly cramped, if not entirely ruined, the trade of Calais, was not complied with; but the old Statutes and Ordinances were directed to be put in force ^q.

In this Parliament was made a Statute, of which the second Chapter followed the words of a Petition from the Commons, excepting that part which prayed that whoever would sue for the King should have one half of the forfeiture; which was refused, and the whole reserved to the King ^r.

The Statute enacted, that every Merchant Stranger, buying Wools in England, to bring them to the Western parts, or elsewhere, not coming to

^q Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 125.

^r Id. p. 126.

the Staple, to be there sold, should bring to the Master of the Mint of the Tower of London for every Sack one Ounce of Bullion of Gold, and in like manner for three pieces of Tin one Ounce of Bullion of Gold, or the value in Bullion of Silver, upon pain of forfeiture of the same Wool and Tin, or the value of the same, to the King^s.

The third Chapter of this Statute enacted, that none from that time should gild any Geins, called Shethies, nor any metal except Silver, and the ornaments of Holy Church; nor silver any metal except the spurs of Knights, and all the apparel belonging to a Baron, and above that estate, on pain of forfeiture to the King of ten times the value of the thing so gilt, and also of one year's imprisonment. The Justices of the Peace to have power to inquire, and to determine in the case. And that he that would sue for the King in that behalf should have the third part of the said pecuniary fine. The last Ordinance to commence from the Feast of Easter next ensuing^t.

This Ordinance also was made in compliance with a Petition of the Commons; but the penalties which they prayed might be enacted were not granted, for they proposed forfeiture of life and limb, lands and tenements in fee simple, goods and chattels, as in case of felony^u.

The Commons further prayed, that all Merchants Strangers should be put to Host, according to the Ordinance thereupon made; and that all other Ordinances touching Merchants and Merchandizes, not repealed, and not contrary to their Petition, should be executed; and that no person, of what estate or condition soever, should convey or carry out of the Realm of England, nor cause to be conveyed or carried, Gold or Silver for Traffick, or for Benefice of Holy Church, or for any other Grace or Privilege of Holy Church, or for any other cause whatsoever in the Courts of Holy Church beyond Sea, reasonable costs and expenses for their passage excepted, upon pain of forfeiture of life and limb, and of lands and tenements in fee simple, goods and chattels, as in case of felony. It was not, however, thought fit to grant this Petition, nor to go the length of making this offence capital. Accordingly it was only commanded that the Statutes made therefore should be observed and kept^w.

^s Statute 8 H. V. chap. 1.

^u Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 126.

^t Statute 8 H. V. chap. 2.

^w Id.

1420-21. In consequence of the representations of the Nobles, &c. the King ordained, that his Money in Normandy should be improved, and brought to seven Franks the Mark of Silver to the Merchant, and sixty-six Escus d'Or for the Mark of Gold, which would be a great relief to his People ^x.

1421. The following Statute was made in the Parliament which was holden at Westminster on the second of May in his ninth year: — For the removing of the perils and deceits which have long continued within the Realm, by the Washers, Clippers, and Counterfeiters of the Money of England, to the great mischief and damage of all people in the said Realm, the King, by the advice and consent of all the Lords and Commons assembled in this Parliament, hath ordained and established, that, from the Eve of the Feast of Christmas next ensuing, no subject of the King shall receive any Money of English Gold in payment except at the weight appointed by the King. And forasmuch as great part of the Gold, at present current in payment, is not of lawful weight nor of good allay, the same shall be sent to the Mint, to the end that it may be coined anew of just weight and good allay, which will be to the great loss and expense of the King's subjects, unless he is pleased to relieve them in that case. Therefore the King, of his special grace, hath remitted and pardoned to all his subjects, who between this and the Feast of Christmas shall bring to be coined anew, at the King's Mint within the Tower of London, their Money of Gold which is not of just weight nor of good allay, all that to him appertaineth for the said new Coinage of the said Gold, as above; saving to the Master of the Mint, and to the other Officers of the same, what to them reasonably belongeth ^y.

On the Petition of the Commons of the Northern Counties, the Parliament ordained that a Mint should be worked at York, for the relief of the said Counties ^z.

In this Parliament also the Mayor, Constables, and Merchants of the King's Staple at Calais represented, that, for the payment of their Bonds of Subsidy, delivered to the Treasurer and Victualler of Calais, for the wages

^x Rot. Norm. 8 H. V. pt. 3. m. 9. dors.

^y Statute 9 H. V. chap. 11.

^z Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 200. This Petition is not in the printed Rolls of this year, but it is referred to in a subsequent Petition of the same persons, 2 H. VI.

and victualling of the same, and the adjacent Marches, they would not receive any Money but the King's Nobles, which it was not in the power of the said Mayor, &c. to give, unless the King had his Mint and Coinage there, as it was of antient time^a, for the said Mayor, &c. could not bring Nobles out of England. Wherefore they besought the Parliament, that they would petition the King, that he would please to ordain, in that Parliament, the keeping of his Mint and Coinage at Calais, which would be for his great profit, and the increase of Money within his Realm, and ease to the Merchants for the payment of their Bonds aforesaid; and also that he would please to ordain, upon heavy penalty, that no Gold of his Coin should be carried out of England, or from Calais, to Flanders, or other parts, except for the wars, at his good pleasure^b. Accordingly it was enacted, that the Mint and Coinage should be had, and used, within the Town of Calais, as long as it should please the King, saving to him that which of right to him appertained of the Mint and Coinage aforesaid^c.

The three Estates of the Duchy of Normandy, and of that part of France which was in the King's power, about this time granted a certain sum for the amendment of the Coins. The Money for this purpose was not to be levied upon the Inhabitants in general, but upon the Prelates and other Ecclesiasticks, the Nobles, and all other persons whom it might concern, within the Duchy, &c. The intention in raising it appears to have been solely the procuring a sufficient supply of Bullion for the Mint, for the person who was appointed to receive it was authorized to give Schedules to all who paid it, by virtue of which they were to receive it again from the Master of the King's nearest Mint^d.

Shortly after this, it being found that the amendment of the Money required considerable quantities of Silver, the Receivers, above-mentioned, were commanded to purchase Silver with the Money which they had collected by the authority aforesaid, and to deliver the same into the hands of the King's Receiver of Bullion, for which they were to have, within one month

^a At this time the Mint at Calais appears not to have been worked. When and why it ceased I have not been able to discover.

^b Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 146.

^c Statute 9 H. V. chap. 6.

^d Pat. Norm. 3 H. V. m. 20. dors. Rymer, X. 58.

after it should have been coined, seven Franks of good Money for every Mark of Silver, according to the King's Ordinance^e.

In the second Parliament of this year, which met at Westminster on the first day of December, a Tenth and Fifteenth from the Laity were granted to the King. In the collection of these duties the Collectors had authority to receive them in Gold, as in Noble, Half Noble, or Farthing, provided "they stretchet verily to the value of *v s. viii d.* by due pois of the Noble, thereof made wyth due abatements of the same, to be sende to the seid Collectours with her Commissions, into every parties of the said Roialme, that thos seid Collectours, and every of hem, shall duely receyve suche paiement en Goolde, to the very value of *v s. viii d.* to be paid to the use of our seid Soveraigne Lord in his receipt, in name and hoole value of a Noble of due pois; and so ther to be receyved by the Officers of our seid Soveraigne Lord, withouten difficultie or dilaie, in full paiement of *v s. viii d.*; and in discharge of the seid Collectours, and everych of hem, and the liege men of our seid Soveraigne Lord. And if any of the liege men beforseid, in tym comyng make paiement of his duete forsaid, in Nobles, Half Nobles, other Ferthynges of Goold, exceeding the value of *v s. viii d.* by the pois aforseid, that in the paiement of this half *xv^{me}* and *x^{me}*, shall renne in paiement for a Noble of due pois, than that Moneie, that so excedith, stonde, and be, to the avantage of the paier of the same, in allowance or repaiement to hym to be made by the Resceyvour of the same, aftur the rate and quantite of the same excesse. And if it be so, that any of the liege men aforseid, in tyme comyng, make paiement of his forsaid duete to any of the Collectours aforseid, in Goold as it is before declared, beyng of lasse value by the seid pois than *v s. viii d.*, that for that cause, the seid Collectours, ne non of hem, shall not that seid Goold refuse, so that the paier of the same do to the Resceyvour of the same assith and gree unto the value of *v s. viii d.*, to hym that it receyveth, beyng algates to the paier into avauntage, and discharge of the Noble of due pois ayeins our seid Soveraigne Lord."^f

This very remarkable regulation was, doubtless, occasioned by the wretched state of the Gold Coins, as it was represented in the eleventh Chapter of the

^e Pat. Norm. 8 H. V. pt. 3. m. 3. dors. Rymer, X. 85.

^f Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 151. I have copied this provision from the printed Rolls as a curious specimen of legal language at the beginning of the 15th century.

Statute quoted above; and was, probably, intended to operate as an alleviation of so heavy a burthen as a Fifteenth and a Tenth imposed at one time.

At this period the Silver Money was so scarce, that though a Noble were so good of gold and weight as six Shillings eight Pence, men could get no White Money for it ^g.

In this Parliament the following provisions were enacted in compliance with the Petitions of the Commons :

Chapter 1. It is ordained, that all the Statutes and Ordinances which have been made in the time of the King's noble Progenitors, touching the good and lawful governance of his Money of Gold and Silver, not repealed, be well and firmly kept and holden at all points.

Chap. 2. Item, the King, inasmuch as he conveniently may, shall do to be ordained his Exchanges of the Monecy of Gold and Silver in the City of London, and elsewhere in the Realm, for the ease of his people, which shall be holden in open places in high streets. And that all they that will come to the Tower of London, there to have Money of new coined, they shall have Money coined, and thereof shall be delivered within eight days according to the very valour of that they shall bring thither, paying the Seignorage and Coinage of Gold at the rate of five Shillings for the Pound of the Tower, and for the Seignorage and Coinage of Silver fifteen Pence for the Pound, and no more. And that they that will not come to the Tower to do the same, but will be thereof delivered at the Exchanges, shall pay for the Exchange after the rate of a Penny for the Noble, and so in proportion, with the Seignorage and Coinage, as aforesaid.

Chap. 3. Item, that the Masters and Workers of the Money, and also the Exchangers in all places where Money shall be coined, made, or changed, shall be holden to deliver and pay to the people all that ought to pertain to them for such exchange of good and lawful Money of England, either by just weight or by number, at the choice of every person who shall receive the same, without any delay or difficulty. And if perchance it shall happen that any notable default in the weight of the Money, or in the alloy, be found (which God forbid!) upon the delivery or payment to be made at the

^g Stow's Survey of London, p. 46. Fabian says that this scarcity arose from men's putting forth the Gold, and making store of the Silver; vol. II. p. 404.

said Tower, or at the Exchanges aforesaid, that then it shall be lawful for every one who shall find the same, to refuse that which is defective, before he depart from the place where he shall receive the same. And that the Master, or the Exchangers, be holden to deliver to him sufficient Money for the same, without delay, and to melt that which shall be found defective.

Chap. 4. Item, that they which shall be Wardens, and Surveyors, and Ministers of the Exchanges out of the Tower, shall be holden and bound to bring all the Gold and Silver that they shall receive by way of exchange, or shall buy by colour of their office, to the Tower of London, there to be molten, and made into Money, in augmentation and increase of the Money, for the profit of the Realm, and ease of the people, without being sold, aliened, or put to any other use.

Chap. 5. Item, that the King's Mint be coined^b and made at Calais, in the manner that it is made and governed at the Tower of London.

Chap. 6. Item, that all the Money of Gold or Silver that shall be made at the Tower of London and at Calais, or elsewhere within the Realm of England, by royal authority, shall be made of as good alloy and just weight as it is at present made in the Tower of London.

Chap. 7. Item, that the King do ordain good and just weight of the Noble, Half Noble, and Farthing of Gold, with the rates necessary for the same, for every City, Borough, and Market Town of the Realm, to be delivered by the Chancellor of Englandⁱ to them that will have them, to the end that they may not be deceived by false Counterfeiters; and those who use false weights in deceit of the people.

The ninth Chapter of this Statute enlarged to nine months the term of three months which had been fixed by the Statute of the 14th of Richard II. as the time within which Merchants, who made exchanges into foreign parts, should purchase commodities of the Realm equal in value to the sum exchanged. This was done upon a representation that it was impossible to make the said purchases within so short a time^k.

^b The words are, "que la Mynt du Roy soit cunes & fait." Pynson's Edit. folio.

ⁱ Pynson's Edition of the Statutes has in this place, "le Tresorer d'Engleterre."

^k Statute 9 H. V. Statute 2. chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9, Ed. 1577.

In pursuance of the provisions of the seventh Chapter of the above Statute, a Writ was directed to Bartholomew Goldbeter^l, John Paddesliem^m, and John Brerner, of London, Goldsmiths, and John Derlyngton, Campsor and Assayer of the Mint in the Tower of London, and Gilbright Vanbranburgh, Engraver in the same, commanding them to make weights for the Noble, Half Noble, and Farthing of Gold, sufficient for the several Cities and Boroughs; and to form ten Puncheons for each weight, five of them with the impression of a Crown, and the other five with a Fleur de Lis, and to bring the weights, when stamped, to the Councilⁿ; and whereas it had been ordained in Parliament, that none of the King's liege subjects should receive any Money of England, except according to the weights provided for that purpose, it was commanded that the Statute to that effect should be proclaimed in every County^o.

One Petition, however, which the Commons presented in this Parliament, was not granted. It prayed that he or they who should be Masters and Workers of the Monies within the Tower of London should be in no manner Wardens, nor Masters, nor Governors of the Exchanges without the Tower, nor in any way intermeddle with the same. To this the King refused his assent^p.

In this year was an Indenture between the King and Bartholomew Goldbeter, Master and Worker, the terms of which were the same as in that of his first year^q.

His Money at this time current in Normandy was much impoverished and greatly diminished; it was therefore ordained, that the following Coins should be taken at the under-mentioned rates:

Deners d'Or, called Salutes, for - - - 25 Sols.

Demi Salutes in proportion.

Deners Blancs, called Doubles, for - 2 Deners.

Petit Deners Blancs in proportion.

^l Goldbeter was then Master of the Mint. See Lists of Officers.

^m Paddesley was afterward Master in the reign of Henry VI. See as above.

ⁿ Pat. 9 H. V. pt. 2. m. 6. dors.

^o Cl. 9 H. V. m. 4. dors.

^p Rolls of Parliament, vol. IV. p. 154.

^q Lowndes, p. 37.

Escu d'Or of the King's Mint for - - 22 Sols 6 Deners.

Moutons for - - - - - 15 Sols.

Nobles of fine Gold for - - - - - 45 Sols.

Half and Quarter in proportion.

Gross, which used to be current for 20 Deners, but which had lately been refused at 5 Deners, to be taken after the date of publication of the Writ at 2 Deners and a Maille.

By this Ordinance it was forbidden to carry Bullion of Gold or Silver, or any broken Silver, beyond the bounds of the King's Mints, on pain of forfeiture and corporal punishment^r, at the King's will; and Exchangers and Goldsmiths were prohibited from giving a greater price than that allowed by the Mint^s.

The King, in the year 1422, began to exercise the powers which he received, by the Treaty of Troyes, as Regent of France, and caused a new Coin to be made, called a Salute, whereon the Arms of France and England quarterly were stamped^t.

About the same time the Master of his Mints in Normandy was ordered to make choice of twelve persons, expert and sufficient to carry on the work of the alteration of the Money^u.

On the 31st of August, in this year, death terminated his short but glorious reign.

As his English Coins, both of Gold and Silver, were of the same weight with those of his Successor, until the 49th year of Henry VI., I know not any means by which they can be distinguished from them. A variety of types, in both metals, is given in the Plates, but none of the Coins bears any distinguishing mark by which it can be appropriated. No piece, from the English Mint, has yet been discovered with the title of HÆRES FRANCIE; but

^r The French words are, *et le coups*. I have not met with any instance of corporal punishment, for offences against the Coins, prior to this.

^s Rot. Norm. 9 H. V. m. 17. dors. The very injudicious restriction with which this Writ concludes we shall hereafter find frequently repeated and enforced, although its natural tendency is to prevent the bringing of Bullion into that Kingdom where the trading in the precious metals is restrained by it.

^t Sandford, p. 297.

^u Rot. Norm. 10 H. V. m. 12. dors.

on all those which are attributable either to Henry V. or VI. the Monarch is styled King of France.

His Irish Coinage is involved in equal obscurity. Simon has represented five Groats which he conjectures to belong to this King; but his only reason for giving them to him is, because they differ from those which in his opinion were struck by Henry VI.^x

Some of his Anglo-Gallic Money can, however, be satisfactorily ascertained; such as the Mouton, before the letter H was placed in the centre of the Reverse in the year 1419, and likewise the Salute with HÆRES FRANCIE^y, because, though his son bore the same title, yet it was changed into King of France at so short a period after his accession, that there was scarcely time for a Coinage to have been made; besides which, it has the Arms of France and England, quarterly, in one shield only, in the same manner as the Escus of his seventh year, whilst those of Henry VI. have two shields; the first bearing the Arms of France singly, and the second those of France and England quarterly. Such is also the Gross, struck after his marriage, with the same title of HÆRES^z, and also another Gross prior to that, with REX FRANCORVM, which is described in an Ordinance for the Regulation of the Money of Rouen, bearing date in the year 1419-20. On these Anglo-Gallic Coins he is styled HENR. DEI GRA. REX ANGL. HERES FRANCI., or HENRICVS REX ANGLIE HERES FRANCIE., or HENRICVS FRANCORVM REX.

Upon his Great Seal he continued the same style as was used by Henry IV.; but the Arms of France have only three Fleurs de Lis, as he bore them in the sixth, seventh, and eighth years of his Father's reign. See note ^c, p. 495.

The uncertainty which exists respecting his Money renders it impossible to ascertain his Mints from any Coins; but it appears from Records that he worked the Mints of

CALAIS.

LONDON.

ROUEN.

ST. LO.

^x Irish Coinage, p. 19, and Plate III. Nos. 56—60.

^y See Plates of Anglo Gallic Coins.

^z See Plates as before.

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